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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE,

DEVOTED TO

THE DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION.

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VOLUME VI. From January to June, 1876.

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

1876.

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# THE REPUBLIC,

## A Political Science Monthly Magazine.

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THE REPUBLIC begins its sixth volume with the Centennial year, January, 1876.

It has grown in public favor, and has received substantial encouragement from every State and Territory in the Union.

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# THE REPUBLIC.

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## THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

Monday, December 6, 1875, was a cloudy day. The face of nature was shorn of brightness. The sun was veiled and the air obscure and chill with mist. Signs of mourning draped the Capitol. From that proud pile a funeral train had recently descended, bearing away the lifeless form of Henry Wilson, the late Vice-President of the United States. Up the stairways and into the vast edifice poured an eager multitude, unmindful of the distinguished dead, and kindled with the excitement of that living scene. On no previous opening of Congress was there a greater throng. A Republican Senate with a Democratic House had never before been witnessed.

### THE SENATE CHAMBER.

The hall of the American Senate had been prepared with unusual taste and elegance by the faithfulness and care of the Sergeant-at-Arms, Major John R. French, a sterling and excellent officer. It remained still dressed in the rich dark emblems of the recent obsequies. At 12 o'clock M. the Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, Senator from Michigan, and President *pro tem.* of the Senate, struck the gavel, and in a moment the great assemblage was hushed to silence. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Sunderland, of the Presbyterian Church, chaplain of the Senate. The usual preliminary forms were immediately dispatched. Senator Boutwell, of Massachusetts, then arose to announce in the Senate the death of the Vice-President of the United States, and give notice of an early day when resolutions in his memory would be proposed for the consideration of the Senate.

### THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

A peculiar interest centered in this great forum of the people's delegates; because here for the first time in nearly a score of years was the Democratic party to be invested with the dominant power. The proceedings for the organization of the House had been settled in the Democratic caucus the Saturday before. To witness the vision had come together from far and near the leaders and the led of this old party of strange and saddened history. The motley crowds surged through the halls which were crammed to their utmost capacity above and below. No hungrier set of men was ever gathered beneath the dome of the Capitol.

At the appointed hour the Hon. Edward McPherson, Clerk of the last House of Representatives, appeared at the desk and called to order. By this time all the doorways and corridors were packed with a dense mass of human beings; men, women, and children pressed together well nigh to suffocation.

### PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE.

The first thing in order was the roll-call of the members elect, during which the clerk announced in regard to the credentials of certain members from Louisiana and New York points of doubt, which he submitted to the decision of the House. At the close of the call it was found that 286 members had answered to their names, some half dozen of the members elect not having yet arrived. Representative Lamar, from the State of Mississippi, then moved the election of a Speaker preparatory to the organization of the House. The motion being agreed to on the part of



the Democrats, he put in nomination Hon. Michael C. Kerr, a member from the State of Indiana. The Republicans nominated Hon. James G. Blaine, a member from the State of Maine. The result of the election was as follows :

Whole number of votes cast, 282; necessary to a choice, 142, of which—

Michael C. Kerr	received.....	173
James G. Blaine	“ .....	106
Alexander Campbell	“ .....	1
Wm. B. Anderson	“ .....	1
A. S. Williams	“ .....	1

giving Mr. Kerr a majority of 64 votes over all. The Speaker-elect was then conducted to the chair by Messrs. Randall and Blaine. After a brief address from Mr. Kerr, the oldest member in continuous service on the floor, Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, administered to him the oath of office. A message from the Senate was received, informing the House that a quorum was present, and proposing the customary committees to inform the President of the fact.

The Speaker then proceeded to the swearing in of the members, during which, a question being raised on the reception of Mr. Morey, claiming a seat from Louisiana, the first issue was joined between the majority and minority, and a spirited discussion ensued. The Republicans fairly won their point and carried it in triumph. Mr. Morey was sworn and permitted to take his seat. It was a sight, indeed, to behold. In a House where the Democrats have a clear working majority of more than sixty members, and among whom it is said there are some eighty ex-rebel officers, to witness the reading of the two forms of oath, which told the work that each man of them had done in the terrible history of the past, and to see the half dozen or so of colored members standing forward among the rest, the fruit of the agony which had lifted them from bondage—a bondage which to perpetuate, so many of their now fellow members had exerted their utmost power in the protracted horrors of a bloody civil war—all this was calculated to fill, as it did, the mind of the thoughtful observer with deep and serious reflection. The completion of the organization of the House

was then made on a resolution moved by Mr. Lamar. George M. Adams, of Kentucky, was elected Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Forty-Fourth Congress. John G. Thompson, of Ohio, was elected Sergeant-at-Arms. L. H. Fitzhugh, of Texas, was elected Doorkeeper. James M. Stewart, of Virginia, was elected Postmaster, and Rev. I. L. Townsend, of the Episcopal Church of the District of Columbia, was elected Chaplain. A message was then sent to the Senate, informing that body of the organization of the House and its readiness to proceed to business. A committee was also appointed to wait on the President and inform him that the Congress was ready to receive any communication he might be pleased to make.

#### RULES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, submitted resolutions proposing the rules of the Forty-third Congress, with the exception of Nos. 166, 167; and also proposing a committee of five, consisting of the Speaker and four members to be named by him, to revise the rules of the House and to propose alterations and amendments to the same. These resolutions were adopted.

The rules which were thus excluded are as follows: “166. All motions to suspend the rules, except where they may be suspended by a majority, shall, before being submitted to the House, be seconded by a majority, as in case of the previous question. January 20, 1874.” “167. Whenever a question is pending before the House, the Speaker shall not entertain any motion of a dilatory character, except one motion to adjourn and one motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn. But the previous question on the engrossment and third reading of any bill or joint resolution shall not be ordered during the first day of its consideration unless two-thirds of the members present shall second the demand: *Provided*, That this rule shall not apply to House resolutions offered in the morning hour of Monday: *and provided further*, That it shall not apply to any proposition to appropriate the money, the credit, or other property of the United States, except the annual appropriation bills. February 1, 1875.” A resolution was then adopted relat-

ing to the drawing of seats, and the House adjourned.

#### SECOND DAY.

In the Senate were presented the credentials of Hon. James E. English, from Connecticut, to take the seat of Orris L. Ferry, deceased during the recess. Mr. Adams, the Clerk of the House, announced a message from that body informing the Senate of its organization and the appointment of a committee to wait on the President; after which the Senate took a recess; at one o'clock the Senate was called to order, and the annual message of the President was submitted and read.

#### THE MESSAGE.

This document is longer than the previous messages of President Grant, and presents to the country questions of the gravest consideration. It commences with a review of the progress and prosperity of the Republic during the first century of its existence, and is a clear and powerful *résumé* of a growth and strength almost unequalled in history.

#### INTELLIGENCE.

It then discusses the necessity of the universal spread of intelligence among the people; and suggests an amendment to the Constitution, to be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, making the education of the children of the country, in a system of free public schools, compulsory; forbidding in such schools the teaching of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets; and prohibiting all national aid, directly or indirectly, to any religious sect or denomination. It suggests the fact that at the present rate of increase the value of church property by the year 1900 will amount to \$3,000,000,000; and that the contemplation of so vast a property may lead to sequestration, through violence and blood. To avoid this result, it suggests the taxation of all property equally, whether church or corporation, exempting only the resting places of the dead, and possibly, with proper restrictions, church edifices. It presents a flattering view of our foreign relations—reciting the gratifying fact that Portugal has abolished servitude in her colonies, and humanely counseling legislation to prohibit American citizens holding slaves in any other country or having interest therein; also, announcing

the reparation of Chili in the case of the whale-ship Return, seized without sufficient cause more than forty years ago; and the decision of the arbitrator in favor of our Government and against that of the United States of Colombia for the seizure and detention of the United States steamer Montijo; likewise the conclusion of a reciprocity treaty with the King of the Hawaiian Islands; and an arrangement with the Spanish Government for the payment of the sum of \$80,000 for the benefit of the surviving sufferers of the ship *Virginus*. It discusses, in the clearest and calmest manner, the affairs of Cuba, and the complications and evils, which increase in magnitude every succeeding year, from the unhappy condition of that distracted and almost exhausted Island. It concludes that the occasion has not arrived for the recognition either of its independence or of belligerent rights to the insurgents; but plainly intimating that the time may come when it will be the duty of this Government to consider the question of mediation or intervention. The Message also treats of the "Free Zone," as it is called, a project of Mexican legislation applied to certain States of that Republic along our Texan border, whereby much injury accrues to our revenue as well as to honest commercial enterprise. The depredations on our people continue, and the complications remain as yet unsettled—no adequate means of suppression having as yet been applied. The joint commission for the adjustment of American and Mexican claims is bringing its labors to a close. The questions of difference between this Government and that of Venezuela have been put in the way of final adjustment by the recognition on the part of that power of her just obligations to the United States. A treaty has been formed with Belgium regarding commerce and navigation; and conventions established with the Mexican Republic for the further extension of the joint committee upon claims; with the Hawaiian Islands for commercial reciprocity, and with the Ottoman Empire for extradition. The Message treats of the work and continuance of the Court of Commissioners on Alabama Claims—showing that of the 1,382 claims presented, a little more than half have been adjudicated, and

recommending suitable legislation to enable it to finish the business before it; at the same time suggesting that Congress should, by law, create some court or jurisdiction for the relief of aliens upon claims against the United States. The Message discusses the value and necessity of telegraphic communication in the transaction of business; reciting the condition of the first ocean telegraph cable, the cession of the French Government, in 1869, to a new company, which completed the laying of their cable between France and this country in July of that year; the subsequent laying of a third cable direct from this country to the Islands of Great Britain by the United States Direct Cable Company; and suggesting certain proposals in regard to them, which are—

1. The landing of the lines between this and any other country to secure equal and impartial rights.

2. The prohibition of combinations of lines for the purpose of controlling the rates of transmission.

3. Compelling the lines to give precedence to the official messages of the Governments they connect.

4. Retaining the power of the Governments to fix a limit to the rates of messages sent from their shores.

The message goes on to state that the executive will be governed in his actions on this subject by the above principles until Congress shall have regulated these vast interests by law.

#### FRAUDULENT CITIZENSHIP.

The message calls attention to the evils of fraudulent naturalization and expatriation, reciting the fact of many and frequent cases of dishonesty by which it is sought to impose upon this Government. The President thinks that more definite legislation should be had upon this subject, as well likewise upon the status of American women who marry foreigners, and of children born of American parents resident abroad, and also to give legal effect to marriages of American citizens contracted in foreign countries.

#### TREASURER'S REPORT.

The message then treats of the finances of the country elaborately and comprehensively, showing that the receipts from cus-

toms for the last fiscal year have been \$157,167,722.35, showing a decrease from the year before of \$5,936,111.34, and the receipts from internal revenue for the same period of \$110,007,493.58, an increase of \$7,597,708.68 over the year before. The Treasurer's report sets out a complete view of the workings of the department for the last year, and also contains recommendations for further legislation on important points. The message continues discussing the importance and necessity of specie resumption at least by the first day of January, 1879, and earlier, if possible, and suggests certain points for the action of Congress in furtherance of this end as follows:

1. A repeal of so much of the legal-tender act as makes the notes receivable for debts contracted after January 1, 1877, thus securing quotations at *real*, not *fictitious* values.

2. Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem not exceeding two million dollars monthly of legal-tender notes by issuing in their stead a long bond at 3.65 per cent. of denomination, from \$50 to \$1,000 each, thus obviating redemption in large sums suddenly.

3. Giving power to the Secretary of the Treasury to accumulate gold for final redemption, by increasing revenue and curtailing expenses. To increase the revenue by restoring the duty on tea and coffee would add some \$18,000,000 to the present amount received from imports, while the duties on articles entering into manufactures of all sorts might be measurably, if not wholly, remitted. Another source of accumulation would be devising some better method of verifying claims against the Government, especially those growing out of the late war. Many of these claims are most likely wholly fraudulent, or at least excessive; they are urged upon fictitious testimony, and in many other ways known only to the unscrupulous. An efficient remedy here would cut off a large drain upon the resources of the Treasury.

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

The message submits the documents pertaining to this department with the specification of the following points requiring Congressional action:



1. The necessity of making \$300,000 of the appropriation for the Subsistence department available before the beginning of the next fiscal year.

2. The enactment of a system of annuities for families of deceased officers.

3. The repeal of the law abolishing mileage and a return to the old system.

4. The trial with torpedoes under the Corps of Engineers, with appropriations for the same.

5. A permanent organization for the Signal Service Corps.

6. Appropriation for continuing the compilation of the official records of the war.

#### THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The Message asserts the present satisfactory condition of our Navy for a people situated as we are, and our dispositions for peace. Fifteen of the single turreted monitors have been substantially rebuilt, and are ready for sea as soon as they can be manned and put in commission. The five double turreted monitors, the most powerful of our vessels of war, are undergoing repairs and could be put to sea in the course of six months. These, with two iron torpedo-boats now ready, make a fleet for home defense equal to any force that can readily be brought against it. Our wooden Navy comprises some forty vessels, one-third of which are entirely new, and the remainder, though needing some repairs, could shortly be made ready for effective service. The expenses of maintaining a naval force equal to our position, character, and relations are of necessity large, but the estimates for regular annual appropriation the coming year are somewhat less than for the current year. Some extra appropriations asked for now are deemed of pressing importance in the face of any possible contingency which may arise.

#### POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

From the report of the Postmaster-General it will be observed that the deficiency to be supplied from the General Treasury is greater than that of the preceding year, but no branch of the public service excites more popular interest than the rapid and certain transmission of the mails. Next to the free school the post-office is the great educator of the people. The subsidy of \$150,000 per annum given to vessels carrying the mail

from New York to Rio de Janeiro having ceased in September last, leaves the country without these facilities. The Message suggests a renewal of that contract, and not for monthly, but semi-monthly trips. It also suggests an amendment to the act of March 3d, 1875, by which now almost all matter may be sent through the mails to any distance in packages not over four pounds in weight for sixteen cents per pound. The amendment proposes to exclude from the mail, merchandise of all descriptions, and limit the transportation to enumerated articles.

#### DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

Attention is called to the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, and the increasing difficulty of preserving peace between the Indians and the miners of that region; also to the condition of the Indian Territory, of which a special report will be made at an early day; to the steady growth of the business of the Patent office, showing an excess of receipts over its expenditures, as also the magnified industrial activity of the country; to the operations of the Land Office, from which it appears that less land was disposed of this year than last by 2,459,601 acres, and the cash receipts less by \$690,322.23. The cause of this decrease is ascribed to the plagues infesting the frontier States and Territories, deterring parties from entering new lands. The entire area of the public domain surveyed is 680,253,094 acres, of which 26,077,531 acres were surveyed last year, leaving 1,154,471,762 acres of land still unsurveyed. The statistics of the Pension Office show a decrease on the roll of pensioners since 1873 of 1,420 persons, while the annual amount paid to them has increased by the sum of \$44,733.13, caused by the increased liberality of Congress, the average of annual pension given to each invalid person on the rolls having been increased from \$90.26 to \$103.91. At the close of the last fiscal year there were on the rolls of the Office 234,821 persons, of whom 210,363 were army pensioners, 105,478 being invalids, and 104,885 widows and dependent relatives; 3,420 were navy pensioners, of whom 1,636 were invalids, and 1,784 widows and dependent relatives; 21,038 were pensioners

of the war of 1812, 15,875 of whom were survivors, and 5,163 widows. The estimated amount for the payment of annual pensions for the coming year is \$29,535,000, being an amount of \$965,000 less than for the present year.

The Message proceeds to comment upon the reports of the commissioner of Agriculture and the commissioner of Education as charged with two of the fundamental interests of the country. These various subjects are presented as pertaining to the Department of the Interior, which within two months past has received a new chief in the person of the Hon. Zachariah Chandler, from whose stainless honesty and extraordinary business capacity and wide experience may be anticipated the most brilliant and satisfactory administration in one of the most complicated, extensive, and difficult branches of the Government, that has been witnessed in its history. At no period of his long public career, in no crisis of affairs however dark or perilous, has this distinguished patriot and honored citizen been found wanting, and the country may confidently rely upon him if life and health are spared, to bring order out of confusion and dignity instead of reproach in every quarter of his jurisdiction.

#### CONCLUSION OF THE MESSAGE.

The President concludes his seventh annual message, and the last but one in his second term of office, by allusions and recommendations touching the International Exhibition to be held at Philadelphia in the centennial year of the national existence. He recites the labors of the Board of Commissioners having charge of the preparations for this grand occasion, and invokes the aid of Congress in furtherance of their designs. He informs the country of the world-wide interest which has been awakened among the nations of the earth in this illustrious event now so nigh at hand. He likewise refers to his recent western tour through the Territories of Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, and again calls the attention of Congress to the necessity of more thorough legislation affecting the substantial interests of the population in those vast regions, and especially to the scandalous condition of

affairs existing throughout the Mormon community, declaring in emphatic terms that "polygamy as an institution should be banished from the land." And in the same breath he more than intimates that Congress should prohibit "the importation of Chinese women, but few of whom are brought to our shores to pursue honorable or useful occupations." And for more effectually applying a remedy to these and other evils, the President recommends that a large joint-committee of the two houses of Congress should be appointed, whose duty it shall be to visit during the coming summer all the mining States and Territories, and report at the next session of Congress such legislation as may seem most calculated to secure the best interests of all the people and of the Government itself.

Anticipating the choice of his successor before he will again have the honor of addressing to Congress his farewell message, he feels compelled to recapitulate the points which he deems of so much consequence to the future well-being of the Republic—

1. That the States shall be required to afford the opportunity of a good common-school education to every child in their limits.

2. No sectarian tenets shall ever be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by the State, Nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon any community; make education compulsory so far as to deprive all persons who cannot read and write from becoming voters after the year 1890, disfranchising none, however, on grounds of illiteracy who may be voters at the time this amendment takes effect.

3. Declare Church and State forever separate and distinct, but each free within its proper sphere, and that all church property shall bear its own proportion of taxation.

4. Drive out licensed immorality, such as polygamy and the importation of women for illegitimate purposes.

5. Enact such laws as will secure a speedy return to sound currency, such as will command the respect of the world.

Recurring again to the Centennial year, and as we are on the threshold of our second century, the message suggests that it

would seem as though this should be a fitting time for these reforms. He concludes:

"Believing that these views will commend themselves to the great majority of the right-thinking and patriotic citizens of the United States, I submit the rest to Congress."

To these noble proposals of the President we trust there may be added, what must be approved by all the best of the land, a course of legislation more perfectly adapted to secure on the one hand the manufacturing and commercial rights of the citizen, and on the other, more effectual remedies against the frightful evils of intemperance—Sabbath profanation, and the gambling frauds of our wide-spread manifold diversified business operations; for the purity of political parties; for the rights of women; for the proper responsibility of the public press, and for the morality which is the only solid foundation of public virtue and of the stability, peace, and perpetuity of States. The paper, however, as it stands, forms one of the most remarkable public documents ever issued from the Executive Mansion, and is destined to be the key-note sounding to the battle of the future against the most powerful enemies of the common welfare and the coming prosperity and pride of our great Republic.

Its reading was heard to the end by the assembled representatives of the States and the people with profound attention. It now remains to be seen what harvest shall be gathered from such seed sown.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

The President *pro tem.* of the Senate laid before the body reports from the heads of the various Departments, from the courts and officers of the Government, which were ordered to lie upon the table and be printed. Whereupon the Senate adjourned.

#### SECOND DAY IN THE HOUSE.

Proceedings were opened by the Rev. I. L. Townsend, Chaplain of the House, who appeared in full Episcopal costume, and read his prayers from the Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Oliver, member-elect from Iowa, was sworn in and took his seat. The memorial of James H. Platt, Jr., contestant from the second district of Virginia, was ordered to be printed in the

*Record.* After a recess to one o'clock the House was called to order and proceeded with the drawing for seats. Exceptions were made in favor of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, and Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, after which the drawing proceeded. The first name drawn was that of John O. Whitehouse, of New York, and the last was that of Henry R. Harris, of Georgia.

#### RECEPTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The message from the President was then received and read, when, upon motion of Mr. Randall, it, with the accompanying documents, was referred to the Committee of the whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

#### THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

A memorial from William Henry Trescott, relating to the right of representation from the third Congressional district of South Carolina, was referred to the Committee on Elections, and ordered to be printed in the *Record.* After the presentation by the Speaker of sundry communications required by law the House adjourned to Friday, the 10th of December.

In the Senate on the third day little but routine business was transacted. The time was consumed in the presentation of documents, petitions, memorials, and resolutions, in the withdrawal of papers from the files and referring them to the appropriate committees, and in the introduction of bills upon various subjects, and at twelve o'clock and thirty minutes P. M. the Senate adjourned.

**PRODUCT AND MOVEMENT OF THE PRECIOUS METALS.**—The San Francisco *Bulletin* presents some important statistics relative to the treasure product and movement at California and Nevada for a series of years past, including the following statement covering the production from 1865 to date:

	California.	Nevada.	Total.
1865.....	\$28,500,000	\$11,250,000	\$39,750,000
1866.....	25,500,000	10,000,000	35,500,000
1867.....	25,000,000	13,500,000	38,500,000
1868.....	22,000,000	12,000,000	34,000,000
1869.....	22,500,000	12,000,000	34,000,000
1870.....	25,000,000	16,000,000	41,000,000
1871.....	20,000,000	23,000,000	43,000,000
1872.....	19,000,000	28,750,000	47,750,000
1873.....	17,000,000	35,750,000	54,750,000
1874.....	15,000,000	38,000,000	53,000,000

Totals.. \$219,500,000      \$200,250,000      \$419,750,000

Though the above does not include the product of Montana, Utah, and Colorado, it is nevertheless the great bulk of the production of precious metals in this country.

The product of California shown above was nearly all gold, while that of Nevada was nearly two-thirds silver.



## HENRY WILSON, EIGHTEENTH VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"An old man broken by the storms of State," he passed from our midst in the early morning of November 22, 1875. Representative of the worthier elements of American character, Henry Wilson, though broken in body, went to his grave with a name and fame unbent and unbowed by the tempests of partisan hate and personal detraction, which, during a long and eminent life, swept and surged around every public man of his time. The voices that seek detraction were then, and are now, almost entirely silent, and the few that deprecate are so evidently forgetful of the facts and conditions relating to and attending this man's career, as to succeed best in presenting the measure of their own pitiful meanness to the public gaze. Henry Wilson lived openly in the garish daylight of a Democratic society for over thirty years, steadily advancing from one post of honor to another; and the best response to these feeble critics is the universal regard that crowns his name with the love of a people whom he honored, and the gratitude of a nation he served—largely, wisely, and unselfishly.

Henry Wilson, (born Jeremiah Colbath,) was of the people—humble, manly, and true. His life illustrates the romance of democratic institutions. De Tocqueville once wrote that honor belonged to an aristocracy, and virtue to a Republic. Mr. Wilson's public virtue embraced personal honor in the better sense, and outlines distinctly the horizon of a generalization which limits the highest manly traits, to those who are the fortunate possessors of the power belonging to one form of social and political life. Honor and virtue to be genuine must be inseparable; virtue is the blade, and honor its keen and ready edge. Macaulay deprecated modern democracy because it reduced men to a level, and gave no room or play for that martial ruffianism which has too often been dignified by the name of heroism. But that a republic gives the largest opportunity for even aristocratic qualities let the life and character of Charles Sumner attest; while

that the leveling of democracy is not downward, the career of Henry Wilson fully proves.

Is it not a romance? The coldest statement of the outline facts are epical in expression. He was born on the 16th of February, 1812, and died on the 22d of November, 1875, and was consequently sixty-three years, nine months, and six days old when he passed beyond. His parents were of the poorest class, and the family had been so as long as they were known in New Hampshire. They were of the hardy old country stock, which, transplanted to the bleak, granite hillsides of that State, or the rugged western regions of North and South Carolina, has given birth to so many notable men. Calhoun, Jackson, Johnson, Houston, Wilson, and Lincoln are some of the names that come to the common memory as representative of this class. Henry Wilson was therefore born in an inhospitable clime and to the bleakest poverty known to earliest American years. Want rocked his cradle, and penury shadowed the stumbling steps of his childhood. Toil was the foster-parent of his boyhood, and from ten years until twenty-one he served a task-master no less severe than the harsh soil on which they both labored. Social amenities and graces found no place in the grim days of his youth. A twelve months' disjointed training at the rude winter school begun an education whose value was best attested by the young man's absorption of the best books accessible to him. Over a thousand volumes of history, political science, biography, and other solid literature, were literally devoured by the future statesman. With the scantiest of means at manhood, this scion of the rudest democratic surroundings, ventured into a larger sphere. Pack on his back, he left the neighborhood of Farmington, going first to Great Falls, a village in which, with the ripeness of well-earned honors about him, nearly forty years thereafter, he stood a candidate for the second highest office in the gift of his fellow-citizens, and alluded to his former visit in these words:



"I remember that in October, 1833, I walked into your village from my native town, went through your mills, seeking employment. If anybody had offered me nine dollars a month I should have accepted it gladly. \* \* I know the hard lot that toiling men have to endure in this world, and every pulsation of my heart, every conviction of judgment, every aspiration of my soul, puts me on the side of the toiling people of my country—ay, of all countries."

From New Hampshire he traveled to Massachusetts, settling finally in the prosperous little town of Natick, where for forty years thereafter he resided, learning and working at the shoemakers' craft; organizing and taking part in the village debating society and lyceum; active in town politics; reading thoroughly; working hard; living frugally; seeking an education, cheated of his hope of a college course by the dishonesty of a debtor; entering into local politics as a Free Soil Whig; becoming known as a manufacturer of shoes, an expressman, a well-informed political speaker, organizer, and editor; rising steadily through all social hostilities in a State where at the time, though founded on the clearest cut of democratic ideas—the equal right of every citizen and the primal town-meeting—the social exclusiveness was as marked as that of South Carolina and Virginia, and far more embarrassing, because it did not rest so wholly on property in man or money, but on birth and position and the culture thereof; this man, strong of frame and wholesome in brain and body, moved from one position to another, gathering reputation and garnering renown as the years swept into the century. Representative and Senator in the General Court; presiding officer of State Senate and Constitutional Convention; delegate to the National Conventions of the Whig party, the Free Soil, then of the American or Know-Nothing organization, and finally an organizer of the National Republican party. He was also chosen a general of the State militia; elected United States Senator to fill the seat vacated by Edward Everett, as Charles Sumner had been to succeed Daniel Webster; twice thereafter returned to that great legislative body; colonel in the volunteer army of the Union during the earlier portion of the civil war; chairman of the

Military Committee of the Senate, and later elected Vice President of the United States.

When he was born—Poverty's most unpromising scion—the Union embraced but seventeen States and contained with the Territories a population that did not exceed seven and three-quarter million persons.

When he died—the trusted of a nation and one of the most honored of its statesmen—thirty-seven great States were already embraced by its folds, and the population had swollen to at least forty-five millions. When he entered active life, poor, unknown, and feeling as only such an aspiring intellect can the deficiencies that beset his path and hindered his progress, caste and class ruled the councils of the land, and a million of slaves or more made a mockery of the Republican name. Thirty-five years of his manhood was spent in that battle with the slave power. When he died, mingling with the solemn requiem of national sorrow came the pealing hosannas of a race redeemed and a country regenerated, in praise of the humble son of Labor, whose patient will, comprehensive sagacity, and political ambition had always been their most useful and practical ally.

Who shall say that there is no personal romance in Democracy—that in modern life there is no room for the heroic virtues? The glamors of a feudal banditism, dignified under the name of chivalry, gilds the rhetoric but falsifies the philosophy of old world historians and publicists. Democracy has nought to fear while its records are made luminous by such careers as Garrison's, Lincoln's, and Wilson's. Modern life need not dread the reproach hurled at it as bringing all things to a dead lymph level while the names of a Livingstone and Hugh Miller are resplendent in heroic travel and literature, or the military deeds of those who fought for caste are more than outshone by those who fought for or have commanded in the name of liberty; nor is there need of shrinking comparison when Garibaldi's heroic life, in one field, and Grant's great service in another, are recalled. This is the era of the common people, and well are they vindicating through such lives as Henry Wilson's their right to stand in the world's ways, and do their devoirs in its history.

It is with the public career of Henry Wilson that the people have to deal. No man of this century has probably lived more openly. His private life has been so simple and sane that the curiosity that creates inquiry into the daily habits and surroundings of prominent persons—which is one of the earliest evidences, and probably the most disagreeable, of the Democratic spirit—has seldom been aroused in his direction. His private life was in reality but the vestibule of his public career. His early manhood was its toiling preparation for the nearly two score years of service, which divides itself naturally into these three phases:

The place he filled and the service he rendered as a working politician and popular speaker; his position and service as Senator and statesman; the place filled by him as author and historian. In each of these spheres he occupied a large space, and in all of them he has left a well-rounded record of work done and service rendered to his country and mankind.

To understand the position of Henry Wilson, and the great influence he possessed as a politician, two things must be borne in mind: 1st. The fact that he had so trained himself by dint of hard and almost omnivorous study, as well as all the circumstances of his own life of toil and endeavor, as to be always level with the common apprehension, whether he addressed it by the voice or pen. 2d. That he came into active politics just before the struggle over slavery had reached its stormy zenith, and that he was able, by reason of the soundness and sweetness of his moral nature, and his genius for perceiving the relations of ethics to politics, to stand in the forum and crystallize the slowly rising wrath of a people essentially Republican in tone into compact and formidable party cohorts—thus leading the anger of long-suffering convictions into those safe channels and revolutionary processes of action which best befit and most surely strengthen parliamentary and representative forms of government.

At the age of twenty-four Mr. Wilson was a pronounced anti-slavery man. He was then identified with the Whig party. His ability as a debater was so marked that at this time,

while attending an academy at Concord, New Hampshire, he was able to turn the tide of criticism adverse to John Quincy Adams in an anti-slavery meeting, and bring over to his view an orator no less distinguished than Wendell Phillips, then in the early glory of his manly beauty, and the rising dawn of his great powers. A friendship begun between them at this time, which during life never faltered or changed. It is to be said here, and perhaps the fact is in itself the highest tribute that can be paid to his memory, that from that date down to the closing days of his busy career Henry Wilson never failed to make his appearance at the so long unpopular Abolition meetings, to speak his mind openly, criticising freely, but never faltering in his devotion to its principles. This, too, when ambition must have held ample sway within his brain, and the brand of Abolition was almost like that of Cain. This devotion was repaid by the kindest confidence on the part of those uncompromising critics and agitators. From 1840 down to 1860 Henry Wilson received from the giants of that agitation—Phillips, Garrison, Parker, and the others—such recognition as fell to no other politician in the land. Charles Sumner, himself, did not meet with more ample homage or kindlier respect; yet Mr. Wilson had apparently everything to lose, and nothing to win, in the earlier and uncertain years of his career by such compromising fellowship.

But he knew that their aim was right, while he never accepted their policy of abstention from political action. He had read too closely the annals of his own and of the mother-country not to comprehend that all public wrongs in Anglo-Saxon communities, seek to finally right themselves through the ordinary machinery of political parties, and legislative chrysalization of their decrees. There was a purpose running through his career, indistinct, perhaps, at first, but always growing clearer as the years passed, to destroy that which would not help freedom; to break, and re-mould all parties, until at last, one should be formed that, controlling national affairs, would emancipate the Republic, and make of its august claims a living reality. He has himself



described this ideal when, long after it had become a reality, he stood defending it before the people of the land :

"In the ranks of this rising party gathered the noblest spirits of the land; the Christian upon whose vision flashed the imperative injunction of Holy Writ—break every yoke—undo the heavy burden—let the oppressed go free; the scholar, who found in the pages of the mighty dead of all ages testimonies that deepened his convictions and quickened his zeal for the equal rights of struggling humanity; the philanthropist, who saw as he gazed into the grave of buried nations that slavery poisoned their lives and hastened their decline and death. Into this new organization came also the veteran abolitionist, who, with Brougham, scouted 'the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man,' and who had proclaimed emancipation to be the duty of the master and the right of the slave, when he 'held,' in the words of Whittier, 'property, liberty, and life itself at the mercy of lawless mobs;' the Free-Soiler, who believed with William Ellery Channing that to extend slavery, 'we invite the scorn, indignation, and abhorrence of the world;' the Whig, who believed with Adams that slavery taints the very sources of moral principles; with Clay, that 'it is a grievous wrong no contingency can make right;' with Webster, that 'it is opposed to the whole spirit of the Gospel and to the teachings of Jesus Christ;' and the Democrat, in whose ears lingered the deathless words of Jefferson and Madison, the Democratic leaders of our earlier times. This political organization, born of the holier aspirations of our people, became the Republican party."\*

When Henry Wilson became actively identified with politics as a Whig Daniel Webster was in the zenith of his fame. As the younger man moved sturdily on to reputation and influence, the shadow of the Great Expounder fell with darkening bane over Massachusetts' affairs. That powerful personality bestrode the political life of that State as the fabled Old Man of the Sea did the neck of Sindbad, the sailor. The incubus was almost as deadly. Nearly all that there was of culture and class feeling, with the selfishness of wealth, were gathered round Mr. Webster. He was so much of a king among men that hero-worship seemed to be almost allowable in his case. Theodore Parker said "He was more college than the college itself, and had a university in his head."

He was bitterly hostile in all his later life to the anti-slavery agitation—the leaders of which were no "respecters of persons"—especially of those in high places who betrayed liberty. The selfish interests of a

commercial and manufacturing community were at the time closely bound up with the South and its trade. Slavery and cotton were twin bonds of the Union. It was against all these forces, and the high personalities of Webster, Everett, Winthrop, and their confederates and supporters, that Mr. Wilson took his stand, and that, too, with their own party ranks.

In order to properly estimate the value of Mr. Wilson's public service, it is necessary to realize in some degree the condition of New England—its political and social life at the time. Wealth and culture were allied with ignorance and prejudice to stamp out the men who dared deride their Moloch and defend the true God of our Republican Israel. Moral courage of high character, convictions ingrained into the very nature of a man, was necessary to enable an ambitious politician to risk all his prospects by placing himself in marked hostility to the dominant will of his party. Mr. Wilson did more. He risked social ostracism at the very time when he needed every adventitious aid that energy and good fortune could bring to his side.

Mr. Parker years after, when criticising Senator Wilson for some seeming concession to the South in the Senate, speaking at the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Anniversary of January 30, 1857, said appropriately of this point :

"Henry Wilson has done many noble things; I trust he will do many more. I have always held him to be a brave, an upright, a just, and honorable man. He has endured temptation before now. In 1848, when the Whigs nominated General Taylor, Mr. Wilson refused to sustain him. He was poor; not very thriving or thrifty, with a family dependent upon him. He was ambitious of the respect of worthy and respected men. Some Whigs told him they would make him agent in their factory, with a salary of \$2,500 or \$3,000 to begin with, and more in prospect, if he would not oppose General Taylor! We don't ask you, said they, 'to say a word, only to hold your tongue, and let your virtuals stop your mouth.' Henry Wilson would not hold his tongue; he spoke manfully against the continuous encroachments of the slave power, against the corruptions of the Whig party."

He might have been forgiven by the high-caste Whigs for opposition within; but their hostility was sealed when he went on to the open platform alongside the hated abolitionists, and expressed the honest convictions of his heart and brain. From the first this man's power was recognized. He was always respected, either from fear or affection. The fund of knowledge he possessed; his open and engaging appearance; that comradeship of the workshop born "out of

\* Speech at Bangor, Maine, August 27, 1868.

his continual contact with the daily life of common men," which he never lost; his sagacious apprehension of the public will, and his clear and level capacity for reaching the popular judgment, were always estimated at their full value by his opponents. His associates have sometimes undervalued them, influenced in their judgment at times by other mental traits he possessed, to which further reference will be made.

Henry Wilson, in making himself the political champion of unpopular ideas and policy, had to learn the lesson of sacrifice for duty's sake, and to often brace himself against temptations. Had he temporized ever so slightly, official positions would have been at his disposal—some of them affording, too, a sorely needed pecuniary independence.

It is not necessary to do more than indicate the outlines of his political career. From 1838 to 1842 Mr. Wilson was one of the most popular Free-Soil Whigs in Massachusetts, and first became widely known by a financial debate with Amasa Walker, in which the "Natick Cobbler," as he was then called for the first time, defeated that able economist. He was an earnest advocate of General Harrison's election, and was himself chosen for the first time as Representative in the State Legislature. He was then twenty-eight years of age, engaged in the manufacture of coarse shoes in a small way, and just married. In 1843 and 1844 he was elected to the State Senate, virtually leading from the first to the last the opposition to the annexation of Texas. He was the chosen associate and friend, "in all the bitter agitation of the period, of Charles Sumner, Frank W. Bird, Judge Allen, E. R. Hoar, Wendell Phillips, Palfrey, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles Francis Adams, and others of the best specimens of New England culture and character. Re-elected to the Massachusetts House in 1845; in 1848 he was also sent a delegate to the Whig National Convention which nominated Gen. Taylor. He repudiated this action because the candidate was a slaveholder, and returned home to assist in organizing the Free-Soil party. From that date begins the national career of Henry Wilson.

That the claim made in his behalf of being a chief organizer of the rising political anti-slavery sentiment is not extravagant the records of the time will fully prove. His words, like Martin Luther's prose, were a half-battle. He was among the foremost, if not the first party politician in the land to declare uncompromising hostility to slavery, its increase, and even its existence. To understand the importance of such action the distinction must be clearly maintained between the agitating Reformer and the working and organizing politician who deliberate-

ly accepts the practical limits that are necessarily set by party lines, in order to accomplish a desired result, with the hope of being able to move forward thereafter with increased vigor.

A very considerable proportion of the resolutions, etc., introduced on the anti-slavery side in State Legislature and party convention were from the pen of that "Natick Cobbler," who studied "Colburn's First Sessions" at twenty-three, and defeated Amasa Walker in an economic discussion at twenty-seven. He had even then made himself a master of the English tongue—"pure and undefiled," and though never aspiring to the dignity of oratory, or claiming the graces of scholarly rhetoric, he will be found to have commanded a sturdy eloquence, that clothed itself in a simple and translucent style.

It was at the time Mr. Wilson led the opposition in the Massachusetts Legislature to the extension of slavery through the annexation of Texas that Mr. Macaulay, speaking then in the British Parliament, said of the United States, that "They seek to extend slavery with more energy than was ever exerted by any other nation to diffuse civilization." Mr. Wilson offered resolutions against annexation. When it was accomplished, he supported those of Charles Francis Adams, which declared that Massachusetts would not accept the act as binding or legal, and afterward offered in the House a motion for the Judiciary Committee to report a bill making it a penal offense to surrender a slave escaping from Texas and taking refuge in Massachusetts. Mr. Wilson, in a speech sustaining his motion, declared (1845) that "everything indicated an impending struggle between freedom and slavery that would absorb the mighty energies of the nation; and in that contest it was fit that Massachusetts should lead."

Mr. Wilson, at a convention called soon after, reported a preamble and resolutions of the boldest character. One of the latter declared, "We solemnly announce our purpose to the South, and to the execution of that purpose we pledge ourselves to the country and before heaven, that, rejecting all compromise, without restraint or hesitation, in our private relations and in our political organizations, by our voices and our votes, in Congress or out, we will use all practicable means for the extinction of slavery on the American continent." The preamble was prepared by the Reverend Samuel Hunt, of Natick, who during the later and literary labors of the late Vice-President has been associated with him as his private secretary. To his competent hands has been committed the completion of the 3d volume of "The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America."



Mr. Wilson's withdrawal from the National Nominating Convention of the Whig party in 1848 was a remarkable episode, alike in national affairs and the life of the actor himself. A meeting was called immediately of the delegates who sympathized with him. Fifteen persons were present. Their names are worth recalling. They were Louis O. Cowan and Samuel Bradley, of Maine; Charles Allen, Henry Wilson, and Daniel W. Alvord, Massachusetts; Isaac Platt, John C. Hamilton, and Robert Colby, New York; Horace N. Conger, New Jersey; Lewis D. Campbell, Samuel Galloway, John C. Vaughan, Stanley Mathews, John Burgoyne, and H. B. Hurlburt, of Ohio. Of these, it is not known if any are living outside of the Ohio representation. L. D. Campbell has become a Bourbonized Democrat; Stanley Mathews is a well-known lawyer, and "Liberal;" John C. Vaughan resides in Leavenworth, where he is Recorder of the municipal court. Mr. Galloway is still an active Republican speaker. The Democratic convention had also practically divided on the slavery issue, and from these elements came the combination out of which was born the Free-Soil party. Mr. Wilson was the leading organizer in New England, and from that date came the political strategy and combinations which in the next six years wrested Massachusetts from the control of the "Hunker" politicians and "Doughfaces"—made Robert Rantoul, Jr., and Charles Sumner, United States Senators; George D. Boutwell, Governor; N. P. Banks, Speaker of the State House of Representatives; Henry Wilson, himself, presiding officer *pro tem.* of both the State Senate and the Constitutional Convention; secured the passage of the Personal Liberty bill, and at last put the master-spirit, as an organizer, into the Senate chamber at Washington.

For two years or more Mr. Wilson was the editor of the *Republican and Emancipator*, the organ of the Free-Soilers. It was a service given without reward other than of a duty done, and at considerable personal toil and inconvenience. A gentleman who was employed thereon tells how Mr. Wilson would come into Boston from Natick, and after attending to his manufacturing business turn his face to the bare and cheerless sanctum, where he would dash off, standing at a rude shelf-desk fastened against the wall, the leading editorials for the next issue. He was in the prime of life, fresh, ruddy, wholesome-looking. Going down to the little publication office he would often obtain fifty cents from the till and go to the National Theatre for recreation. When cash was very low, twenty-five cents would content him, when he would go into the gallery of that resort—among the "gods." He was a

controversialist slow to anger, but very severe when aroused by unjust attacks. His opponents learned to dread him, for he never replied except to slay. One instance of the kind was in the case of a Whig politician holding an important Federal post, who wrote a series of ferocious assaults on Henry Wilson. The latter would come to his own office, hair pushed back off his forehead, face red with anger, avow his determination to reply, and then tear up the rejoinder he indited. At last even "forbearance ceased to be a virtue," and the *Republican* appeared with a caustic editorial answering the assailant, and closing by charging him with gross corruption in the duties of his office, the character of which was specified in distinct terms. The Whig was unable to clear his reputation, and was driven from public life in consequence.

Mr. Wilson was a prominent opponent of the Fugitive Slave Law. He declared after Webster's seventh of March speech, in the State Legislature and in Faneuil Hall, that he would unite with "any party or body of men to drive from power those who sustained that policy." He would aid any one to rebuke Webster "and place in his seat a Senator true to the principles and sentiments of the Commonwealth."

During the memorable contest which first sent Charles Sumner to the seat which he so long honored, Mr. Wilson was the unquestioned organizer of the combination by which that result was achieved. It lasted from January, 1851, to April 24th, when Mr. Sumner was elected on the twenty-sixth ballot for the full term; Mr. Rantoul's election was for the unexpired balance of a term that ended before Mr. Sumner's election.

Mr. Wilson was several times invited to accept the Democratic vote and so obtain himself the high honor that lay in the balance. Mr. Sumner never failed to recognize the fidelity of his friend and colleague. In a letter written on the evening of the day upon which his election was secured, he said in a note to Henry Wilson, that "To your ability, energy, determination, and fidelity our cause owes its present success. For weal or woe you must take the responsibility of having placed me in the United States Senate. I am prompted to add, that while you have done all this I have never heard from you a single suggestion of a selfish character, looking in any way to any good for yourself; your labors have been as disinterested as they have been effective."

Those who knew Mr. Wilson intimately are aware how highly he valued this tribute; as they need not be told of the sincere devotion with which he worked with, and the almost simple admiration he manifested toward his eloquent and cultured colleague.

Probably the massive learning that weighted the latter almost to pedantry, and which Mr. Wilson admired all the more from having been debarred from acquiring, had very much to do with the affectionate regard and esteem in which Mr. Sumner was held by his friend. They differed widely in details, but their purposes were identical, and no one more freely acknowledged this than the senior Senator.

Mr. Wilson was made presiding officer, as has been before stated, of a State Constitutional Convention. He was also President of the National Free-Soil Convention which met at Pittsburg in 1852. In his opening speech he said: "Let us feel that we must free the Federal Government from slavery—from all responsibility for it wherever it exists under its authority, and place it actively and perpetually on the side of freedom."

The "Know-Nothing" or American order sprung into being in 1853. Whatever were its characteristics elsewhere—selfish, sectional, proscriptive as they were—in Massachusetts there was much that was worthy. Mr. Wilson was elected by it, with twenty years of anti-slavery life behind, to the United States Senate. Its legislative majority condemned the Kansas and Nebraska bill, passed the personal liberty act, opened the public schools to colored children, and otherwise placed themselves on the right side. Its strength was largely due to the fact that the Democracy of that State in their desire to defeat the work of the Constitutional Convention over which Mr. Wilson presided, had appealed to Catholic hostility to the public schools, even then exhibited, to defeat the Constitution, because it contained inhibitory provisions as to the use of public money for any sectarian purposes. The warning is one not to be unheeded in present circumstances. When the proscriptive amendment to the Constitution requiring foreign born citizens to reside longer than others in that State before possessing civic privileges, Mr. Wilson was the first public man of any party who openly opposed its adoption.

Mr. Wilson's action in the National American Convention held in Philadelphia, June 5, 1855, is a matter of public history. His position was bold and uncompromising; that of the pro-slavery propaganda was both bold and brutal. The New England delegate declared that he had twenty years before pledged himself to liberty. Rising to the perilous occasion—a well known Southern bully sat at his feet with a revolver ready for use, Mr. Wilson said: "The past belongs to slavery—the future to freedom. The past is yours—the future is ours. We wish you men of the South to distinctly understand that we have the power to prohibit

slavery in the Territories, and to abolish it in the District of Columbia, and we mean to do it. We mean to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act, and we mean that Kansas shall never come into the Union as a slave State—no, never." The speech with which he declared he would not support the platform adopted, rings like a trumpet call: "I will not support it; I will support no man who stands upon it." He said: "Your party will be withered by the blasting breath of the people's wrath." But why quote more. What he did and what he said, as a politician battling, organizing, intriguing even, if the purists chose so call it, for human rights and national regeneration, make many luminous lines on the scroll of the Union's record. His days were full of toil; his nights were ceaseless vigils in its behalf. No man in the land did more to make political opinion; none as much to *organize* victory—in so far as the formation of determined party action was concerned. His face and form was more familiar to the whole people than was that of any other man who filled an equal space in the public eye. From the date of the National Republican party's organization at Pittsburg, February 22, 1856, when Mr. Wilson formally became one of its honored leaders, (for he had been long preparing for just such a massive and potential movement,) he did more work on the stump in arousing the country than any public man in the land. The number of formal addresses he made from 1856 down to his recent death is stated to have been over fifteen hundred, while of impromptu speeches the number must have been legion. It is not necessary to repeat what has already been said as to the quality of his speeches, or as to the extent of his work. It will, however, be appropriate to suggest that his greatest successes have been achieved as an *organizer* of political opinion rather than as a *manager* of a party when formed. His moral, intellectual, and physical courage was of the highest order, when in the open face of his foe—the antagonist of his conviction—the opponent of the general policy he maintained. It was only within his own party household that Mr. Wilson showed either timidity or faint apprehension of conflicting positions. He dreaded greatly all internal dissensions, and at times appeared to be vacillating and weak—almost harsh also in his judgment of those whose indiscretion, or over-zeal, placed the general cause in seeming jeopardy. Out of incidents which illustrate these traits have come some of the causeless blab of slanderous critics as to Mr. Wilson's courage. None who knew him ever doubted his possession of the highest type—that which neither sought or evaded danger—except as duty



demanding either course.

Henry Wilson took his seat in the United States Senate for the first time during the Thirty-Third Congress, when it assembled for its second session, December 4th, 1854, to fill a vacancy caused by the retirement of Edward Everett. The Missouri compromise had been abrogated by the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska Act. The rifle-shot that had killed the Free State settler, Dow, and made his name that of the first martyr for freedom in Kansas, had in its echoes rung the death knell of American slavery. The bloody beginning of the devastating end had already come. Parties were breaking under the attrition. The pro-slavery Democracy were in power. Stephen A. Douglas' bid for Southern support in his Presidential aspirations proved to be a barren victory. The Whig party only existed by the frailest tenor. Northern men with a sense of self-respect were abandoning both of the organizations. During the early part of 1854 several attempts were made to organize a new party combining the Free-Soilers and anti-Nebraska Democrats and Whigs. The name adopted by the several conventions that were held was that of "Republican." Mr. Wilson was nominated for Governor by such a body that met at Worcester, July 20, 1854.

From 1855 unto 1861, when the slaveholder's rebellion transferred to the hands of himself and Republican associates, in and out of Congress, the tremendous task of saving the Union, emancipating the slave, and reconstructing the Republic on the basis of Equity and Liberty, Mr. Wilson's Senatorial experience was necessarily an extension of the position he had so long occupied—that of a political agitator against the national domination of slavery, with the added responsibility of aiding the rapid accession to power of a new party pledged to a policy momentous and weighty from whatever standpoint it was to be regarded.

To fitly understand Mr. Wilson's historical value, as well as the great influence he then and afterwards exercised throughout the North, it is necessary to possess a realizing sense of the condition of things in the National Capital, especially as to the insane spirit of ruffianism which prevailed in the dominant pro-slavery circles. The murderous assault on Mr. Sumner is the chief incident upon which the minds of men naturally rest. But that was not an isolated fact. Day after day, week after week, for years together, the anti-slavery leaders who stood in the Congressional breach, did so at the peril of their lives. They walked always as over a prepared mine, that at any moment might have exploded. It was only by the open and expressed declaration of their intention to defend themselves that the North-

ern Senators who represented the opposition to the political control of the slave power, were able to protect their persons and maintain their rights as Senators and freemen. The most flagrant insults were daily offered. A notable illustration of this was given by Senator Gwin's sneer at Mr. Wilson as "a cobbler," replied to effectively by Mr. Wilson immediately questioning the insulter, as to whether it was not better to be called a cobbler than a thief? The obvious inference was not unwarranted. It is a cheap piece of detraction to sneer at Mr. Wilson's personal courage, as since his death a well-known journalistic "scold" has done with perfect impunity. The evidence of his contemporaries, as well as of the public records, form the fittest answer. Theodore Parker, a man of moral and physical courage so cool as never to be questioned, said in 1857 these words:

"Last spring, you know what honorable service he performed after his generous colleague had been so foully assaulted. His own life was in peril. I should not dare tell you how imminent his bodily peril was, nor how he was defended; nor do I care to remember what other Northern men trembled and turned pale. Remember this—he cannot now go to his place in the Senate without a revolver in his pocket."\*

Mr. Wilson's career as a statesman fairly begun at the memorable session of 1860-61. On the National party assuming control of the Government and becoming the majority in the Senate chamber, by the rebel withdrawals, Mr. Wilson was made chairman of the military committee thereof. There is no need to pronounce the duties it performed most onerous, or the chairman's labors herculean in character. The persons most competent to do this have long since given expression to their estimate of the extent and quality of his work.

On the floor of the Senate he was untiring. The *Congressional Globe* teems with his legislative exertions. To his initiative was due the passage of the article of war which forbade the army from being employed to return fugitive slaves; several acts under which colored men were enlisted into the military service, their wives and children made free, their full pay and finally bounty secured to them.† He offered the first prop-

\* Anti-Slavery speech at Boston, Jan. 30, 1857.

† Mr. Wilson offered on the 5th of July, 1862, a bill which became law on the 17th thereof, by which, as it passed, colored men were allowed to enter the service as laborers or for such other military duty as they might be found competent for. On the 20th of July, Gen. Jas. H. Lane of Kansas was appointed a recruiting commissioner to raise several regiments of infantry; among them one or more to be composed of "men of African descent." The first officer appointed was Richard J. Hinton, at Leavenworth, who was mustered in August 4, 1862, as First Lieutenant and Acting Adjutant. The first recruit was enlisted August 6, 1862. This was the earliest LEGAL organization of colored troops, and the fact is historically worth preserving.



osition to emancipate all slaves in the District of Columbia, besides a number of measures related thereto. He also urged the passage of legislation looking to the emancipation of slaves claimed by rebel masters and presented bills for the abolition of slavery in Maryland, Delaware, and Wisconsin, with compensation to the owners who were loyal. He was among the earliest to move a repeal of the fugitive slave law, and seconded the motion for the adoption of the thirteenth or Emancipation Amendment to the Constitution. He also made the first motion of the series of propositions under which the Freedmen's Bureau was finally established. Mr. Wilson was active in the reconstruction period, supporting the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. He voted against the adoption of the report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, on grounds which vindicate his right to be considered a sagacious statesman. While, however, Mr. Wilson was always radical, he was also practical and never personal in his policy or views. Disturbed at times to an unwonted degree at the party divisions, actual and possible, caused by President Johnson's course, and later by the difference between President Grant and his colleagues Sumner, Schurz, and some others, Mr. Wilson very earnestly strove to be a peacemaker, yet he was never found deflecting from the general and prudential course due to the great trust reposed upon him by his party and the country by which it was sustained. Mr. Wilson represented the Northern sentiment most admirably in that trait which was a marked element of his character—the absence of all personal bitterness towards the men who had lead the South into civil war. Even in the extreme good feeling he showed before his death, which was criticized as morbid and excessive by some, there was no abandonment of a single conviction or a change in any principle.

Henry Wilson as an author and historian, displayed in even a larger degree than he did as politician and statesman the qualities of intellect and character which have made his life so valuable to the country and his times. His books are monuments of industry; they are remarkable for a simple and luminous style; they are well and clearly arranged, and the thoroughly honest work they contain make them among the very best specimens of contemporaneous history to be found in the English language. But they are entitled to higher praise than that. His *magnum opus*—"The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America"—is, so far as the lamented author finished and published it, a work remarkable for three high qualities, each manifested in a notable degree:—

a massiveness and minuteness both of research and statement; a glowing and animated account of actions and the movement of underlying principles, giving to the reader the heated play of the gigantic contest of which it is a narrative, and finally a remarkable absence of all passion, all personal feeling, of anything which could show that the author himself had been an especial target for assault, attack, and detraction. There is the deepest earnestness in the two bulky volumes already published, but nothing which can show that the writer bore anywhere harsh feelings toward a single antagonist. It is the most impersonal of works. Mr. Wilson published histories of the anti-slavery legislation, the war and reconstruction measures in Congress, which are valuable contributions to current literature. He has been a voluminous writer on topics related to his public life and the times in which he labored. In the preparation of his biography and of his speeches, etc., it is to be hoped that these will be all preserved.

Henry Wilson died as he had lived—in the public eye. He was alone in life—except as the love of his countrymen sent forth tokens of their esteem. He died, and not inappropriately, within the marble walls of the white domed Capitol, where so many years of beneficently useful work was spent, and in the room set apart for his high office, cared for with the most scrupulous attention by the officers of the Senate, who had known and honored him for many years. It was after all a fitting funereal chamber. Born in a log cabin on the bleak granite hills of New England, he died in a palace, served by the officials of a nation; a palace he had so largely aided to consecrate to those equal rights of manhood which all about him in his last hours possessed and had defended. He died in the fullness of his honors, the ripeness of his fame, the love of his country, and the respect of mankind. In speaking of Henry Wilson it may be said in substance, as Theodore Parker did of John Adams, that he was "A brave, deep-thoughted, conscientious, patriotic man, and possessed of an integrity which never shook, but stood firm as the granite of his native hills."

"While American institutions continue, the people will honor brave old HENRY WILSON, who never failed his country in her hour of need, and who, in his life of more than three-score years, corrupted no man and no woman."

THE Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, who was also Sergeant-at-Arms in the Confederate Congress, has dismissed 14 ex-Union soldiers, who are disabled men, from their positions as assistant doorkeepers, and appointed nine ex-Confederate soldiers.

## NAVIGATION LAWS.

## CHAPTER V.—THE FISHERIES.

SUFFERINGS OF THE FISHERMEN—BOUNTY GRANTED BY CONGRESS—THREE MILES LIMIT — PURSUIT OF FISH — UNFAIRNESS OF THE COLONISTS OF NOVA SCOTIA — BRITISH CRUISERS — THE TREATY ERRONEOUSLY CONSTRUED—AMERICANS COMPLAIN—CLAIMS OF GREAT BRITAIN—APPEAL TO THE QUEEN—THE OPPRESSION OF AMERICAN FISHERMEN INTOLERABLE—AMERICAN MINISTER DIRECTED TO BRING THE SUBJECT TO THE NOTICE OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

In the early years of independence the fishermen were reduced to great straits. But in 1792 Congress passed an act granting a specific allowance to vessels engaged in the cod fishery in lieu of the bounty on dried and pickled fish exported. This allowance was graduated according to the size of the vessels. Boats between five and twenty-five tons burden were entitled to receive one dollar per ton annually; those between twenty and thirty tons, fifty cents additional; and to those of more than thirty tons, the allowance was fixed at two dollars and fifty cents the ton; but no vessel could receive more than one hundred and seventy dollars in one season. By a subsequent act of the same year these several rates were increased one-fifth, to commence in January, 1793, to continue seven years, and thence to the end of the next session of Congress. Many acts were subsequently passed granting bounties; but under the act of 1819, bounty continued to be granted for many years. Proof was required that the vessel was exclusively employed in the cod fishery, at sea, a specific period between the last day of February and the last day of November, and possessed a license for cod fishing. Three and a half or four calendar months, at least, was the time required for a vessel to be at sea. If measuring more than five tons, and not exceeding thirty tons, the bounty was \$3 50 per ton. If measuring more than thirty tons, \$4 per ton. The allowance for one vessel, whatever was her tonnage, was not to exceed \$360.

But, while experience had taught fishermen that there were seasons of plenty and seasons when the fish may fail, the impediments thrown in the way of the fishermen, by the Colonists and the British Government, were continuous. From the interesting ac-

count of Mr. Sabine, it appears that after the English Parliament had passed the act of June, 14, 1819, authorizing regulations to be made with respect to the taking and curing of fish on certain parts of the coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador, and other British possessions in North America, according to a convention made between his Majesty and the United States of America, it was asserted that the law gave a construction to the convention relating to the exclusion of American fishermen from the great "bays." The act provided that it may be lawful by any order, or order in council, to be from time to time made for that purpose, to make such regulations, and to give such directions, orders, and instructions to the Governor of Newfoundland, or to any officer on that station, or other persons, as may be deemed from time to time necessary for the carrying into effect the purposes, of the said convention with relation to the taking, drying, and curing fish by inhabitants of the United States of America, in common with British subjects, within the limits set forth in the said article of the convention, any acts of Parliament, custom, or usage to the contrary, in anywise, notwithstanding. Second, that it shall not be lawful for any person, not being a natural-born subject of his Majesty, in any foreign ship, vessel, or boat, nor for any person in any ship, vessel, or boat other than such as shall be navigated according to the laws of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to fish for, or take, dry, or cure any fish of any kind whatever, within three marine miles of any coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors, in any port of his Majesty's dominions in America not included within the limits specified and described, in the first article of the convention; and that any foreign ship, boat, or vessel found

fishing within such distance of such coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors, it shall be forfeited, together with its cargo and everything on board. Third, It was lawful for American fishermen to enter such bays or harbors for shelter or to repair damages, or to purchase wood or obtain water, but for no other purpose whatever—subject, nevertheless, to such restrictions as might be necessary to prevent such fishermen from taking and curing fish therein. Fourth, That if any person, upon requisition of the Governor of Newfoundland, or person exercising the office of Governor, shall refuse to depart from such bays or harbors, or neglect to conform to any regulations in force, he shall forfeit the sum of two hundred pounds. For a few years the fishermen pursued their trade in quiet, but in 1823 two British men-of-war appeared in the Bay of Fundy and elsewhere in the waters of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, an event which threw the fishermen into dismay. This molestation by British men-of-war seemed not to have arisen from a sudden emergency, but to have become a permanent part of the proceedings. Some vessels were seized and the voyages of others ruined. Protests and depositions concerning the wrongs of Americans were transmitted with memorials to the President, and the subject was taken up by the Department of State. The demand was for indemnity and reparation. On the other hand, the British functionary required the punishment of the transgressors for the act of violence perpetrated (in recovering two vessels that had been seized) on persons bearing his Majesty's commission while in discharge of their public duties. No results followed. The President, however, caused inquiry to be made, and afterwards the attention of Congress was directed to the disputes by a member from Maine. Any punishment by the United States for the offense alleged was out of the question. The strong feeling excited toned down in the course of time. And it is possible that the British Commander had exhibited overzeal in the cause, for his successor did not imitate his example. A long period of quiet was at length broken. The British *Chargé d'Affaires*, at the instance of the colonial

authorities, called the attention of the Secretary of State to repeated acts of irregularity committed by fishermen of the United States, which led to the issue of instructions to collectors of ports to notify persons engaged in the fisheries to observe the limits of the treaty. Nova Scotia affected to have been injured by the fishing of Americans, and passed an act of great severity in some of its provisions. Officers of the revenue and others were empowered to go on board any vessel or boat hovering within three miles of any of coasts and stay on board as long as she remained within that distance. If a vessel, bound elsewhere, hovered for four, and twenty hours after the master had been required to depart she might be taken into port to search her cargo, and the master might be examined under oath, or failing to answer forfeit one hundred pounds; and if any prohibited goods were on board, the vessel and cargo were to be forfeited. If the vessel was foreign and not navigated according to the laws of Great Britain and Ireland, and was found fishing within three miles of the coasts both vessel and cargo were also liable to forfeiture. Other sections of the act related to suits, the suing out of writs, the damages and costs, &c. One provision was that if any suit was brought against any person on account of a seizure, and judgment was given against him, and the judge or court should certify that there was probable cause for the seizure, the plaintiff, besides the thing seized or its value, should not receive more than two pence damages, nor any costs of suit, nor should the defendant be fined more than one shilling.

The next proposition of the Nova Scotian House of Assembly embraced a plan of protection by the employment of steamers on the part of the home government and of a preventive force on the part of the government of the colony, the latter of which was adopted. Then colonial politics came into play. Political leaders in the colony had their plans. A joint address of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly was transmitted to the Queen, complaining of habitual violations of the convention of 1818 by Americans, and praying for an additional naval force to put an end to these aggres-



sions. Lord Glenelg, the British Colonial Secretary, remarked in a dispatch to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, in reply to this address, that the subject had engaged the serious attention of her Majesty's government, and it had been determined to send during the fishing season an armed force on the coast of Nova Scotia, to enforce a more strict observance of the treaty by American citizens, and the American Government had been invited to give its friendly co-operation. Orders had accordingly been issued to the naval commander of the West Indian and North American station to detach, as soon as the fishing season should commence, a small vessel to the coast of Nova Scotia and another to Prince Edward's Island, to protect the fisheries. Although the instructions to this officer were not to overstep the bounds of the treaty in the support of British rights, it was quite natural that seizures of vessels should follow. In March, 1839, the consul of the United States at Pictou reported to the Secretary of State that these British naval vessels would be stationed as decided. Much of the outcry which had been made he knew to have had its origin in the disappointed feelings of Nova Scotia fishermen, on seeing themselves outstripped in the successful pursuit of so valuable a branch of commerce by the superior perseverance and skill of American enterprise; yet a tempting shoal of fish was sometimes, through ignorance or excitement, pursued across the prescribed limits. But it may be asked, if the fish were not captured by American fishermen, who were on the spot to take them, would they have put themselves in the way of the British vessels, where the fishermen were probably bemoaning their ill luck, hard fate, or empty nets? Where was the harm, then, if British fishermen would not in any way have caught the fish, because their boats were not there, for Americans to bless their stars and take advantage of the situation? A shoal before an American boat was not to be lost because British fishermen, half a mile away in their vessel, saw a specimen of American activity in which they did not participate, and could not by reason of the distance. If Americans did not take them from the sea the fish would have remained

there. Then why complain of those occurrences which could not have been overruled, and which, if American fishermen had failed to profit by, would not have enriched their British co-laborers? Many seizures of American vessels were made by the cruisers during the year. But it was a great hardship to find that the effect of the complaints of the colonists of the island of Grand Menan had caused the British commanders to refuse shelter to our flag even in stormy weather. Nearly a hundred vessels had been driven from positions secured them by the treaty to seek refuge in an American harbor; and so exasperated were the fishermen that they generally went armed. Elsewhere there was much difficulty. Masters of vessels, at sea or at anchor, felt themselves unsafe. They were molested along the entire coast of Nova Scotia, and many became dispirited, adjusted their affairs, and retired at the end of the season. There seemed an evident intention to drive American fishermen from the Bays of Fundy and Chaleurs, and other large bays, by drawing a line from headland to headland, and to deny resort to colonial ports and harbors for shelter and to procure water, except in cases of actual distress; to dispute the right to fish on the shores of the Magdalene islands, and thus to render the treaty stipulations valueless; and to close against us the Strait of Canso, unless the voyage was made dangerous by being compelled to round the island of Cape Breton, when bound to or from the Gulf of St. Lawrence. These were among the pretensions of Nova Scotia in the year 1839, and from the inquiry of the American commander in those waters, and who performed his duty efficiently, it was observed by the Secretary of State that "the injustice and annoyances suffered by our fishermen had so irritated them that there was ground to believe that violence might be resorted to" before another season. The Assembly of Nova Scotia was still persistent. In March, 1840, another address to the Queen was passed, in which her Majesty was reminded of the grievances of the colony. But at last the condition of affairs became intolerable, and the American government communicated to its Minister at the Court of St. James on the subject,

directing him to make a statement of our wrongs. No instructions were given; for the language of the treaty was clear, if fairly interpreted. Thus the matter with all the questions involved reached a channel which would bring it to the notice of the British government, which would have to deal with it on its merits alone.

*Statement of the Codfishery of the United States, exhibiting the tonnage employed, bounty paid to fishing vessels, imports of salt, exports of dried fish, and the value of the same.*

Year.	Tonnage.	Bounty.	Salt imported.	Dried fish exported.	Value of exports.
			<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Quintals.</i>	
1789.....	19,185	None.	1,250,255	.....	.....
1790.....	25,348	None.	2,355,760	.....	.....
1791.....	32,542	None.	1,850,479	383,237	.....
1792.....	32,060	.....	1,779,510	364,898	.....
1793.....	50,163	\$72,965 32	2,027,332	372,825	.....
1794.....	28,671	93,768 91	2,958,411	436,907	.....
1795.....	30,934	66,280 47	2,233,186	400,818	.....
1796.....	34,963	76,889 63	3,975,922	377,713	.....
1797.....	40,629	80,475 76	2,674,251	406,016	.....
1798.....	42,746	94,684 30	2,891,453	411,175	.....
1799.....	29,978	128,605 87	2,471,969	428,495	.....
1800.....	29,427	87,853 45	3,095,807	392,726	.....
1801.....	39,381	74,520 92	3,282,064	410,948	.....
1802.....	41,521	104,447 92	3,564,605	440,925	.....
1803.....	51,813	117,173 57	3,862,804	461,870	\$1,620,000
1804.....	52,014	145,986 73	3,479,878	567,828	2,400,000
1805.....	57,466	152,927 72	3,652,277	514,549	2,058,000
1806.....	59,183	162,191 49	3,941,616	537,457	2,150,000
1807.....	69,306	161,254 17	4,671,628	473,924	1,896,000
1808.....	51,988	142,911 89	1,300,177	155,808	623,000
1809.....	34,486	47,166 11	No returns.	345,648	1,123,000
1810.....	34,826	3,406 44	No returns.	280,564	913,000
1811.....	43,233	None.	No returns.	214,387	757,000
1812.....	30,459	None.	No returns.	169,019	592,000
1813.....	20,878	None.	No returns.	63,616	210,000
1814.....	17,855	None.	333,344	31,310	128,000
1815.....	36,938	1,811 74	2,020,131	103,251	494,000
1816.....	48,126	84,736 26	6,854,821	219,991	935,000
1817.....	64,807	119,919 51	2,884,504	265,514	1,003,000
1818.....	69,107	148,915 65	3,678,526	308,747	1,081,000
1819.....	76,076	161,623 35	3,874,852	280,555	1,052,000
1820.....	72,040	197,834 68	4,711,329	321,419	964,000
1821.....	62,293	170,052 91	3,943,727	267,305	708,778
1822.....	69,225	149,897 83	4,067,381	241,228	666,730
1823.....	78,253	176,706 04	5,127,657	262,766	734,024
1824.....	77,446	208,924 08	4,401,399	310,189	873,685
1825.....	81,462	198,724 97	4,574,202	300,857	830,356
1826.....	.....	215,859 01	4,564,720	260,803	667,742
1827.....	.....	206,185 55	4,320,489	247,321	747,171
1828.....	94,756	239,145 20	3,962,957	265,217	819,926
1829.....	101,797	291,069 94	5,945,547	294,761	747,541
1830.....	98,529	197,642 28	5,374,046	229,796	530,690
1831.....	106,188	200,429 39	4,182,340	231,577	625,393
1832.....	102,454	219,745 27	5,041,424	250,544	749,909
1833.....	111,445	245,182 40	6,822,672	249,689	713,317
1834.....	117,485	218,218 76	6,038,076	253,132	630,384
1835.....	.....	223,784 93	5,375,364	287,721	783,895
1836.....	63,306	213,091 03	5,088,666	240,769	746,464
1837.....	80,552	250,181 03	6,343,706	188,943	588,506
1838.....	70,064	314,149 00	7,103,147	206,028	626,245
1839.....	72,248	.....	6,061,608	208,720	709,218
1840.....	76,036	.....	8,183,203	211,425	541,058

## CHAPTER VI.—FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY—PRINCIPLES PLAIN AND EASY TO BE UNDERSTOOD—THOSE ON WHICH OUR FOREIGN TRADE IS CARRIED ON—DEFINITION OF THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY—UTILITY—VALUE—GRAIN AND THE KOH-I-NOOR DIAMOND—LABOR IS THE SOURCE OF WEALTH—SOCIETY EVIL OVERRULED FOR GOOD—MORAL LAW OF PRODUCTION—ECONOMIC LAWS OF HUMAN NATURE—DIVINE RESTRAINT—INTERNATIONAL VALUES—EXCHANGES—EXCESSIVE IMPORTS—COMMERCIAL CRISES—BILLS OF EXCHANGE—EXPORTS PAY FOR IMPORTS—FUNCTION OF MONEY—BALANCE AGAINST US—EXCHANGE OF EQUAL VALUES—METHODS OF ADJUSTMENT—ADJUSTMENT OF PRICES—SUPPLY AND DEMAND—THE PRICE OF A THING IS ITS MARKET VALUE—COST OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION—EXCHANGEABLE VALUE—ARTICLES OF LUXURY—NECESSARIES OF LIFE—TOOKE—MILL—PRINCIPLES TO BE REMEMBERED—COST OF FOREIGN PRODUCTS—ADVANTAGE OF INTERCHANGE WITH NATIONS—LABOR AND CAPITAL AT HOME—LABOR AND CAPITAL ABROAD—BARBADOES—SUGAR AND MOLASSES—PROVISIONS—POLITICAL ECONOMY IN PRACTICE.

The foreign commerce of the United States is too important a subject to be treated in a cursory manner. It deserves the close attention, not only of the politician and merchant, but of all who desire to possess an intelligent opinion where intelligence may be of public value. The system upon which our foreign trade is carried on cannot be referred to without making reference also to political economy. There is a science of political economy almost as exact as mathematics. But there are various theories of political economy which have their different advocates; and certain terms which ought to have a fixed and definite meaning but which have not. Nevertheless, there are common truths or principles of political economy which the best thinkers admit, and which may be stated from the works published with so much plainness, that all who desire to understand them can do so with little risk of failure.

One writer says that the science of political economy was not the creation of one, but of many minds; and the discovery of principles, or of the application of principles, has enlarged its scope and increased its efficiency. Political economy may be defined as a science of human nature, as much so as morality, civil polity, jurisprudence, or psychology. It relates, not indeed to the individual man, as ethical science does to a considerable extent, but to men collected in society, and acting and competing with each other in the pursuit of wealth. It is not a science merely of the production of wealth; for if there were but one man in the world,

though by the labor of his hands he might surround himself with the comforts and even the luxuries of life, and might thus be properly accounted wealthy, no such science as political economy would be conceivable. He would estimate the things around him in proportion to their *absolute utility*, or their fitness to satisfy his wants and desires—not in proportion to their *value*, as that term is considered by economists. Value consists in the estimation of men, and must in a certain sense be arbitrary or conventional. A bushel of grain is more useful than the Kohinoor diamond; but the diamond is more *valuable* than many bushels of grain, and may be exchanged for many. Value is founded upon exchangeableness, and therefore requires the existence of two or more persons. Political economy is a generalization of the motives, habits, and dispositions of men, so far as these are manifested in the pursuit of wealth. Mill says, it is the science relating to the moral or psychological laws of production and distribution—the moral or psychological laws as distinct from the material or mechanical. The distinction may be thus illustrated: The process by which crude iron ore is manufactured into table-cutlery, though it is a production of wealth, does not at this point concern the economist; it is the business of the metallurgist, the smith, the artisan. The economist looks only to the estimate which men form of the comparative value of iron ore and finished cutlery, as manifested by the proportions in which they are willing to exchange them for each other. In political economy the initiative



and fundamental principle is that all wealth is created by labor. This principle is more extensive in its scope and more beneficent in its operation than most others; and it is a rule directed against an unwise interference of Government with the fiscal concerns and industrial habits of society. It is also a truth in another science; and when rightly understood has a singularly interesting application. With a slight paraphrase of the language of Holy Writ, it may be said that "God has appointed the wickedness of man to praise Him, and that the remainder of wrath He will restrain." What may be called the economical laws of human nature, in their general effects upon the well-being of society, manifest the contrivance, wisdom, and beneficence of the Deity just as clearly as do the marvelous arrangements of the material universe, or the natural means provided for the enforcement of the moral law and the punishment of crime. The lowest and most corrupting passions of mankind, cupidity, avarice, and selfishness, while they bring their own penalty on the individual who indulges them, are still overruled for good in their operation upon the interests of society. Nay, they are made the most efficient means of guarding it from harm and advancing its welfare. Consider the manner in which the inhabitants of a great metropolis are supplied with food and all other necessities of life, without wastefulness and yet without stint, each family receiving every day just what it wants, and as much as it wants, and being admonished through the price to limit or economise its consumption of any article, whenever a failure in the harvest or of the supply, or even the prospect of such failure, renders economy essential—all this being accomplished without any general organization, but through the efforts of thousands of dealers, each one of them regarding only his own good, and not the general good of the community, and such one acting, not in intentional concert with his fellows, but in open and often hostile rivalry with them. No social machine contrived by man, and no beneficent device of human government could perform so difficult a task at once so faithfully, so certainly,

and so incessantly as is performed by an agency which even the most sceptical mind must pronounce divine. This is but one instance to illustrate the universal working of that law of the Creator and Governor of the world which everywhere compels the cupidity and selfishness of individuals to contribute to the general good. In the vast circle of employments in civilized society there is not one in which a person can profitably exert himself without at the same time profiting the community in which he lives, and lending aid to thousands of human beings whom he never sees. Without wishing it, or knowing it, all men are servants of one another; all are co-operating with one another as busily as bees in a hive; and each individual effort is needful to the general prosperity. To study the operation of this delicately and divinely constituted machine is the business of the political economist. He finds that human governments often interfere with it, and do more harm than good. They do harm when they attempt to limit competition, to establish prices, to pass sumptuary laws, to sanction monopolies. Whatever discourages or becomes an impediment to industry is sure to be followed by paralysis of trade. It would seem that effort should be directed to the removal of impediments which accident, prescription, or the rivalry of other governments have thrown in the way of that general freedom of commercial and industrial enterprise which is a law of the moral universe. Political considerations or government necessity may justify an interference in one quarter which needs to be balanced by some action in another. The necessary exceptions will be found to confirm its spirit and principle. All duties on imports, and even all internal taxes, are a departure from the rule, but a necessary departure for the sake of a greater good, namely—the support of the institutions of Government. But if these imposts are large, it may be necessary to direct some of them, not with a view to revenue, but to protection, in order to counterbalance a burden which others have laid upon domestic industry.

So clear an exposition of what is generally

considered as a very complex subject is the fruit of much reading and of careful reflection. It gives also the groundwork of Congressional action in relation to industrial enterprise. And as legislation is but the expression of national wants and wishes, which have been called into existence by experience, the more immediate application of the principles of political economy to our commercial intercourse with other nations will be shown. A writer says that the theory of international values and exchanges is a valuable part of economic science. On its first being demonstrated it convinced those who were urging the universality of the doctrine of free trade, without regard to the condition of a country, that the importation of foreign manufactures may be excessive, and continue for a longer or shorter period. The truth of this will be made evident in another part of this work, when new taxes were required to increase the revenue. An excess of imports must inevitably depress the prices of our exports in all foreign markets, for all the advantages of this country for producing the articles exported is neutralized by the American exporter being compelled to exchange them for foreign goods upon the most disadvantageous terms. But excessive importation tends to depress the prices of domestic products, cripple domestic industry, and bring on commercial crises, which are equally disastrous to our agricultural and manufacturing interests. To effect domestic exchanges expedients are resorted to which obviate the necessity of using actual silver and gold coin for money, and a paper currency takes the place of the metallic, in the shape of notes, bills of exchange, &c. A merchant in New York has debts due to him in London for cotton, flour, tobacco, and other American products which he had sent there to be sold. Another merchant in New York owes money which he has to pay in London for manufactured cotton, silk, iron, &c., which he has received from England, and consumed or sold in America. The transactions on both sides are represented by bills of exchange, and it is evident that, in the long run, our exported goods must exactly pay for our imported goods, and the account of the two must balance each other.

If the account did not balance, if our exports were not equivalent in value to our imports, the deficiency would have to be made up by sending specie abroad. The exports of any country must exactly balance its imports—for the same reason that when two individual producers of different articles trade exclusively with each other, they must really barter merchandise for merchandise, exchanging equivalent values of different kinds—money serving no purpose between them but that of facilitating the exchanges of goods. This, in fact, is the only office that money, as such, ever performs. It is one that diminishes the friction of exchanges. But money and bills of exchange cannot help the merchants to pay their debts. They only represent and facilitate the operations out of which those debts have grown. Thus, in 1836, the imports into the United States were about \$190,000,000, and the exports even less than \$129,000,000, showing apparently a balance against us of \$61,000,000. We ran deeply in debt that year and had to suffer for it afterwards. In 1838 the balance was \$5,000,000 the other way, and in 1839 it was \$41,000,000, which, together, amounted to \$46,000,000, and probably paid off, or nearly paid off, the balance against us in 1836.

As a general proposition, the foreign trade, say with Great Britain, is really a barter of merchandise for merchandise, equal values being exchanged, and money playing only a subordinate part. Foreign trade is only a long and heavy account current of one nation with all the rest of the world, charges on one side being set off by charges on the other, and the account being finally adjusted by the transfer of a sum in cash to represent the balance. But our trade is not confined to England. It extends to every nation of the earth, and to every isle of the sea. The account is not balanced with each nation separately; far from it. In the case of China, our purchases very much exceed our sales: in the case of Great Britain, our sales very much exceed our purchases. One case is set off against the other. Our debt to China is paid by transferring to her a portion of the debt due to us by England, in the shape

of bills of exchange on London sent to China direct. Again : Our annual exports to the British West Indies greatly exceed our imports. The West India planters may pay in bills of exchange for the articles of provision from the United States by transferring a part of the debt due to them for the sugar, molasses, spirits, &c., which they have sent to England. And the very bills of exchange might be used in paying our debts to China for tea. One article of merchandise is really paid for with another, though the one is obtained from Canton and the other is sent to Jamaica. A single shipment of half a million of dollars may suffice to balance an immensely long account, opened with England, the continent of Europe, China, and both Indies, amounting in the aggregate to sixty or seventy millions, so little money is used in the whole circle of transactions. .

But how is the price of the articles exchanged adjusted in the interchange of commodities between two countries? The general principle is, that the price so adjusts itself that the demand shall be just equal to the supply. If the supply be too great, if the market be overloaded with the article, the price must fall; and this fall of price will bring the commodity within the means of a larger class of consumers. That is, the demand for it will be increased so much as to take off the quantity which is a drug in the market at the higher price. The fluctuations of price constantly operate to make the demand just equal to the supply. Now, the *price* of a thing is its *market value*, or temporary exchangeable power *reckoned in money*. Its permanent, or natural, exchangeable *value* will depend on the *cost of production*, or the amount of labor that is needed to produce it. Some articles may for a time, from unforeseen circumstances, sell below their cost; but less will be produced, and the price will rise again. The market value is perpetually oscillating about the point of the true value, or cost of production—seldom exactly coinciding with it, yet seldom departing from it to any great extent. And the principle underlying each kind of value is this :—the price or market value is adjusted with reference to the supply and demand, and so

adjusted as to make the demand equal to the supply; while the true or exchangeable value is always regulated by the cost of production, or the amount of labor needed for the creation of the article. The price, however, does not vary in the same ratio with the excess or deficiency of the supply. If the commodity be an article of luxury, a deficiency of a third in the amount offered for sale will not make the price one third larger; people will do without it rather than pay too high. But if the article is a necessary of life, which the people must purchase, a deficiency of one-third may increase the price to double, triple, or quadruple. Mr. Tooke says: "The price of corn in England has risen from one hundred to two hundred per cent., when the utmost computed deficiency of the crops has not been more than between one-sixth and one-third below an average, and when that deficiency has been relieved by foreign supplies." To what point, then, will the increase of price, whether of luxuries or necessities, be carried? Mr. Mill says: "To that point, whatever it be, which equalizes the demand and supply; to the price which cuts off the extra third from the demand, or brings forward additional sellers sufficient to supply it."

These principles should always be borne in mind in considering the subject of the foreign trade and international values. And perhaps it may be well to recapitulate:—We really purchase commodities with commodities. We pay for our whole imports with our whole exports. If in our traffic with any one country, say China, our imports much exceed our exports, the balance is not paid in money, but by transferring to China the debt due to us from another country, with which our trade is such that our exports exceed our imports. It is only the balance of the immensely long account of our trade with all countries whatsoever which is paid in money. For instance, the official returns for the year ending June 30, 1849, show that our total imports for that year amounted to one hundred and forty-four millions, while the specie we sent abroad was less than three millions. Our total exports of domestic produce for that year exceeded one hundred and thirty



millions, and all the specie we received from abroad was less than six millions. The actual cash balance that year, of course, was the difference between these two sums of specie—about three millions of dollars.

The cost of domestic products is the labor that is expended upon their production. But the cost to us of foreign products is, not the labor which has been expended upon their production, but the labor which we must expend upon the articles that are given in exchange for those products. Mr. Mill claims that the advantage of an interchange of commodities between nations consists simply and solely in this—that it enables each to obtain, with a given amount of labor and capital, a greater quantity of all commodities taken together. This it accomplishes, by enabling each, with a quantity of one commodity which has cost it so much labor and capital, to produce a quantity of another commodity which, if produced at home, would have required labor and capital to a greater amount. To render the importation of an article more advantageous than its production it is not necessary that the foreign country should be able to produce it with less labor and capital than ourselves. We may even have a positive advantage in its production. But if we are so far favored by circumstances as to have a still *greater* positive advantage in the production of some other article which is in demand in the foreign country, we may be able to obtain a greater return to our labor and capital by employing none of it in producing the article in which our advantage is least, but devoting it all to the production of that in which our advantage is greatest, and giving this to the foreign country in exchange for the other. It is not a difference in the *absolute* cost of production which determines the interchange, but a difference in the *comparative* cost. An excellent illustration is furnished by Barbadoes. The inhabitants of Barbadoes, favored by their climate and soil, can raise provisions cheaper than we can in the United States, and yet Barbadoes buys nearly all her provisions from this country. Why? Because, though she has the advantage over us to raise provisions cheaply, she has a still

greater advantage in her power to produce sugar and molasses. If she has the advantage of a quarter in raising provisions, she has an advantage of one-half in regard to products exclusively tropical. She can thus, by trading with us, obtain our breadstuffs and meat at a smaller cost of labor and capital than they cost ourselves. Say, a barrel of flour costs ten days' labor in the United States, and only eight days in Barbadoes, her people can profitably buy American flour if they pay for it with sugar which cost them only *six* days' labor; and the people of this country can profitably sell them the flour, or buy the sugar, provided that the sugar, if raised in the United States, would cost *eleven* days' labor. This is a striking example of the benefit of foreign trade to both the countries which are parties to it. If Barbadoes produced both commodities with greater facility, but greater in precisely the same degree, there would be no motive for the interchange.

Here then, in a small space has been gathered much valuable information on the system adopted by nations in carrying on their foreign trade. There are principles underlying every movement which must be recognized if commercial transactions are to be attended with profit. A knowledge of economic science is necessary to the merchant. It is required not only as a guide to operations, but in order to lay the groundwork for successful calculation. The bold speculator may sometimes carry off a large prize, and the spirit of speculation is an element that must pervade all commerce. But speculation must be subject to control if the investment is to turn out fortunate. The merchant prince whose name is heard and respected in every foreign port is a man who has mastered the subtle details of the science, and knows how to take advantage of every market, and reap a profit from every dealing. In the course of years, hundreds of millions of dollars in specie are sent abroad to be used in the settlements of the foreign trade. But the years which bring the largest profit to the merchant are those in which the imports and exports balance each other. And that the supply

may not exceed the demand in any of the world's markets requires the most careful vigilance, and that kind of active wisdom which when it discovers that the cargo of a ship which has sailed would glut a market if landed, changes the destination of the vessel to a port where her cargo is needed and may be profitably sold.

## SLAVONIAN EUROPE.

The want of neighbors may selfishly affect the character of a nation, as a witty writer has recently asserted of our own, by making it indifferent to the welfare of others. As a rule, however, it would seem, judging by the experiences of old-world countries, that it is too much neighborhood that curses most of them. France and Germany have certainly found it so, as have Austria, Denmark, and Italy during the last fifteen years. Turkey, constantly broiling, has kept the rest of Europe on the alert, for fear that the conflagrations might extend beyond her own kitchen. Count Andrassy, the Hungarian premier, may well sigh for the immunity which our continental isolation affords. The Austro-Hungarian statesmen can be pardoned if they should deem the outbreak in the Herzegovina a *contretemps* to be deplored by them. The rallying points in the Austro-Hungarian empire, not only for its own progress, but for the regeneration of the curious ethnographical compound that besets it, interiorly and exteriorly, are, without question, the German, the Czech or Bohemian, and the Magyar populations. Together they do not exceed eighteen millions, of whom the German is less than half. But these are the most advanced and the most stable. With the lead that the Magyars now have, and which later the Czechs will obtain, a few more years of the active growth that has been going forward for ten years past might well enable the Austrian Cabinet to settle, more equitably than is now possible, some of the future relations of the heterogeneous populations in its own midst and in Turkey also. It may well be doubted if there is a single point beyond Hungary itself in all the region (almost a *terra incognita* to Americans) known as Eastern Europe, sufficiently advanced to make a common center for the Slavic populations of the Danubian valley and its tributaries. If there is it must be found in Servia.

Modern politics, as they relate to Eastern Europe, offer an interesting study. A brief sketch will attract even the general reader. A shrewd Englishman who has traveled widely and observed closely characterizes the "sick man" comparison as untrue when applied to Turkey. "He is alive and full of life, too; for all the craft, cunning, and talent of one of the craftiest races in existence combine with all their energies to sustain him. The Greeks themselves are his most zealous supporters." The *Neologes*, Greek newspaper at Constantinople, urges an alliance between Greece and Turkey, and declares also that there is no future for Hellenism in the advance of Pan-Slavonic influences. The Turks themselves, in Europe, do not much exceed two million persons. The remaining Mahometans, on the east side of the Bosphorus, are Slavs and Wallachs—principally the former. These Mussulmen are the descendants of the feudal spahis and landed proprietors of the western divisions of European Turkey, whose ancestors early adhered to the crescent, in order to preserve their lands. It is these people who are the worst oppressors of the Christian populations, as well as the most bigotted of the followers of Mahomet. It is upon them, too, that the Porte most largely depends in the suppression of the Christian Slavs now in arms in the Dinaric Alpine region.

The Turkish Empire in Europe can be arranged for present purposes into three divisions: First, the tributary provinces, Servia and Roumania, the latter being again subdivided into Moldavia and Wallachia. Second, the subordinate districts, or *eyelats*, now more or less affected by the Herzegovinian rebellion. Besides that province, those adjacent, Bosnia with Turkish Servia and Croatia, are more or less disturbed. The third division embraces Bulgaria, originally a Greco-Italian colony, but now quite Slavic in its character, except as to the degree of

hostility felt toward the Sultan's government. South of Bulgaria are the *eyelats* or provinces that include Rumelia, (embracing Thrace and Macedonia,) Thessaly, Salonica, Albania, and Epirius. The Greeks usually speak of the inhabitants of these provinces as of Hellenic stock. They are, in fact, Slavic, with an admixture of Wallachs, Jews, Gypsies, and the old Italian element, belonging to the Roman colonies, and later, when they formed part of the Eastern Empire. In fact, there is very little Hellenic blood left in Greece—the Slavic and Dacian-Gothic stock seems to have stamped itself on that famous peninsula. In Epirius and Albania there is a considerable adhesion to Mahometanism, mainly from the same motive that induced the conversion of the Bosnian Slavs who were landed proprietors when the Osmanlis conquered the Greek Empire.

The general political interest must, in the main, center in the tributary provinces; that in regard to present complications depends, of course, on the insurrection itself. Servia is the pivotal point. Prince Milano is a rather good-looking, not over-gifted prince-ling of twenty years of age or so, who has been educated chiefly under Austrian influences, and came to his present place through the assassination of his uncle by conspirators identified with the "Young Servian" party. Milano hardly seems to have the capacity for a bold and vigorous leader. He has been enervated by the influences of that confluence of semi-barbarisms—a stuccoed Paris—which is termed Vienna. The Servians themselves are now the most promising of the Southern Slavonian communities.

Individually and collectively, the Serb is handsome, brave, and poetic—a peasant-race following its leader well, but with that singular democratic freedom of manners which is characteristic of such stock, and is always a social mark of primitive peoples. The Servians are decidedly ambitious; their country is at present pastoral, but with railroads would rapidly develop into a grain-growing region. They have commenced a fair system of free schools, practice manhood suffrage, and a compulsory military service, like that of Switzerland, by which an army of at least 130,000 men tolerably well drilled

for such a warfare as they would necessarily pursue, also quite well equipped and organized, could be put in the field. Two or three good railroads, and ten years more of developing peace, would make of Servia the best possible nuclei for the probable southeastern Slavonian nationality, which the near future seems to hold among its possibilities.

Moldavia and Wallachia, the two provinces united as Roumania, are also tributary. The inevitable Prussian is here in the person of a Hohenzollern cadet—Prince Carl or Charles, who graduated from a Prussian lieutenancy of dragoons into the seat of one of the promising minor sovereignties of Europe. Roumania is of later and different origin than Servia. The latter was cradled by a long and stormy insurrection; the former was born of the ill-conjoined (for Turkey) Crimean war and the subsequent Congress of Paris, where a large slice from the breast of that unfortunate was served up as a new national dish. The real purpose was to create a barrier between Constantinople and Russia. By placing these provinces under the guarantee of the seven contracting powers that signed the Treaty of Paris in 1856—England, France, Prussia, (now Germany,) Austria, Italy, Russia, and Turkey itself—it was of course expected that they would grow gradually into a national ambition of their own—not at all likely to accept absorption into Russia as a finality. Whatever may be said as to the fairness of this way of dealing with Turkey, by her own allies, too, the scheme was a promising one in a general sense. It has worked pretty well so far. The constitution and government of Roumania is quite liberal; the rapid development of the railroad system has materially aided the progress of these provinces, but the people are not to all appearance of as good stock, or possessed of as "staying" qualities, as are their neighbors of Servia. Prince Carl seems to be a fair ruler, but so far, at least, has not developed any of the "blood and iron" qualities of his house. The army of Roumania is about equal to that of Servia, and quite as well organized.

Servia lies south of the Danube, Roumania north thereof. This makes Servia, under present conditions, a factor of the first



political and military importance. Her southwestern frontier is not far removed from that portion of Herzegovina where the present insurrection begun. The southern extremity of Bosnia, very narrow thereabouts, is inhabited by a sparse population in full sympathy. It is cut up by easily defended defiles of the Dinaric mountain system, and separates active and independent Serbia from insurgent and fighting Herzegovina.

The Herzegovina field is easily defended. If the insurgents have means they may readily be supplied with arms, as Austrian Dalmatia, with its Adriatic seaboard, lies along the western border of the mountain bowl in which the insurrection is progressing. The Bosnian peninsula cannot well be occupied to advantage by the Turks, while semi-independent Serbia and Turkish Serbia, lying east, are in full sympathy, and within a day or two's march, through mountain defiles easily traversed by insurrectionary bands, and as easily held against military forces attacking them, with Montenegro, independent and under Russian protection to the south, whose people hate the Turks and are always "spoiling for a fight" with them.

To all intents and purposes, then, Roumania can be counted out. Should the fight go on it will undoubtedly be the policy of Berlin to hold back the Hospadar until the period when his moving can effectually decide an issue.

There are some interesting facts in relation to the Herzegovina movement which seem to give it a more formidable aspect than preceding insurrections against Turkey have assumed. The population is estimated at from 260,000 to 300,000, of whom 112,000 are set down as Greek Catholics, 35,000 to 45,000 as Roman Catholics; while of the remainder about 110,000 are Mahometans, and the balance Jews and Christians known as Paterenes or Paulists. This sect has a memorable history. Filibe, a city in Rumelia, is the present head-center of the sect founded by the famous schismatic, Basil, the Armenian theologian, whom in the twelfth century the Greek Emperor, Alexis Comnenus, burnt for his heresy. His followers became known as Paulinists, Paulicians, and at present as Paterenes. Their doctrines

have deeply marked the history of Western Europe, being the foundation of the Albigenses in France and Spain, and later of the Waldenses in Italy. They gave rise to the English Lollards, the Bohemian Hussites, while Eastern Nestorians and Western Calvinists can claim a doctrinal sympathy with Dr. Basil. This sect has a strong hold in the Herzegovina, and also in Bosnia and Turkish Serbia. The Franciscan friars were early sent to combat them, and these monks are the only celebrants of the Latin service in the insurrectionary provinces. For the first time in the history of Slavic-Turkish outbreaks the Greek and Latin Catholics appear to act in harmony.

Outside of European Turkey itself there are two great powers directly interested in the solution of the Slavonian question on the Danube. These are Russia and Austria. France has lost her role of general intermeddler in European affairs, and must perforce content herself with looking after her own matters. There are blessings unawares, and this is one of decided benefit to France. Germany has plucked her robes and wears them with lofty pride. It remains to be seen whether they will prove as great a curse to the Teuton as they have been to the Frank.

Great Britain's chief interest is in the shekels she has loaned to Turkey and their repayment. Her only other interest is to keep the road open to India. That, may necessitate the occupation of Egypt; a contingency now much discussed by the European press. A few years more and the Khedive's power will have become so well consolidated that he might not only make himself independent of Constantinople, but of Lombard and Downing streets also. If the present trouble does not produce a general complication, the Khedive of Egypt will yet rule over an African empire extending to the equator.

Practically the solution of the Slavonian question in Eastern Europe lies between Austria and Russia. Whatever may be said of or by the latter power it may always be regarded as certain that her agents and treasury are busily engaged in fomenting Turkish disintegration so as to promote Rus-

sian interests. If they do not seem to work as earnestly as in the past, it is not because they are not at work, but, in reality, because Czarism, or the present system, is on trial in Russia, perhaps even on the eve of disruption, and the "powers that be" do not find themselves, as formerly, wholly untrammelled by home complications. Recent reports indicate the partial discovery of another one of the great revolutionary conspiracies which have been continually forming in Russia ever since the Napoleonic wars.

The Empire of Austria seems to have the largest stake in seeing maintained the *status quo* in Turkey. Successful disruption now would throw the game into the hands of Russia. Berlin would probably aid St. Petersburg. Peace and internal development for Servia and Roumania must permanently bring advantages to the Austro-Hungarian government. The railroad system developing in the Danubian provinces must link them more closely to Austria. The chief obstacle to the coalition of the Turkish Slavs, the Servian and Roumanians, with those in Austria, is to be found in the difference of religion, as the latter are nearly all Latin Catholics, while the former are of the Greek Church. The "Young Servia" party—that of action—hopes to make that country the leader, now and hereafter. The Roumanians are of the same general mind, with a Germanic influence in the Government, while in Moldavia, its northern province, a decided Russian propaganda is always in active eruption.

Inside the Turkish Empire in Europe there are various forces fighting to maintain the *status quo*; outside of it are others even more potent still. In dealing with those inside, there must be set down as foremost the practical alliance with the Sultan's government of the great body of the Greeks—about one million strong. They are and have always been the chief merchants and traders, the manufacturers and the priests, the bankers, also, and in later years the diplomats. They are the journalists of the Levant, as well as of European Turkey. During the past thirty years or so there has been a good deal of new blood infused into the leading Phanariote and Levantine families. The

former designation embraces the Greek colony at Constantinople, from which the Turks have always recruited their chief allies; those who have long absorbed control of the Greek-Christian interests, temporal and theological. Next to these allies, the right hand of the Osmanlis minority in controlling their heterogeneous Christian subjects, comes the religious differences and ethnographical distinctions which have been so fruitful of division and consequent subjection.

As the majority of the Christian populations are of the Greek Church, the Greek, who in reality has neither race or national identity, but is only a keen-witted, subtly-ambitious, money-making, intriguing individual, seeking personal advancement, has again been the useful instrument of the Turk. The Sultan's government has long been known as more liberal and equitable in dealing with the Christian churches under its control than are those churches in dealing with each other. Mahometan fanaticisms and outbreaks are local, not governmental.

After all, the serious question in all this discussion is the impending presence in eastern Europe, as an immediate and direct influence, of the Slavonian race. There are seventy millions of this stock. They outnumber either the Germanic and the Roumanic or Latin peoples. There are twenty millions in the Austrian Empire; those in European Turkey with the Poles of Prussia make another ten or twelve millions. The balance are Russian. That Empire is under the control of a curious admixture. The Czar and the Imperial family influences are all Germanic in character. The ruling church influence is Greek and Eastern—neither Slavonic or Asiatic. The people are Russian, *i. e.*, Slavonian. The rich merchants and the artisans—the men of the towns—are "old Slavs" in character and politics. The men of the "Land Commune"—the peasants, twenty millions of whom were emancipated in 1861—are a people old in stock, but fresh, young, and primal in their cosmo-political aspects.

The most important point in connection with the possible, aye, the probable consummation of this dream is the fact that the Slave

nian is essentially democratic, and what is so dreaded by those who take their opinions ready-made and to order—Communitistic in character. The common ownership of the soil, with co-operative cultivation and communal government of the peasants, are the distinctive and apparently ineradicable marks of the Russian Slav. One of the least understood, but most interesting of historical studies is that of this fundamental institution of Slavonic life. Everywhere it is to be seen, though in Russia it exists in its most distinctive form. In Poland the Commune was uprooted in part by the enforced grafting of a feudal system. Among the Southern Slavs, however, it is to be found. Their social idea or germ is evidently handed down from the earliest forms of Aryan life. The Slavs settled in villages and cultivated in common. All inside was *zagon*, and belonged to the Commune; all outside was *sudo* and foreign; each village was *swoboda* or free. The old men were the rulers, selected by the whole village. The cottage and garden land belonged to the family. The rest was worked by all, and the harvest belonged to all. This is to-day essentially the Russian Commune. Every effort has

been brought to bear to stimulate individual ownership and occupancy since emancipation. The failure has been so marked that in suppressing the last formidable Polish outbreak the Government deliberately established the Communal system in Lithuania for the purpose of permanently separating the Polish peasantry from the nobles—therefore allies against Russia. The policy seems to have worked well. Without the Commune, Russian emancipation would have either resulted in reaction or a revolution.

The transfer of this great race to the Golden Horn; from the frozen Neva to the sunny Bosphorus; from the inhospitable Baltic to the classic Ægean sea; to regions where the soil is already ripe for the consideration of the momentous questions embraced by the Russian or Slavonic land system, might result in making the western and not the eastern half of that continent the "sick man of Europe." All these issues are bound up in the present contest, or the one sure to come, whether it shall be waged in the near future on the Danube, in the Serbian, Bulgarian and Moldavian plains, or as now among the Dinaric Alps by the Bosnian and Herzegovian mountaineers.

## THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

In reviewing the anti-slavery revolution now drawing to a close, it is remarkable to observe how closely the Democratic party has followed in the track of Southern resistance. When we elected Mr. Lincoln and aimed to restrict slavery, the South seceded and made war. Gen. McClellan's platform was, stop the war. When we re-elected President Lincoln and abolished slavery, President Lincoln was assassinated. Mr. Seymour's platform was virtually the Blair letter repudiating the anti-slavery amendments. When we elected General Grant and confirmed reconstruction on the plan of impartial suffrage, the Ku-Klux rising took place. Mr. Greeley's platform was reconciliation with that part of the Southern people represented by the Ku-Klux. When we re-elected President Grant and decided that the recent amendments should be enforced, the White League made its appearance. And it is fair to pre-

sume that the prevailing sentiment of the Democratic Convention next year, will be sympathy with the White League.

A secret object of aversion with the White League is the common school, and especially the colored school; and this is not only likely to interfere with the subordination of the working class, but also on the ground of unwonted expense. The expense of a modern popular State is in the best of times much greater than that of an aristocratic slave State. Government by the whole people, in the interest of the whole people, involves many public burdens inseparable from modern culture and enlightenment, among which one of the most characteristic is the maintenance of common schools, in order that every citizen may have intelligence enough to discharge his duties in the State in which he has a voice.

On the other hand, in an old-fashioned



slave State, governed by a wealthy class with a single eye to the interest of that class, the functions of government could be reduced to their lowest terms, and they were performed by members of the privileged class who were directly interested in keeping down the expense. The working class, without property or freedom, knew the Government chiefly as a police, and even this function was more limited than in a free State, being largely supplied by the control of the master and overseer.

Now, if a well-rooted free Government is naturally more expensive than the government of a slave State, much more is this the case with the first establishment of free government in a country where the greater part of the people lack the preparation of early instruction and the habit of public responsibility, while those who are otherwise most competent to take part are bitterly hostile to the new order of things. The waste and dishonesty that have been incidental to reconstruction and enforcement under these circumstances have aggravated the necessary burdens, which would in the best of hands have been severely felt by those who had just been impoverished by war and emancipation. This has afforded a pretext for still further resisting the inevitable, and thus postponing that honest and thorough acceptance of the logical results of this great revolution which alone can give the South lasting peace and her rightful share in the common prosperity.

The danger, then, in those States which are controlled by the White League or kindred organizations is that the dominant party there will not stop with the reformation of abuses, but will go on to restore as far as possible the old political *régime*, and that they will not only check waste, but so cut down the legitimate expenses of modern popular government as to cripple its beneficent energies at a time when a broad foundation should be laid, and nothing omitted to secure a safe and prosperous future. In the eyes of the old South, nothing is more extravagant, not to say pernicious, than a thorough system of public schools, without any denial or abridgment of the right to common instruction on account of

race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This view has already led to deplorable results in Texas and Arkansas, and the same thing is now to be feared in Mississippi.

In the North the Catholic hierarchy is, for reasons which it is not necessary to discuss, as hostile to common schools as the old South; and both look to the Democratic party for aid and comfort. President Grant's speech, therefore, on the eve of the late elections, was an instance of his happy faculty of hitting the nail on the head, and not only understanding his times in general, but seeing the critical point in the battle. Governor Hayes declares he owes his election to the school question; and the defeat of Tammany Hall, as well as the reduction of Governor Tilden's majority to a manageable quantity, was largely owing to the popular feeling on this subject. In New York, it will be remembered, there was no financial issue.

The party that holds the initiative shapes the opposition it encounters. In the approaching Presidential canvass Republicans must expect to encounter the condensed resistance to the previous four years' progress. Once fairly overcome, that resistance will cease to endanger the results of what may probably be regarded as the last aggressive anti-slavery administration. The revolution then will be complete in its main outline, and the details must, in the nature of things, be left to time and the growth of a new public spirit throughout the South.

Reconstruction and its enforcement mean simply the establishment, in spite of lingering resistance, of modern popular States on the ruins of the old slave States. The last effective resistance to the principle of impartial suffrage was overcome by the resolution of President Grant, and there is now being encountered, under one form or another, secret or avowed hostility to that which alone can make universal suffrage anything but a peril or a mockery. Free suffrage logically implies free schools, and all opposition to the system, whether from class interest or clerical prejudice, must be crushed out if we desire to make the anti-slavery revolution complete, or to maintain the integrity of American institutions.

It is an issue which the people can understand as soon as pointed out, and the importance of which they can readily estimate. The best of platforms in other respects, and the best of candidates, cannot save the Democratic party from another defeat unless it

can free itself from complicity with Southern and Northern designs upon the common schools. But it is difficult to see how that party can escape the logic of history, which has made it the natural ally of all who cherish such designs.

## THE REVISED STATUTES. \*

When Charles Sumner first entered the Senate one of the early public measures introduced by him was a proposition to revise and consolidate the general statutes of the United States. This greatly needed measure was pressed upon the attention of the Senate year after year by Mr. Sumner, until finally, in 1866, Congress took the requisite action, and a commission for this purpose was authorized. The gentlemen first appointed upon the commission, (among whom was our present minister to Spain,) though eminent in their profession as practicing lawyers, made little progress with the work during their term of office. In 1870 the commission was reorganized by the appointment of Judge C. P. James, of Ohio, Judge V. C. Barringer, of North Carolina, and Benjamin V. Abbott of New York. These gentlemen prepared the revision of the statutes of a general nature, constituting substantially the first volume of the present work as the same was presented to Congress (though then in an unfinished state) in December, 1872.

The resolution prescribing the duties of the commissioners authorized them to suggest to Congress such changes in the law as they might deem essential to its harmony and completeness. This power was exercised sparingly and with great judiciousness, but it was the subsequent opinion of Congress that no departure whatever from the strict meaning of the original law should be embraced in the revision. Accordingly the work as reported by the commissioners was referred to the Joint Committee of the respective houses of Congress on the Revision of the Laws, with instructions to cause the same to be completed in conformity with

this view for presentation to Congress at the opening of the succeeding session. The Joint Committee selected the Hon. Thomas J. Durant, of Washington, who has been not inaptly styled "the greatest civil lawyer in America since Roselius," to perform this important service. The eminent judicial ability and conscientious devotion in the discharge of public duty for which Mr. Durant is distinguished was a guaranty that the work committed to him would be properly and faithfully performed. Under his personal supervision each section of the commissioners' report was compared with the original law as found in the Statutes at Large, and the revision in its present form was submitted by him to the Joint Committee in December, 1873, and duly reported to Congress. Meanwhile, copies had been sent to the several United States judges, district attorneys, and other prominent persons throughout the country, requesting notice of any errors or discrepancies which might be discovered in the work. Pending the final passage of the revision, the Committee on the Revision of the Laws on the part of the House of Representatives, consisting of Judge Poland of Vermont, Judge Hoar of Massachusetts, Judge Lawrence of Ohio, Judge Duell of New York, Hon. J. Allen Barber of Wisconsin, Hon. James M. Pendleton of Rhode Island, Hon. W. S. Moore of Pennsylvania, Judge Cason of Indiana, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Hon. C. W. Kendall of Nevada, and Hon. Robert M. Knapp of Illinois, made a further and final examination of the work. This labor, the most onerous as well as the most important which could be performed by a committee of Congress, was executed by these gentlemen with a diligence, thoroughness, and painstaking care which entitle them to all praise. The work was appor-

\*Revised Statutes of the United States. Parts I and II. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1875.

tioned among the several members of the committee, each of whom received the matter assigned him, testing its accuracy by a reference to and examination of the Statutes at Large in every instance. The committee further availed themselves of the experience and knowledge of officers of the executive departments of the Government respecting matters with which such officers were especially familiar.

Few persons are aware of the vast amount of labor involved in these repeated examinations of the whole seventeen volumes of the Statutes at Large for the purpose of insuring the correctness of the revision, but it will readily be perceived from the brief history here given of the precautions taken in this regard, that the revision contemplated as accurate a reflex and embodiment of the original law as was possible to be made, and that certainly no room remains for any reasonable presumption of an intentional departure from pre-existing legislation.

In describing the processes by which the Revised Statutes came into existence, this particularity of detail has been adopted because some attempts have been made by the Opposition press to discredit the revision through allegations of its being at variance with the original law, especially with respect to that portion relating to customs duties.

That such allegations have been made under a total misapprehension as to both the prior and the present state of the law there is no more doubt than there is that the same allegations have been reiterated without any attempt to verify them, but solely with a view to the disparagement of a work undertaken by a Republican Congress.

The earliest statements respecting the alleged inaccuracy of the revision of the customs laws which were brought to public attention appeared in an article published in the New York *World* while the revision was being prepared for the press. General Butler, the former Chairman of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws on the part of the House of Representatives, forwarded a copy of the *World's* statement to Mr. Durant, with a request for an examination and re-

port. The result of Mr. Durant's examination was duly communicated to General Butler, and by him laid before the committee. It appeared that out of a list of some twenty articles subject to duty mentioned by the *World* as bearing a different and increased rate under the revision than had formerly been imposed, not more than two or three were found to be specifically mentioned either in the revision or in the original law, and that these were articles embraced in the last tariff act that preceded the revision, (the act of 1872,) which placed an additional duty of ten per cent. upon certain importations. As to these articles, therefore, the misstatement of there having been an unauthorized increase of duty was clearly shown. As to the articles not specifically named in the law, the compiler of the list as published in the *World* may have been misled by a comparison of a late with some former set of *Treasury Regulations* into assuming, without an examination, that the law had been changed. That no examination of the law could have been made as a basis for the statement of alleged variations was apparent from the facts in respect to the articles included in the list referred to, which were specifically named in the tariff schedules. Had the writer in the *World* examined either the Statutes at Large or the revision itself he would have discovered the amended law, or the reference thereto. That he did not do so is the only alternative against a presumption of intentional misstatement. There is no desire to presume the misstatements intentional, but no doubt can exist that they must have arisen without proper inquiry into the facts.

The larger portion of dutiable goods are classified under general heads. It is often very difficult to determine in which class any particular article of manufacture belongs, and that changes in classification sometimes become necessary is merely an incident of the administration of the customs laws which cannot be avoided. Besides, every amendment to the law, by subsequent legislation, renders a revision of the Treasury regulations necessary as to all articles embraced in the amendatory act or affected thereby in



the status of their classification. The presumption therefore that any change possibly found at any time in the Treasury regulations denotes an unauthorized change of the law in the Revised Statutes is wholly unwarranted.

It is apparent that all the charges which have been made alleging a change in the rate of duties under the Revised Statutes have no better foundation than such as are here indicated. It is within the power of any person, having access to the Statutes at Large and to the Revised Statutes, to satisfy himself as to the correctness or incorrectness of any particular section or matter in the revision if he will take the trouble to do so. That duty has been performed before pronouncing the present judgment. Care has been taken, not only to examine each instance which has been brought to public notice where an increased rate of duty is alleged to have been imposed under the Revised Statutes, but to make a thorough comparison in detail of all that portion of the revision relating to customs duties with the prior tariff acts of Congress, and this with no predilection in favor of the revision, but solely for the purpose of ascertaining the exact facts in the case. The result is an utter failure to find the allegations referred to, whether general or special, sustained in any particular. On the contrary, it has been found that the Revised Statutes relating to customs duties are simply the reduplication, in consolidated form, of the exact terms of the tariff acts previously in force as contained in the Statutes at Large.

It is possible that error may occur in any revision or repetition of a law, and that such error may be overlooked in a very careful examination. But that any error of moment exists in the revision of the tariff schedules would seem from the thorough investigations which have been made to be highly improbable. Of course, any errors which may at any time be found to exist in any part of the Revised Statutes can be, and doubtless will be, at once corrected by an amendatory act of Congress. This consideration should of itself dispel any attempted reflection upon the integrity of the revision.

It is also not only possible, but a circum-

stance hardly to be avoided in a work of the magnitude of the Revised Statutes of the United States, that some incidental omissions of law should occur. In making a comparison of the work of the revisors with the original statutes it was no part of the reviewer's duty to ascertain whether everything in the statutes was embraced in the revision, but only whether everything in the revision was, or seemed to be, justified by the statutes to which reference was made. The same remark is true as to the labor of the committee in the examination of the reviewer's report. An examination of the original statutes for the discovery of possible omissions would, in either case, have involved going over the whole ground of a new and independent revision, which was, of course, impracticable in the time allowed. The only remaining method of determining the entire accuracy of the revision was by the test of its practical operation. This was certain to bring to light all errors or discrepancies of whatever character. Then such errors or discrepancies, if found, and, as discovered, could be corrected by an act of Congress. This was the understanding and expectation of the committee and of Congress at the time of the passage of the revision. Hence it is that any inaccuracy or omission, or any supposed inaccuracy or omission, should be brought to the notice of the proper committees of either House of Congress for due examination and correction, instead of being made the basis of a superficial attack upon the general character of the work.

In respect to the literary execution of the Revised Statutes, we are free to say that this branch of the work is open to fair criticism. It was Mr. Sumner's wish that a uniform, dignified, and polished style should be adopted in the revision. The revisors did not feel authorized to incur the risk of giving an incorrect interpretation of the law by restating it in different language than that employed in the original acts, where any essential change could be avoided. They contented themselves, therefore, by striking out the more manifest phrases of surplusage where a consolidation of acts did not involve a rewriting, but preserved the general form, and, as far as practicable, the language of

the original statutes, irrespective of the minor faults of syntax. In this the revisors unquestionably pursued the safe course, since correctness of the text rather than purity of style was the important object to be attained.

The sectional arrangement of the Revised Statutes, and other work of special editorial nature, might, however, have been improved. The revision bears the marks of some disjointed labor, doubtless consequent upon the employment of many different persons in its original preparation, and the apparent absence of one harmonizing head to the whole. In many of the titles there is a want of consecutiveness in the order in which the sections appear relative to the subdivisions of the subject under treatment, and in several instances sections are found in one title or chapter which would seem to more properly belong to some other title or chapter. In the latter respect a difficulty naturally occurs, since the same law frequently relates to several subjects, and it is not always easy to determine the more appropriate head under which a particular section should be placed.

Still, there are instances in the revision in which a transposition of certain sections might have been made with advantage to the clear presentation of the law.

The cross references, rendered necessary by the unavoidable distribution of sections bearing upon one subject among several special titles, are not as complete as they might have been made. It is evident that conflicting ideas as to the utility of this branch of the editorial service governed its execution. The result is that in consulting the Revised Statutes it will not always do to assume that one's attention is directed by the sectional references to all the law upon the subject under examination. Other relevant titles, if any such there are, as well as other portions of the same title, may sometimes be advantageously searched.

These are the principal defects of the revision. The grouping of sections in their subdivisional order is not sufficiently compact, nor are the cross references sufficiently numerous. It is doubtless from these facts that many errors in the revision have been

presumed which do not in reality exist. The index does not wholly cure the difficulties here pointed out, for while voluminous, and as a whole far superior to the former indexes to the statutes at large, it is still quite uneven, and in some portions, especially as relating to the operations of the Treasury Department, it is not as complete as might be desired.

Among minor points of criticism to which the Revised Statutes are properly subject, may be noted some want of compliance with the rule laid down in section 10, which says that "section's" should be confined, as nearly as may be, to single propositions. A more general adherence to this rule would have contributed to the perfectibility of the revision.

There is also evidence of some want of deliberation in the annotations to sections in many portions of the work. Sometimes concise, sometimes redundant, the method of statement employed in the marginal notes lacks uniformity, while the principal subject-matter of the text is not always as clearly indicated as might have been possible. But the faults of literary and editorial execution as here alluded to do not affect the general merits of the revision, and are none of them of a serious character, while, taking the revision as a whole, it is eminently a creditable, as it is practically a most invaluable work of national and permanent importance.

The Revised Statutes of the United States are published in two volumes. The first volume, or the Revised Statutes proper, embraces the laws "of a general and permanent nature" which were in force on the first day of December, 1873. This is the volume, or part, which is distinctively entitled "The Revised Statutes of the United States," and it is to this volume that reference is uniformly made when such title is used. It is to this part, also, that the foregoing remarks are particularly applicable.

The second volume, or part, contains a revision of the laws relating exclusively to the District of Columbia, a list of post roads in the United States, and a very carefully edited compilation of the public treaties made with foreign powers from July 4, 1776, to December 1, 1873. This part was not included in the work of the original commis-



sioners, but was subsequently prepared under the direction of Mr. Durant, the work of revising the statutes relative to the District of Columbia having been chiefly performed, and the preparation of the treaties made under Mr. Durant's supervision, by Mr. J. W. Le Barnes, of Washington, who has made the laws governing the District a matter of especial study, and who had been associated with Mr. Durant in his previous work upon the general revision.

The District revision, or "The Revised Statutes relating to the District of Columbia," embrace all the acts of Congress of a general and permanent character in reference to the District from the period of the selection of the District as the seat of Government of the United States to December 1, 1873. This revision supplies a want long felt in legislating for the District as well as in the administration of the local laws, and it presents in a compact and perspicuous form the whole body of Congressional law existing in force at the last named date.

All the law relating to any general subject, except as otherwise embraced in the Revised Statutes proper, is here found under its particular head, while the sections in every chapter are so arranged as to follow each other in their logical order of sequence. The exact law in reference to any special matter is therefore clearly presented, and the cross references to correlative sections, both in the same work and in the general revision, are full and complete. An exhaustive index accompanies this revision.

The revision of the District laws appears to have been made with a scrupulous fidelity to the original enactments, the substance of these being preserved in the consolidated statutes with minute detail. In the volume examined a few verbal errors and one or two omissions are noted for future correction, no reprintings for this purpose having been had, the volume appearing in final form as it left the revisors hands in the first instance.

It is perhaps a matter of regret that Congress should have required the District laws, the post roads, and the public treaties to be embraced in one volume, since these several subjects have no relation to each other. The post road list can have no purpose of utility

unless for the use of the Post Office Department, while the District revision is of a local nature, and should have been separately bound. The dignity of our foreign relations, as well as convenience of reference, would also make desirable a single volume of the treaties unincumbered by any other matter. The editor of the second volume, apprehending the possibility of such change of form, took the precaution to so change the several subjects by separate paging and indexing that a division of the parts can be made in future editions simply by a separate binding. No expense for rearrangement will therefore be required in order to make a separate publication hereafter.

Both volumes of the Revised Statutes as now published were prepared for the press under the general direction and supervision of the Secretary of State, whose signature, and the seal of the United States, attest their authenticity.

Each volume contains about 1440 large octavo pages, superbly printed upon paper manufactured expressly for the purpose, and substantially bound in law calf. The typographical appearance and general mechanical execution of these volumes fully authorize the Government Printing Office to lay claim to a just superiority over private establishments in the publication of works of such magnitude, while the low price at which the volumes are sold to the public attest the vast economies of associated labor under Government supervision.

That the Government Printing Office should be able to do a better quality of work, when desired, than ordinary publishing houses is not to be wondered at when it is considered that the Government can command the best obtainable material, facilities, and skill, as also the most abundant supply of either. That the Government Office should be able to do a greater amount of work in a given time than can elsewhere be performed is also easily seen for the same reasons. To any other establishment in the United States, probably to any other in the world, it would be a marvel, impossible of realization, to present the whole proceedings of a day's session of Congress, after lasting until midnight, at an early hour the following morn-



ing. Yet this is the feat regularly performed by the Government Printing Office.

In addition to a capacity for superior skillfulness, and to the means for unrivaled rapidity of execution, that the Government Printing Office should also present an example of marked economy in the performance of public work is a fact not so generally known. Indeed, strenuous efforts are systematically made, both by interested persons and for partisan purposes, to create a different and widely incorrect opinion. No arguments are equal to facts. The Revised Statutes are sold to the public through the office of the Secretary of State for three dollars and seventy-five cents per volume, which price covers the whole cost to the Government and ten per cent. additional. The uniform estimate of experienced publishers is that if printed at private establishments the retail price would be fifteen dollars. The binding alone, if done by private parties would cost as much as the complete volume now sells for. By being done at the Government Office, lawyers and other purchasers are saved the sum of eleven dollars on each volume, while the saving to the Government on the volumes required for public distribution is relatively as great.

This example does not constitute an exceptional instance of the great economy to the Government and to the purchasing public in having the public printing performed directly by the Government without the intervention of private contracts. Under the former contract with Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, the cost to the Government of the several editions of the Statutes at Large was double the amount of their present cost as executed in handsomer form at the Government Office. The difference in the cost to the purchasing public is still greater. The regular price of the paper-covered volumes of the session laws, as published under the former arrangement, was \$2.50. The same volume as now printed at the Government Office sell at from 75 cents to \$1.10. The average cost to the purchaser is less than one dollar per volume, including postage, against the former price of \$2.50. And yet the new volumes are printed upon paper costing one-third more than the paper pre-

viously used, and the Government edition is, besides, superior in all other respects of mechanical execution, as well as of editorial arrangement, to the former editions. With respect to the bound volume of the Statutes at Large the same rules hold good, and similar economic results are shown.

It is undoubtedly true that the saving to the Treasury on the work performed at the Government Printing Office amounts to no less than from one to two millions of dollars annually. Under a return to the system of private contracts this whole sum would be annually diverted from the Treasury into the pockets of the private employing printers, the wages paid for labor would be reduced, an inferior quality of work would be performed, and the contractors only would be benefited. The secret of the annual Democratic attacks upon the Government Printing Office, as well as the motive for making the usual fictitious charges of "corruption," "centralization," &c., is to be found in the facts here related of the public saving effected under the existing arrangement, and the private profits which might be realized if the Government Office could be broken down. Possibly the same motives have something to do with the clamor raised in certain quarters for the purpose of creating a distrust of the correctness of the Revised Statutes. If the preparation of a new edition could be ordered on the ostensible ground of its necessity for the correction of errors, and the publication be given to private firms or awarded under contract, the lawyers of the country and other purchasers would be compelled to pay the full price of \$15 per volume, and several fortunes might be realized by the promoters of the scheme. Perhaps in view of all the facts, a Republican Senate will decide to let the Revised Statutes stand for the present, making any needed corrections by supplemental act, and also effectively interpose to prevent the contemplated raid upon the Treasury involved in the withdrawal of the public printing from the Government Office.

Six British frigates, now at the East Indies, will shortly leave for the Mediterranean via the Suez Canal.

## CHURCH AND STATE—PRESIDENT GRANT'S AND MR BLAINE'S PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

Among the important propositions that have been made in consequence of the active discussion now in progress over the school question is one embraced by the following letter from the Hon. James G. Blaine. Its date shows it to have been written shortly after the Ohio election, and to have been addressed to a friend in that State :

AUGUSTA, ME., *October 20, 1875.*

MY DEAR SIR: The public school agitation in your late campaign is liable to break out elsewhere, and, occurring first in one State and then in another, may keep the whole country in ferment for years to come. This inevitably arouses sectarian feeling, and leads to that bitterest and most deplorable of all strifes, the strife between religious denominations. It seems to me that this question ought to be settled in some definite and comprehensive way ; and the only settlement that can be final is the complete victory for non-sectarian schools. I am sure this will be demanded by the American people at all hazards and at any cost. The dread of sectarian legislation in this country has been felt many times in the past. It began very early. The first amendment of the Constitution—the joint product of Jefferson and Madison, proposed in 1789—declared that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof." At that time, when the powers of the Federal Government were untried and undeveloped, the fear was that Congress might be a source of danger to perfect religious liberty, and hence all power was taken from it. At the same time the States were left free to do as they pleased in regard to "an establishment of religion," for the tenth amendment, proposed by that eminent jurist, Theophilus Parsons, and adopted contemporaneously with the first, declared that "all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." A majority of the people in any State in this Union can, therefore, if they desire it, have an established church—under which the minority may be taxed for the erection of church edifices which they never enter, and for the support of creeds in which they do not believe. This power was actually exercised in some of the States long after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and although there may be no positive danger of its revival in the future, the possibility of it should not be permitted. The auspicious

time to guard against an evil is when all unite in preventing it.

And in curing this Constitutional defect all possibility of hurtful agitation on the school question should be ended also. Just let the old Jefferson-Madison amendment be applied to the States by adding the following to the inhibitory clauses in Section 10, Article 1, of the Federal Constitution, viz :

"No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations."

This, you will observe, does not interfere with any State having just such a school system as its citizens may prefer, subject to the single and simple restriction that the schools shall not be made the arena for sectarian controversy or theological disputation. This adjustment, it seems to me, would be comprehensive and conclusive, and would be fair alike to Protestant and Catholic, to Jew and Gentile—leaving the religious faith and the conscience of every man free and unmolested.

Very sincerely yours, J. G. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine may have laid too much stress upon the tenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, to which he refers in connection with the first—the joint work of Jefferson and Madison. There can now be little doubt that the Supreme Court would be undivided as to the application partially made by Mr. Blaine. The prime question that necessarily enters into such a discussion must be, whether or not the establishment of any form of worship as an established State religion, by one or more of the States of this Union, would not be an act in contravention of Republican guarantees, and therefore against both the letter and spirit of the Federal Constitution, as well as directly opposed to public policy and the common weal. Much more than the letter of the Theophilus Parson amendment must of necessity enter into the argument. It involves all the historical facts, as well as intentions, connected with the foundation of the Federal Union. No student, statesman, or jurisprudent would undertake to assert at this time that the First Congress, by whom the first



twelve amendments were adopted and then submitted to the State Legislatures, intended for a moment by the tenth amendment to accord to any State the privilege of establishing that institution which they expressly prohibited the General Government, through Congress, from doing.

The contemporaneous discussion is full of interest, especially that which took place in Virginia at the time. When the Colony declared itself independent, the establishment of the Episcopal form of worship as a State Church was strongly advocated by several prominent persons. Mr. Jefferson, as well as Mr. Madison, were especially active and successful in opposing it. Mr. Jefferson, as President, did not issue proclamations for either public fasts or thanksgivings, on the ground that the State ought not to recognize any religion or religious ceremony, even of such an unsectarian a character as are those indicated. But the value of Mr. Blaine's proposition for a Constitutional amendment inhibiting any State or States from establishing a public form of worship, or of dividing the public moneys among any sect, or using the same for any sectarian purpose, is not limited by the fallacy which it would seem he has fallen into, in basing the need of such an amendment upon what he regards as a failure to directly restrict the States from doing that which the Federal Union is prohibited from doing. The argument for adopting such an amendment rests upon broader grounds.

President Grant has solemnly emphasized the position assumed in his speech at Des Moines, at the reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, by presenting to the country, in formal propositions, through his seventh annual message, the deliberate convictions he entertains. He has expressed himself quite freely since the Ohio election, and and in conversation with personal and political friends has heretofore announced his approval of an inhibitive amendment embracing, in substance at least, the latter portion of the amendment proposed in Mr. Blaine's letter. It is eminently satisfactory to find these distinguished public men agreeing so distinctly.

The argument of the President, as well as

the suggestions he submits, are of a broader cast—more inclusive and comprehensive in character than the single important point presented by Mr. Blaine. The President says, with great sincerity and clearness of expression, when speaking of the dangers to which the Republic may be liable, that—

“Under such a form of government it is of the greatest importance that all should be possessed of education and intelligence enough to cast a vote with a right understanding of its meaning. A large association of ignorant men cannot, for any considerable period, oppose a successful resistance to tyranny and oppression from the educated few, but will inevitably sink into acquiescence to the will of intelligence, whether directed by the demagogue or by priestcraft. Hence the education of the masses becomes of the first necessity for the preservation of our institutions. They are worth preserving, because they have secured the greatest good to the greatest proportion of the population of any form of government yet devised. All other forms of government approach it just in proportion to the general diffusion of education, and independence of thought and action. As the primary step, therefore, to our advancement in all that has marked our progress in the past century, I suggest for your earnest consideration—and most earnestly recommend it—that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches, within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birth-place, or religions; forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets; and prohibiting the granting of any school funds, or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit, or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid, or for the benefit of any other object of any nature or kind whatever.

“In connection with this important question I would also call your attention to the importance of correcting an evil that, if permitted to continue, will probably lead to great trouble in our land before the close of the 19th century. It is the accumulation of vast amounts of untaxed church property.

“In 1850, I believe, the church property of the United States which paid no tax, municipal or State, amounted to about \$83,000,000. In 1860 the amount had doubled; in 1875 it is about \$1,000,000,000. By 1900, without check, it is safe to say this property



will reach a sum exceeding \$3,000,000,000. So vast a sum, receiving all the protection and benefits of government without bearing its proportion of the burdens and expenses of the same, will not be looked upon acquiescently by those who have to pay the taxes. In a growing country where real estate enhances so rapidly with time, as in the United States, there is scarcely a limit to the wealth that may be acquired by corporations, religious or otherwise, if allowed to retain real estate without taxation. The contemplation of so vast a property as here alluded to without taxation may lead to sequestration, without constitutional authority and through blood.

"I would suggest the taxation of all property equally, whether church or corporation, exempting only the last resting place of the dead; and possibly, with proper restrictions, church edifices."

The two distinct propositions thus embodied, in conjunction with others, are again repeated at the close of this admirable State paper—certainly the most significant and sagacious of the seven annual messages which President Grant has sent to Congress. The President says, in the following weighty words, that—

"As this will be the last annual message which I shall have the honor of transmitting to Congress before my successor is chosen, I will repeat or recapitulate the questions which I deem of vital importance which may be legislated upon and settled at this session."

He then urges that amendments, among others, shall be framed, providing—

"First, that the States shall be required to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within their limits.

"Second, no sectarian tenets shall ever be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by the State, Nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon any community. Make education compulsory so far as to deprive all persons who cannot read or write from becoming voters after the year 1890, disfranchising none, however, on grounds of illiteracy who may be voters at the time this amendment takes effect.

"Third, declare Church and State forever separate and distinct, but each free within their proper spheres; and that all church property shall bear its own proportion of taxation."

That the country will heartily respond to these wise suggestions there can be no doubt. Embodied in the fundamental law

of the land, they will fitly and justly crown the close of our first century with a policy which will certainly make the future greater with beneficent results than even the glorious past has been of garnered deeds.

The need of setting at rest this vexatious issue cannot be denied. For the American Republic there is but one method, and that is fully stated by the President. He is sustained by the conclusion, to which all modern history points, that it is quite certain that mere abstention by a State from any direct prohibition of sectarian alliances or connections—that the mere declaration on its part of the purely secular character of its functions and policy—does not prevent interference therewith on the part of any church organization which assumes fundamentally that its duty, as well as right, is, the shaping of all human affairs, secular or otherwise, in direct accordance with its own philosophy, doctrine, and polity. The Roman Catholic Church organization is such a body. It only obeys the law of its existence in demanding control of all means of guiding the intellect and molding the conscience of mankind. The policy of abstention or total non-interference does not meet the all-pervading danger to the free and secular State, which is found to be a necessary consequence of its pervading propaganda and polity. There may be other sacerdotal organizations in the future bearing the same danger to the State, but at present the Vatican alone centralizes and embraces this antagonism—the aim under consideration. A policy so subtle—a power so mobile, yet so much in earnest—so full of zeal and so thoroughly sincere—believing so utterly in its divine right to control opinion and shape and direct all human institutions—is not to be stayed in its course by mere declarations that liberty of conscience is assured by the State. Stronger conditions must be created—safeguards so constructed as to insure that liberty of conscience is not destroyed under the broad ægis of liberty, and by means of the very declaration that is meant to insure its existence. Those safeguards are found in the practical direction indicated both by the President and Mr. Blaine. The passage of such inhibitory amendments as they pur-

pose would set at rest the legal aspects, at least, of the subject. Such amendments ought to be accepted by men of all parties. An opportunity of testing this has been offered by the President's propositions. It cannot be doubted that he will have for the amendments proposed the undivided support of all Republicans in Congress. The same may be fairly hoped from the Democrats. At any rate they must be required to meet the issue.

It is of interest at this time to take note of the Constitutional provisions already in existence. In addition to the inhibition so distinctly embraced by the first amendment to the Federal Constitution, an examination of the several State constitutions will show that the following States have followed directly in the same line :

Alabama has the simplest and most positive provision. It declares "that no religion shall be established by law." It also provides, as do all the others, in more or less elaborate declarations, that no person shall be deprived of the right to worship "according to the dictates of his own conscience." Connecticut declares "that no preference shall be given by law to any *Christian* sect, or mode of worship." The italics are not in the original. Delaware emphasizes its prohibition by declaring that "no preference can be given by law to any church, sect, or *mode* of worship." Florida provides that "the free exercise and enjoyment of all religious profession and worship shall be allowed in this State " The following States have put into their constitutions provisions similar in intent and substance to those quoted : Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin—27 in all.

The other States—Arkansas, California, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, New York, and Rhode Island, content themselves with broad declarations of the right of every citizen to liberty of conscience, and the large majority

of both groups also declare that no civil rights shall be denied or abridged on account of any religious opinions. In Pennsylvania, under the old constitution there was a disqualification as to holding office against all persons who denied the existence of God or disbelieved in future rewards and punishments. It is, however, practically obsolete. A similar provision is found in the constitutions of Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Mississippi, so far as the belief in God is concerned. Much of the language used in the older constitutions apparently looks to the free exercise only of the Christian faith in some one of its forms, but the spirit of our political system, and of the general declaration of liberty of conscience which is found in all such instruments, has always governed the interpretation of other clauses.

A general uniformity would, however, be desirable, and that result could hardly be better secured than by the adoption of the amendments proposed in the seventh annual message of President Grant, which includes the qualified one contained in Mr. Blaine's letter.

EDUCATION.—The number of schools in the empire of Japan now amounts to 12,597, exclusive of those of the six *ken*; 7,998 of these belong to the Government or are national schools, and the rest are private. The total number of scholars amounts to 1,182,968, one-third of whom are girls. The population of Japan is estimated at 32,794,897. The United States, with an estimated population of about 45,000,000, has an enrollment of 8,099,981 in the public schools, and an average daily attendance of 4,521,564 pupils.

It is reported that after January 1, 1876, the European companies controlling the ocean cable lines propose to receive for transmission only such messages as employ legitimate English words. This is intended to do away with the use of cipher words, which are often employed for purposes of secrecy, and which frequently, through mistake made in their transmission, lead to disputes, usually terminating in suits at law. They also propose to charge double rates for messages containing more than ten letters.

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

One of the most gratifying evidences of the progress of genuine reconstruction in the former slave States is presented in their several State reports on the public schools. It is true, that just as fast as the Democracy resume control of the ex-rebel States there follows a more or less deliberate attempt to impair the efficiency of the common schools, if not to destroy them entirely. But the seed sown by the sower—Freedom—falls to the ground, takes root, grows and brings harvest in due season. All things conspire for its growth—"the winds carry afar and re-sow, and the rains and the snows nourish."

So, in despite of the opposition of its fatuous enemies, the ideal of Republican government emerges in yearly growing glory and splendor. The common school system in the South, planted by the Union, and fed from every grave of those who died to maintain it, asserts its vitality and grows to larger usefulness. Even its enemies cannot wholly destroy, nor unwise friends do more than temporarily injure. A striking evidence of this is seen in the recent report (1874-75) upon education, made by the Reverend Dr. W. H. Ruffner, the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Vir-

ginia. It exhibits commendable progress.

According thereto the total school population, in 1875, is as follows: Whites, 280,149; colored, 202,640; total, 482,789. The school age is between five and twenty-one years. According to the United States census of 1870 there were in the State of Virginia 441,971 persons of the same age. This shows an increase in 1875 of 40,818, or at the rate of one in three, a total of 122,454 persons on the whole population.

The number of enrolled pupils in the public schools for the year was 184,486. Of this total, 129,545 were white and 54,941 colored. This shows a percentage of about one in every two and one-twelfth of the white, and of a little less than one in three of the colored school population. It is a tolerably fair test of the extent to which accommodation is provided, and of the spirit that controls the system.

The average daily attendance falls considerably below the enrollment. It stands as follows: Whites, 74,056; colored, 29,871; total, 103,927. But meagre as are these figures in the light of the necessities, they still offer great encouragement over those of preceding periods. Dr. Ruffner gives the following figures:

	Attendance in all schools	Population.		Total.
		White.	Colored.	
1850.....	51,808	894,800	526,861	1,421,661
1860.....	67,024	1,047,299	548,907	1,596,206
1870.....	58,974	*712,089	512,841	1,224,920
1875.....	207,871	.....	.....	†1,347,374

\*West Virginia is enumerated separately. It was embraced in the figures of 1860.  
†This total is estimated—122,454 being added on account of increased school population and, the total increase of exhibits.

These are significant figures. The later ones are by no means equal to the measure of existing necessities. Achieved results seem to be almost munificent by the side of the beggarly tyranny that in earlier and more prosperous days robbed the working people of Virginia of all opportunity of education.

Dr. Ruffner with just pride calls attention

to the remarkable growth in the total pupilage of the State, as compared with the preceding years given. The common school system provided for by the amended Constitution of 1870 went into operation in 1871. The report of the National Bureau of Education for 1874 gives the following figures, (those for 1875 were added from the State report under consideration:)



*Comparative statement showing the condition of the school system for the year ended August 31, 1874, as compared with its condition for the three years which preceded.*

	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.
Whole number of public schools.....	3,047	3,695	3,696	3,902	4,185
Whole number of graded schools .....		107	123	155	.....
Whole number of pupils enrolled.....	131,088	166,377	160,859	173,875	184,486
Whole number of pupils in average attendance.....	75,722	95,488	91,175	98,857	103,927
Percentage of school population enrolled.....	31.8	40.5	37.9	39.8	38.2
Percentage of school population in average attendance.....	18.8	23.2	21.5	22.6	.....
Percentage of average attendance on enrollment.....	59.0	57.4	56.6	56.8	.....
Number of teachers in public schools.....	3,084	3,853	3,757	3,962	4,262
Number of school-houses owned by districts..	190	504	764	1,034	*1,256
Value of public school property.....	\$211,166	\$389,380	\$524,638	\$682,500	†\$757,181
Average number of months schools were taught.....	4.66	5.72	5.22	5.40	5.59
Cost of tuition per month per pupil enrolled..	\$0 74	\$0 70	\$0 75	\$0 74	‡\$0 70
Average monthly salary of teachers.....	29 86	29 81	32 00	32 64	.....
Whole cost of public education for current expenses.....	\$87,472	\$16,812	\$14,494	\$73,145	\$924,118 47

\*The total number of school-buildings reported is 4,561; 2,101 are built of logs; 1,617 of frame; 129 of brick, and 38 of stone.

†The value given is that of property owned by districts.

‡The whole cost of the public schools for 1875 is 89 cents per capita.

§The total cost was \$1,021,396 68.

The whole number of pupils attending school, public and private, excluding colleges, and those over twenty-one, is 207,771. 1,880 (all white) attended the colleges of the State last year; and 581 over twenty-one years old attended the public schools, of whom 335 were white and 196 colored. The number of pupils supplied during the year with text-books, at public expense, was 4,025. The current expenses for the year were \$924,118.47; for permanent improvements, including real estate, furniture, school apparatus, &c., \$97,278.21; total, \$1,021,396.68. The amount received from general taxation was \$478,750.46; from local taxation \$465,414.09. The balance was from the Peabody Fund, and other private sources.

Of the total number of public schools, 3,121 are for white scholars, and 1,064 for colored ones. The average number of months taught the past year was, in cities, 9.69, in country, 5.42; average in cities and country, 5.59. The number of pupils enrolled was 184,486, and of these 129,545 were white and 54,941 colored. The average daily attendance of pupils during the year was 103,927, or 74,056 white and 29,871 colored. The per centage of school population enrolled is, white, 46.2; colored, 27.1; total, 38.2. There are 3,723 white teachers, of whom 2,360 are males and 1,363 are

females; 539 are colored, of whom 351 are males and 188 are females. The total number of children between five and twenty-one years of age attending private schools is, 23,285, or 19,466 white and 3,819 colored—with 1,229 white teachers and ninety colored.

The State Agricultural and Mechanical College, which receives the income from the proceeds of two-thirds of the public lands appropriated to Virginia for educational purposes, has been in operation for three years. The first year the pupils numbered 132; the second year 197; the third year, 222. A great majority of these are sons of farmers and mechanics. They represent eighty counties and cities of the State, and ten are from other States.

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, (for colored students,) of which General S. C. Armstrong is the founder and Principal, receives the income from the proceeds of one-third of the public lands appropriated by Congress to Virginia for education. It has been open over seven years, and during that time has had 563 pupils, of whom 342 were males and 221 females. Of the graduates 151 have engaged in teaching. 103 being males and 48 females. The last session there were 243 scholars, of whom only 152 were from Virginia, the remainder being from other States. Among the female

teachers of this institute are four graduates of Vassar College.

These are all encouraging facts. They offer the best tribute to the energy and good will of the Superintendent, while they afford conclusive evidence of the difficulty which the majority of the freed people encounter in availing themselves of the advantages intended to be at their disposal. An addition of 10,611 to the school attendance, and of 238 to the number of schools, during the year past, is satisfactory evidence of progress. Dr. Ruffner says:

"As a means of educating the people, the superiority of public over private instruction is sufficiently demonstrated by the recent history of education in Virginia. Previous to 1870 the people were dependent chiefly upon private schools for primary instruction. Many poor children had their tuition paid from the Literary Fund, and there were nine counties where there were some public schools. For higher instruction the State supported two institutions.

"The largest attendance in proportion to population was in the year 1860; but how small was that in comparison with the number in 1875. Our population in 1870 was about the same as that of 1860. There has, no doubt, been some increase of population in the last five years, which should, of course, be remembered; but observe the wide contrast in school attendance: In 1860, 67,024; in 1875, 207,771. If the colored pupils be thrown out of the calculation we have, in 1860, (all white,) 67,024; white pupils, public and private, in 1875, 149,011."

In former years the State paid the expenses of about half the children attending private schools. In 1860 the number so cared for was 31,516. In order to obtain such aid, parents had to plead their inability to pay for tuition. The same rule existed throughout the South. To obtain education free, pauperism had to be avowed. In Virginia the children so aided were known as "poor scholars;" in the majority of slave States the term was applied to the schools themselves.

Mr. Jefferson denounced this dependence upon private tuition as sure to place Virginia in a degraded condition. He was a strenuous advocate of a common school system equivalent in character to that which Republican endeavor has placed among the permanent institutions of the "Old Dominion."

How nearly the prediction of Mr. Jefferson was fulfilled may be seen by the following statement of illiteracy in Virginia, according to the United States census of 1870:

Total population over ten years, 890,056

Males ..... 427,455

Females ..... 462,601

Total population of the State..... 1,224,920

Total illiterates over ten years, 445,893

Of these, 211,330 are males, and 234,563 are females. The proportion of illiterates to the total population is 50.10 per cent. The females rate at 50.77 per cent. The proportions are not greatly altered, as yet, though it is fair to presume that the larger proportion of the 334,864 persons who were under ten years of age in 1870 have received some educational training.

That the beneficent changes now being seen in Virginia are due entirely to the great political organization which not only successfully resisted the efforts of the Southern Democracy to destroy the Union, but repaid that base endeavor by creating new conditions and institutions in the South which are sure to bring peace and prosperity in their train, may be seen from a brief examination, among others, of the Constitutional provisions affecting education.

No educational provisions whatever were introduced into the Constitution of 1776, nor in the revision of 1830, when the policy of gradual emancipation came within a very few votes of being successful.

In 1851 the following was adopted:

*Article IV—Subdivision of Taxation and Finance.*

SECTION 24. A capitation-tax, equal to the tax assessed on land of the value of two hundred dollars, shall be levied on every white male inhabitant who has attained the age of twenty-one years; and one equal moiety of the capitation tax upon white persons shall be applied to the purposes of education in primary and free schools; but nothing herein contained shall prevent exemptions of taxable polls in cases of bodily infirmity.

The above section was continued in the revision of 1864, made at Alexandria, in which it is numbered as § 22 of Article IV.

Under the Constitution—revised in 1868–9, in accordance with the Reconstruction policy, and amended again in 1870—the present

common school system was adopted. Articles VII and VIII provide for State and local superintendents of schools, and also for the formation of schools. The first provides that—

“Each township shall be divided into so many compactly located school districts as may be deemed necessary: *Provided*, That no school district shall be formed containing less than one hundred inhabitants. In each school district there shall be elected or appointed annually one school trustee, who shall hold his office three years: *Provided*, That at the first election held under this provision there shall be three trustees elected, whose terms shall be one, two, and three years respectively.”

The political or municipal township was abandoned, but the form is maintained for school purposes, and the act of Congress, approved January 26, 1870, (the work of a Republican majority,) contains the following stipulation: “That the Constitution of Virginia shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the Constitution of said State.”

Article VIII (*Education*) provides for a State superintendent of public instruction, to serve four years, elective by the General Assembly; also for a board of education, composed of State officers. It contains the following sections:

“§3. The General Assembly shall provide by law, at its first session under this Constitution, a uniform system of public free schools, and for its gradual, equal, and full introduction into all the counties of the State by the year 1876, or as much earlier as practicable.

“§4. The General Assembly shall have power, after a full introduction of the public free-school system, to make such laws as shall not permit parents and guardians to allow their children to grow up in ignorance and vagrancy.

“§5. The General Assembly shall establish, as soon as practicable, normal schools, and may establish agricultural schools and such grades of schools as shall be for the public good.”

In addition to the “literary fund” of the State the proceeds of all public lands donated for school purposes by Congress of escheated property, of all waste and unappropriated lands, and the proceeds of all fines and for-

feitures, are to be set apart for common school purposes. An annual tax of not less than one nor more than five mills on the dollar, shall be levied for the support of the school system. County and school districts may also levy taxes, not to exceed five mills in any one year, for the same purpose. The Constitution also requires that the system shall be in fair and equal force by the year 1876. To do so, still requires the organization of more than a thousand district schools.

Under all the conditions of antagonism, growing from prejudice and ignorance, it must be allowed that a fair degree of progress is exhibited. Had the system been administered by its friends the results would have been more satisfactory. This comment is not designed to detract from the merits of the efficient State superintendent. His work must necessarily be hindered by the local hostility that fades so slowly from the minds of a dominant class, trained to control things from an entirely different standpoint.

Republicans may fairly and honorably congratulate themselves and their party associates, in or out of office, on the multiplying proofs that are to be seen of the good results already flowing to the South from the principles they maintained at such bitter cost, and through the institutions which they demanded to be sustained as guarantees against future treason to the Union and hostility to free institutions. Chief among these is the common school system, still so bitterly denounced. It will ere long come to be regarded as the best of blessings. That it must be guarded, however, and vigilantly, too, is evident from such utterances as these, copied from a Mississippi Democratic paper two days after that party had, by a successful dragoonade, captured the State. The *Meriden Mercury*, November 4, says:

“The free-school system, a Yankee importation, is a monster evil. Once the superintendent of this county received \$1,500; now he receives \$900. If the office is continued, \$100 to \$200 is the outside figure he should receive. The whole system should be put in abeyance for the present.”

This demand is the natural result of Democratic triumph in such communities. It has been heard, and its effects are still felt in Vir-



ginia. But the free school is sure to win its way. The principle is right—the hope it offers is almost divine. In spite of all opposition—even because of it—assured victory attends, for it may be said, in words written in the camp, that —

Beyond the tribulation  
That drapes these dreadful years of war,  
We see a newer nation,  
Through balmy days of greatening power  
And rights of calm ascension,  
Expand into the perfect flower  
Of God's divine intention !

## AN IMPORTANT MEASURE.

Among other important resolutions adopted by the "American Public Health Association," at its recent session in Baltimore, was the following, suggested by Professor E. B. Elliott, of the Treasury Department :

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee is instructed to memorialize, in the name of this Association, the Congress of the United States in favor of such legislation as will bring about a proper co-operation between the General Government of the United States and the several State Governments for a uniform and efficient system for the registry of deaths, births, and marriages of the population.

Mr. Elliott holds that the Government of the United States, the several State Governments, and the Association by which the resolution was adopted are each interested in the proposed measure.

This association is interested in securing exact information as to the relative salubrity of localities and the distribution of disease.

The General Government is interested in ascertaining the condition, and changes in condition, of its resources, and especially with reference to its population, the most important of all its resources. To the attainment, in part, of this end, a system of decennial censuses was established from the very organization of the Government; and later, in connection with the enumeration of the population, were associated inquiries relative to the deaths which had occurred during the twelve months prior to the time the census was taken.

But these records of deaths, taken in connection with the census, are necessarily very defective, it being impossible in general for the person from whom the information is obtained to state with accuracy the number of deaths, and the circumstances under which they occurred, during the precise period of twelve months immediately preceding the date of the census.

Again, the General Government is interested in having under its control the means

of obtaining full and accurate information respecting the laws of mortality which prevail, and of presenting the results in tabulated form, so as to be readily applied in determining the values of life and reversionary interests in estates, legacies, and pensions, and in showing the mean future lifetimes of the population variously classified.

The State Governments have—in addition to the points of interest specified for the General Government and for the Health Association—the further incentive of securing for their citizens permanent and accessible records of the events of birth, death, and marriage, because useful, and not unfrequently essential, as an aid in determining the descent of heritable property.

In each of several of the States a system has been established for the continuous registration of these events; but in the most accurate of these systems, the returns are defective to such an extent as to abridge their usefulness. For instance, the laws of certain States very properly require the registrar or town clerk to obtain and record the particulars respecting every case of death that occurs in their respective localities. But the bill for fees of the registrar is not unfrequently audited and paid when it is known that he has performed but a part of his duty; that is, when he has obtained and made return of the facts respecting only a portion of the deaths which have taken place in his district, thus rendering his report of little or no value to the community or the general public.

It is evident to the careful observer that the time has come, and the people are ready, for the adoption of measures which will secure a general and complete organization for procuring exhaustive returns of the facts and circumstances which illustrate the important events specified in the resolution.

## LABOR IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

In a previous article, based on Dr. Young's valuable work on Labor, an attempt was made to trace the development of free labor from the earlier periods of the world down to the present time. In the present paper it is proposed to present in tabular form the rates of wages paid in Europe, and more especially in Great Britain, together with the cost of living and the habits of the people.

In a single article much of course must necessarily be omitted that would be valuable in the study of political economy. For more full details, the reader must have recourse to the volume under review.

## SKILLED TRADES IN LONDON.

The following table shows the established rates of wages obtained per week in London in 1871 by members of the various trade-societies. The British pound (£) sterling is computed at \$4.84, and the shilling at 24 cents:

TRADES.	Number of members.	Rate of wages.	
		Summer.	Winter.
Bakers .....	.....	\$3 37	\$5 08
Basket-makers .....	.....	3 63	4 84
Boatbuilders .....	.....	8 47	7 26
Bookbinders .....	702	7 26	7 26
Brasscock-finishers .....	.....	8 47	8 47
Brass-finishers .....	.....	8 47	8 47
Bricklayers .....	2,386	*16	*16
Brush-makers .....	400	(†)	(†)
Cabinet-makers .....	500	7 26	7 26
Cabinet-makers, deal .....	450	7 99	7 99
Carpenters .....	4,740	9 14	9 14
Carvers and gilders .....	50	4 84	4 84
Coachbuilders .....	25	9 68	9 68
Coachmakers .....	320	9 68	9 68
Coachsmiths .....	200	4 84	12 58
Coach trimmers and makers .....	.....	6 05	6 05
Compositors .....	3,550	4 84	8 47
Corkcutters .....	100	7 26	7 26
Cordwainers .....	3,678	(†)	(†)
Curriers .....	1,900	8 47	8 47
Engineers .....	33,539	{ *16	*16
Farriers .....	220	{ *18	*16
French-polishers .....	80	{ 9 68	12 10
Hammermen .....	80	{ 7 26	7 26
Iron founders and molders .....	7,372	{ 5 81	5 81
Letter-press printers .....	.....	{ 9 20	9 20
Painters, house .....	.....	{ 7 26	7 26
Pianoforte-makers .....	400	{ *14	*14
Plasterers .....	.....	{ *16	*16
Plumbers .....	.....	{ *18	*18
Pressmen, printers' .....	60	{ 7 26	7 26
Skinners .....	225	{ 7 26	7 26
Steam-engine makers .....	100	{ *16	*16
Stonemasons .....	17,193	{ *18	*18
		{ 9 14	7 82

\* Per hour. † Piecework. ‡ Uncertain.

## WOOLEN MANUFACTURE.

The following is the average earnings per week for spinning, weaving, &c., in the woolen manufactories of Dewsbury, Leeds, and Manchester. The hours of labor are sixty per week; the wages, partly piece-work and partly day-work:

OCCUPATION.	Dewsbury.	Leeds.	Manchester.
Layers on for scribblers, women	\$2 90	\$2 17	.....
Card-setters or cleaners, men	4 11	.....	\$4 11
Sliver-minders, girls	2 17	.....	.....
Condenser-minders, girls	1 69	.....	.....
Card-feeders, women	.....	.....	3 14
Woolyers, men	3 87	4 84	4 11
Woolyers, foremen, men	5 08	.....	.....
Self-acting mule-minders, men	3 63	.....	3 90
Self-acting mule-piecers, boys	1 69	1 45	1 21
Rag-grinders, men	4 84	.....	.....
Enginemakers and stokers	4 84	.....	.....
Warpers	3 63	.....	3 38
Power-loom tuners, men	3 47	.....	.....
Power-loom weavers, women	3 38	2 90	3 38
Wool-sorters, men	6 05	6 05	.....
Fulling-millers, men	5 08	.....	5 32
Wool and piece dyers, men	5 32	.....	.....
Cloth-dressers, viz., raisers, cutters, pressers, tenterers, drawers	5 80	5 32	5 08
Burlers, women	2 42	1 21	.....
Riggers and stumpers, men	5 08	.....	.....
Menders and stumpers, women	3 14	.....	.....
Oil-extractors, men	5 80	.....	.....
Mechanics and joiners, men	7 26	.....	.....
Rag-pickers, women	1 93	.....	.....
Hand-spinners, men	6 77	.....	.....

## CARPET MAKING.

In Glasgow the woolen carpet makers, working sixty hours per week, receive the following average weekly wages:

OCCUPATION.	Glasgow.
Assistant dyers, men	\$4 47
Assistant dyers, boys	1 53
Hand-loom weavers and beamers, men	4 96
Hand-loom weavers and beamers, boys	1 93
Mechanics	6 29
Pattern-drawers, men	6 05
Pattern-drawers, boys	2 42
Warehouse-workers, tenters, and sewers, men	5 32
Warehouse-workers, tenters, and sewers, boys	1 45
Warehouse-workers, tenters, and sewers, women	2 35
Warehouse-workers, tenters, and sewers, girls	1 69
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, men	4 59
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, boys	1 69
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, women	2 17
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, girls	1 08
Winders and reelers, women	2 17
Winders and reelers, girls	1 21

## FLAX MANUFACTURE.

In Leeds the following wages are paid per week to manufacturers of flax :

OCCUPATION.	Leeds.
Overlookers .....	\$4 84 to \$9 68
Warehousemen .....	3 87 to 4 35
Roughers .....	4 84 to 6 05
Hacklers .....	1 21 to 1 57
Sorters .....	4 84 to 6 05
Preparers, women and girls .....	1 45 to 1 75
Spinders, women and girls .....	1 51 to 1 75
Doffers .....	1 21 to 1 57
Reelers, women .....	1 93 to 2 42
Makers-up .....	4 35 to 6 05
Enginemmen .....	4 84 to 6 05
Mechanics .....	4 84 to 7 26

## SILK MANUFACTURE.

The average weekly earnings paid in Yorkshire and Manchester are as follows :

OCCUPATION.	Yorkshire.	Manchester.
Silk-boilers, men.....	\$4 35	.....
Silk-dressers, men.....	6 29	.....
Silk-preparers, girls.....	2 17	.....
Silk-spinners, girls.....	2 17	\$1 93 to \$2 42
Silk-doublers, girls.....	2 17	1 93 to 2 42
Silk-reelers, girls.....	2 17	1 93 to 2 42
Mechanics, men.....	6 29	.....
Joiners, men.....	5 08	.....
Engine-drivers, men.....	4 35	.....
Warpers, men.....	.....	5 80
Children, half-timers .....	.....	60

## BOOT AND SHOE MANUFACTURE.

In London and Leeds the following are the average weekly wages :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.	Leeds.
Riveters, best class.....	\$7 26	\$2 90 to \$8 47
Riveters, second class.....	4 84	2 90 to 8 47
Finishers, best class.....	9 20	5 08 to 9 68
Finishers, second class.....	6 05	5 08 to 9 68
Clickers, males.....	.....	6 05
Machinists, females.....	.....	1 94 to 3 39
Fitters, females.....	.....	1 69 to 2 90
Last-makers .....	.....	4 84 to 7 26
Cloggers.....	.....	.....
Cutters.....	.....	.....

## TOBACCO AND CIGARS—LONDON.

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.
Cutters .....	\$6 05 to \$8 47
Dryers or pan-men.....	4 36 to 7 26
Women-strippers.....	2 90 to 3 63
Boy-strippers.....	1 69 to 4 84
Spinners .....	6 05 to 8 47
Packers .....	3 63 to 6 05

## MANUFACTURE OF CLOTHING.

Average prices paid per week in London. The ordinary hours of work are from 8 A. M. to 8 P. M., but the average is less than sixty per week :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.
Overlookers, men .....	\$10 17
Cutters, men.....	9 20
Basters, females, first-class .....	2 30
Basters, females, inferior .....	1 47
Machiners, females, first-class .....	3 41
Machiners, females, inferior .....	2 90
Sewers, females, first-class .....	2 96
Pressers, men, first-class.....	6 61
Pressers, men, inferior.....	4 24

## DRESS MAKING.

The following are the average prices paid per week in London. Hours, 8 to 8 :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.	Remarks.
Two managers.....	Each. \$18 55	
One dressmaker.....	7 42	With board and lodging.
Two dressmakers.....	6 53	do.
One dressmaker.....	6 05	do.
One dressmaker.....	2 78	do.
One dressmaker.....	1 03	do.
One dressmaker.....	6 53	Tea only; no lodging.
One dressmaker.....	6 05	do.
Two dressmakers.....	5 57	do.
One dressmaker.....	4 84	do.
Three dressmakers.....	4 36	do.
Three dressmakers.....	4 11	do.
Seven dressmakers.....	3 87	do.
Three dressmakers.....	3 51	do.
Two dressmakers.....	3 39	do.
Two dressmakers.....	3 14	do.
Thirty-four dressmakers...	2 90	do.
Two dressmakers.....	2 66	do.
Fourteen dressmakers....	2 42	do.
Five dressmakers.....	2 18	do.
Four dressmakers.....	1 94	do.
One dressmaker.....	1 69	do.
Three dressmakers.....	1 45	do.
One milliner.....	6 05	With board and lodging.
Two milliners.....	4 64	do.
One milliner.....	3 51	do.
Three milliners.....	2 34	do.
One milliner.....	2 22	do.
One milliner.....	1 85	do.
One milliner.....	1 49	do.
One milliner.....	1 39	do.

Women are paid much lower wages than men. Compare the last with preceding tables and this fact will be more apparent. While the cost of living in the cities of England is about the same as in our American centers of trade, the wages in many branches are from fifty to one hundred per cent. higher here than in England.



## LETTER-PRESS PRINTING.

The following are the prices paid for jobbing and newspaper work. Average 58½ hours. Overtime, average 13 cts. per hour:

TOWNS.	Jobbing.	News.
Barnsley.....	\$6 29	\$6 29
Blackburn.....	6 78	6 78
Bradford.....	6 29	6 78
Chesterfield.....	5 81	5 81
Derby.....	6 29	6 29
Dewsbury.....	6 29	6 29
Durham.....	5 81	5 81
Guildford.....	5 81	6 53
Halifax.....	6 53	6 53
Hartlepool.....	5 81	5 81
Huddersfield.....	6 29	6 53
Hull.....	6 29	6 53
Lewes.....	7 02	7 02
Leeds.....	7 26	7 26
Manchester.....	7 26	7 50
Newcastle-on-Tyne.....	6 78	6 78
Scarborough.....	5 81	6 29
Sheffield.....	6 78	6 78
Sunderland.....	6 29	6 29
York.....	5 81	6 05

## MECHANICAL AND FARM LABOR.

The following are the average rates of wages paid in Durham, England, in 1874:

MECHANICS.	Durham.
Blacksmiths.....	\$1 30 per day.
*Bricklayers and masons.....	1 44 per day.
Cabinet-makers.....	1 32 per day.
Carpenters.....	1 32 per day.
Coopers.....	1 10 per day.
Miners.....	1 46 per day.
Machinists.....	1 36 per day.
Painters.....	1 32 per day.
Plasterers.....	1 42 per day.
Shoemakers.....	90 per day.
Stonecutters.....	1 44 per day.
Tailors.....	1 20 per day.
Tanners.....	1 20 per day.
Tinsmiths.....	1 32 per day.
Wheelwrights.....	1 32 per day.

## FARM LABOR.

Experienced hands.	{ Summer.. 84 per day.
	{ Winter... 64 per day.
Ordinary hands.....	{ Summer.. 64 per day.
	{ Winter .. 40 per day.
Common laborers at other than farm-work, for six days only..	70 per day.
Female servants.....	4 85 per mo.

## PRICE OF BOARD.

October, 1874.	{ For workmen.... 3 40 per week
	{ For workwomen 2 40 per week

\* Working five days only, and for the sixth day 72 cents.

## RATES OF WAGES IN SHEFFIELD.

The following are the average rates of wages paid per week to mechanics and other laborers in Sheffield, England, in 1872:

CLASS OF LABOR.	Wages.
Mechanics:	
Blacksmiths.....	\$6 53
Carpenters.....	7 26
Masons.....	7 74
Painters.....	6 53
Plasterers.....	7 02
Shoemakers.....	5 32
Boiler-makers.....	6 53
Wheel and mill wrights.....	7 74
Carters.....	5 08
Clerks in railway offices.....	6 05
Slaters, 7d. per hour, 53 hours per week.....	7 26
Slaters' assistant, 5d. per hour, 53 hours per week.....	5 32
Table-cutlery:	
Table-blade forgers.....	7 19
Table-blade grinders.....	6 69
Table-blade hafters.....	5 34
Pocket-cutlery:	
Pocket-blade forgers.....	6 69
Grinders.....	7 26
Hafters.....	6 05
Saws:	
Sawmakers.....	7 02
Sawgrinders.....	8 47
Handlers.....	6 78
Rubbers, women.....	2 18
Scissors:	
Forgers.....	6 05
Grinders.....	8 83
Filers.....	6 41
Putting together.....	6 41
Burnishers, women.....	1 94
Edge tools:	
Forgers.....	10 16
Strikers.....	7 74
Hardeners.....	6 78
Grinders.....	10 29
Engineers' tools:	
Forgers.....	7 87
Grinders.....	7 62
Filers.....	6 53
Hammer-makers:	
Forgers.....	9 68
Strikers.....	7 26
Razors:	
Forgers.....	7 26
Grinders.....	9 44
Hafters.....	6 78
Girls, assisting, putting up, etc.....	1 63
Silver-plated ware:	
Silversmiths.....	7 87
Chasers.....	7 87
Engravers.....	9 68
Burnishers { Women..... 3 03	
	{ Girls, 12 to 16 years... 1 82
Buffers... { Women..... 3 39	
	{ Girls, 12 to 16 years... 1 82
White-metal ware:	
Spinners.....	8 83
Putting together.....	7 02
Casteis and stampers.....	7 50
Buffers... { Men..... 6 41	
	{ Women..... 2 90
Women casters.....	2 42
Girls, buffers and cleaners.....	1 45
Women in warehouse.....	2 54
Burnishers, women.....	2 90
Files:	
Forgers.....	13 31
Strikers.....	9 68
Grinders.....	12 71
Cutters.....	7 26
Steel:	
Melter.....	12 10
Puller out.....	7 02
Cokers.....	4 86
Pot-maker.....	9 68
Converting furnace men.....	4 88

## HAT AND CAP MAKING.

In London the weekly average of wages paid is as follows. Hours, 60 per week :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.
Machiners, hands.....	\$3 63
Clerks.....	4 84
Boys.....	1 21
Needlewomen.....	2 42
Hat-trimmers, women and girls.....	2 90
Finishers, men.....	\$7 26 to 9 68
Bodymen.....	7 26 to 9 68
Shapers, men.....	9 68 to 14 52
Feltmen.....	
Hatters.....	

## LOCOMOTIVE ENGINE MAKING.

The following are average weekly wages for 57 hours work :

OCCUPATION.	Glasgow.
Fitters and finishers.....	\$6 05
Turners, shapers, planers & slotters.....	6 05
Drillers.....	3 87
Erectors and boiler-mounters.....	6 53
Pattern-makers.....	6 77
Iron and brass moulders.....	7 00
Coppersmiths.....	6 77
Grinders.....	7 50
Boiler-makers.....	6 25
Smiths.....	6 25
Forgemen.....	8 47
Laborers.....	3 63
Hammermen.....	4 11

## SHIPBUILDING AND MARINE ENGINEERING.

Weekly wages paid in Glasgow :

OCCUPATION.	Glasgow.
<b>SHIPBUILDING-YARD :</b>	
Blacksmiths.....	\$6 05
Angle-iron smiths.....	6 29
Hammermen.....	3 75
Riveters.....	\$5 08 to 5 32
Platers and fitters.....	5 80 to 7 01
Calkers.....	5 32
Helpers or laborers.....	3 38
Rivet-boys.....	1 69
Carpenters and boat-builders..	6 53
Joiners.....	6 53
Blockmakers.....	5 80
Painters.....	7 32
Riggers.....	6 29
Machinists.....	5 68
Borers.....	3 93
<b>ENGINE-WORKS :</b>	
Draughtsmen.....	8 22
Pattern-makers.....	6 41
Joiners.....	6 59
Blacksmiths.....	6 53
Hammermen.....	3 87
Fitters and finishers.....	5 86
Iron-turners.....	6 05
Machinists.....	5 50
Laborers.....	3 32
<b>BOILER-WORKS :</b>	
Platers and fitters.....	6 47
Riveters and calkers.....	5 44
Blacksmiths.....	6 29
Hammermen.....	3 75
Holders on and laborers.....	3 44
Rivet-boys and blowers.....	

## CABINET MAKING AND UPHOLSTERING.

The following average wages are paid per week of 60 hours in Manchester and London :

OCCUPATION.	Manchester.	Metropolis.
Cabinet-makers....	\$7 74 to 8 22	\$7 26 to 10 89
Upholsterers.....	7 98	7 26 to 12 10
French polishers...	6 77	7 26
Painters.....	14 cts. per hr.	8 47
Gilders.....	7 26 to 7 74	7 26 to 8 47
Upholstery sewers.	2 90	3 38
Turners.....		7 26 to 10 89
Chair-makers.....		7 26 to 12 10
Joiners.....		9 19
Carvers.....		7 26 to 12 10
Decorators.....		9 19

## BUILDING TRADES.

In the London and Manchester columns the figures indicate the number of cents paid per hour for work. In the Bradford column the figures indicate the average weekly wages :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.	Manchester.	Bradford.
Joiners.....	16	14 1/2	\$6 61
Masons.....	16	15 1/2	7 26
Bricklayers.....	18		7 26
Plasterers.....	16		
Laborers.....	9 1/2	7 1/2	4 84
Superior laborers and scaffolders.	10 1/2	8 1/2	
Painters.....	15	14	
Plumbers and glaziers.....			6 61
Slaters.....			6 77

With this table, in connection with those which preceded it, the reader will be in possession of information that will afford a general knowledge of the remuneration of labor in England, and it may be added in the United Kingdom, though variations occur in different localities. On the Continent the average pay of the working classes rules even lower than in England. Mechanics and laborers are paid not over 75 per cent. of the average remuneration received in England ; but provisions and clothing also rule somewhat lower in cost.

## COST OF RENT, PROVISIONS, GROCERIES, ETC., IN ENGLAND.

The work is very complete in its details, showing the cost of living in England. The following condensed statement will enable the reader to judge of the general results :

**BIRMINGHAM.**—Rent of kitchen and two rooms above, in rear of house, 4s. a week; in front, 5s. Bread 8d. for 4-pound loaf. Meat, 1s. per pound. Cheese, good American, 7d. per pound. Rent of three rooms, about 3s. 6d. per week for back, and 4s. 6d. for front; average about 4s. House-rent in suburbs lower than in the city—4s. to 4s. 6d. for house of four rooms; 6s. for six rooms.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Rent of rooms, ordinary price, 4s. per week for four rooms, or about 1s. per room. Good rooms rent for more. A respectable small house may be had for 6s. a week. Meat in Sheffield is good. Workingmen buy the best, and they can afford it. Excellent beef and mutton 10½d. per pound; good at 8½d. American bacon, 7d. to 9d. Butter, from 1s. to 1s. 2d.

**MANCHESTER.**—Leg of veal, 9d.; best fillet, 6d. Leg of mutton, 9d. Good beef, for stewing, 7½d.; for roasting, 9d. to 9½d. Tea, very good, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.; best, 3s. Good white sugar, 4d.; best 4½d.; brown, 3d. to 3½d. Flour, 2s. to 2s. 1d. per stone. Bacon, 7d. to 9d. Cheese 6d. to 8d. Dry goods, low. Rent of rooms, 4s. for four rooms. In another part of the city rents are 3s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 4s. for four rooms. Good cheese, 8d., chiefly American, which is very good, and occasionally better than English at the same price. Good tea, 2s. 8d.; best, 3s.

**HALIFAX.**—Four rooms in upper part of house, from £3 to £9 per year. Better houses, built by Crossleys, two rooms on a floor, larger frontage, at 10 guineas a year, and poorer at lower rates.

**BRADFORD.**—Rent of houses, five or six rooms, for clerks, £18 to £20 per year.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—Rent of three to four rooms, average 4s. per week. Some nice houses in a good street rent for the same. Within the walls of the old town four to five rooms including taxes, 4s. to 4s. 6d. Price of provisions much the same as in other western towns. About 10d. to 1s. for the best beef; 8d. to 10d. for very good; quite good at 9d. Veal 10d. by the leg; 13d. for cutlets, and much less for the poorer pieces.

**HUDERSFIELD.**—Price of board, for workmen, 10s.; for workwomen, 7s. per week.

**CORK.** (From Mr. Derby's notes.) Prices in a provision store: Beef and mutton, 10d. to 1s. per pound; pork and bacon, 9d.; corned beef, 9d.; smoked hams, 10d. to 1s.; cab-bages, 1d. each.

#### LONDON WHOLESALE PRICES IN 1872.

From the monthly statement of the wholesale prices of the following articles in the London markets during each month of the year 1872, the average, expressed in United States coin, has been computed, and the average *pro rata* price stated per pound:

	Per cwt.	Per lb.
Pork: Hams, smoked.....	\$26 59	\$0 23.7
Lard.....	17 03	15.2
Butter.....	29 24	26.1
Cheese.....	15 98	14.3
Rice.....	3 29	2.9
Coffee, Jamaica middling.....	25 84	23
Sugar, good brown.....	8 77	7.9
Molasses, West Indies.....	3 08	2.7

#### COST OF CLOTHING.

In the foregoing tables the cost of provisions and of house-rent per week has been given, also the price of various articles of dry goods and of boots, thus furnishing some data for computing the cost of living in the United Kingdom as compared with the United States. While the prices of the principal articles of subsistence are on the whole as high in the former as in the latter country, the rental of rooms and the price of clothing are only about one-half as much as in the United States. From a careful computation made in London, it is believed that clothing can be purchased there at 50 per cent. of the gold and 56 per cent. of the currency prices in New York. From a tailor in High Holborn, who makes more clothing for citizens of the United States than any other in London, the following prices were obtained:

Good business suits, made to order of good and fashionable material, cost from 58s. to 60s.; the lowest price of similar quality in New York, ready made, being \$28 to \$30. Suits of fine blue cloth, 82s. 6d., (\$19.96,) which it is believed could not be obtained anywhere in the United States for \$40. Fine black cloth dress vests, 10s.; dress-trousers of the best black doeskin, 30s.; frock-coats of the best black cloth that could be purchased in London, silk lined, 80s., (\$19.-36;) overcoats from 50s. to 60s., the latter of good beaver-cloth, with silk-velvet collar.

#### CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The volume under review is very full in its details under this head. The following condensed statements contain only a fraction of what is said in reference to the drinking habits of the people.

In proof of the statement that the habit of drinking to excess extends to the middle and upper classes, the testimony of Dr. Austie is presented. The following appeared in the *Practitioner* for 1872:

We must notice the fact that many girls



of the wealthy middle and of the upper classes, especially the former, are of late years taking to consume all kinds of wine, and particularly champagne, to an extent which used never to be permitted. At many modern ball suppers champagne flows like water; and the attentive observer will soon perceive that it is not the men, by any means, who do the larger part of the consumption. These same young ladies who have so freely partaken of champagne over-night will next day at lunch take plenty of bottled beer, or a couple of glasses of sherry. Dinner comes round, and again either champagne or hock or port or sherry is drunk, not less than a couple of glasses being taken. And then the evening very often brings a party of some kind with the inevitable champagne or sherry. *We are speaking of things which we have seen* when we say that many girls who live among rich (especially *nouveau riche*) and gay society are in the habit, during six months out of the twelve, of taking (in the shape of wine, &c.) a daily average of two, two and a half, or three ounces of absolute alcohol, a quantity which, if expressed in cheap beer, would be equal to six or seven pints.

Referring to the drinking habits of the working classes the United States consul at Manchester informed the author that—

The working-classes consume an enormous quantity of intoxicating liquors, principally beer, though very many partake largely of spirits and of the cheaper wines. Intemperance seems to be on the increase, especially among the women, not only of the working-classes, but also of the middle and upper middle classes.

General Fairchild, United States consul at Liverpool, under date of November, 1873 writes:

The increase of drunkenness, and all dissipation which follow idle hours, is alarming.

The *Westminster Review* of January, 1874, says:

Liverpool has the unenviable notoriety of being the most drunken town in the United Kingdom.

Dr. Trench, the able and well-informed medical officer of the health department of Liverpool, remarks:

The working-classes of Liverpool are extremely intemperate, even when compared with similar sections of the community in other large towns of Great Britain.

His able official report for a previous year contains the following on the same subject

The amount which is spent in drink is as-

tonishing. One or two instances of the worst kind, occurring in the same street, may be cited.

A man earns 27s. regularly, and spends as regularly 21s. in drink; his four children are in rags. In another instance the wages are 30s. a week regularly; the father and mother are both drunken, and three children are half starved and in rags. In another house is a copper-ore worker, earning 27s. a week, all of which is spent in drink by himself and his wife. The children are in rags and filth, and look idiotic. In the same street there are sober men, earning only 20s. and 23s. a week, who are living in comfort.

The landlord of a small public house, who had lived for years in the district, and knew intimately the habits of the people, said, "For one man who did not drink there were fifty who would take their share; they starve their wives and children, and must beg if they want a bit."

Mr. Jenkinson, the consul of the United States at Glasgow, in reference to the increase of intemperance, wrote as follows:

That drunkenness prevails to an alarming extent among the working-classes cannot be denied; that it has increased as their wages have been increased is also true. Many have, no doubt, been benefited by such increase of wages; but most, it seems, outspend their extra earnings in extra quantities of whisky.

Dr. Webster, United States consul at Sheffield, thus writes, January 22, 1874:

From inquiry and my own observation, I believe that far the larger part of the loss of time and the reckless waste of money is the result of the drinking habits which prevail so generally. It is painful to see how the weekly wages are squandered by the thousands who throng the drinking places on Saturday, Sunday, (at certain hours,) Monday, and Tuesday, and, indeed, on all the days of the week.

There are in Sheffield 1,400 public houses, licensed places for the sale of beer and spirits. At each of these, at a low estimate, an average amount of £10 is spent weekly, making an aggregate of £14,000 of weekly expenditure for a population of 240,000.

Mr. Consul Jones, of New Castle-upon-Tyne, in his report on the moral and social condition of the working classes, says:

Many of them are very improvident and fond of drink; a feast of food and stimulants in the early part of the week, at the expense of an insufficient supply at the end, is very frequently the case among the sons of toil on the Tyne. Excessive drinking has undoubt-

edly increased in this district since the short hours and advanced wages have prevailed.

It was said boastfully by English statesmen that the nation had drunk itself out of the Alabama claims by the increased income from the tax on intoxicating drinks during the past year.

From these statements the condition of the working classes may be pretty clearly contemplated. Drinking is the bane of English society and the destruction of the working classes. In our own country this evil

is broad and bad enough, and according to those who have investigated that subject, it is claimed that the drinking habits of the people are increasing annually the number that fall victims to the evil and fill drunkards' graves. Is there no remedy, or is the degraded condition of the working-classes in England, through intemperance, to be the fate of our own work-people, a few generations hence, through the same habit of habitual drinking? Is there no remedy? SOMEBODY IS RESPONSIBLE.

## THE DEMOCRATIC HOUSE.

Ever since the elections determined that we should have a large Democratic majority in the lower house of the Forty-Fourth Congress the minds of politicians have been disturbed as to what will be the result. That camp followers from a region long starved out politically would look upon it as a mere question concerning the paltry offices in its gift was natural enough. The few intelligent leaders, while they humored this idea, shrugged their shoulders and scratched their noses, and felt that the Democratic party had drawn an elephant. The first day's proceedings in the Forty-Fourth Congress did not tend to disabuse their minds of that idea.

It has been customary for the Democrats to bewail the decadence of statesmanship. They represent the Republicans as political *parvenus*—men who had been lifted out of their sphere and above their capacities by the accidents of the civil war. Antiquity has always a vague and dim religious light about it. The Democratic party, having no modern virtues it cared about parading, was fain to fall back on the things of the past, which, like the age of the currier's horse, was lost in the mists of antiquity.

For the first time in eighteen years there was a change. The Democrats of to-day stood face to face with the Republicans of to-day. The latter have just come out of a struggle the greatest of ancient or modern times. They hold in their grasp a free and united Republic. They met a Democracy which scarcely knew itself, and which nobody else recognized. It is true that they

have a majority in one branch of the legislature. They come in with a flourish of trumpets, and much boasting. The first day's work teaches them that they have met statesmen not unworthy of the great work they have done. Meeting them the Democracy succumbed.

The first day of this Congress illustrated what the last will illustrate, that the election that clothed the Democratic party with power in the lower house was gained by false pretenses. Before the people they denounced "dead issues." Even the glory of the war to suppress the rebellion was to be blotted out. They were enthusiasts for the "questions of to-day." No honest man will deny that these, undoubtedly, were the pacification of the country—the currency question, and the tariff. On the latter two of these questions the Democracy were not as well united as the Republicans. On the former there was a smouldering fire of hostility ready to burst forth. Their election pretensions to-day stand forth as dishonored promises. They wallow in the mire of "State Sovereignty." They fight the Government at Washington just as they did in the rebel army. They drag up the Louisiana question before the Democratic baby was fairly washed and put in clean linen.

A year ago a compromise was effected on the Louisiana matter by a temperate concession on both sides, which prevented the prompt, perhaps the bloody suppression of a civil war. We had "peace." The attempt to reopen this question exhibited bad taste and worse judgment; to fail was still

more unhappy, as that indicated imbecility.

The distinguished gentleman from New York, who *was* a candidate for Speaker, aspires to the higher honor of being leader of the House. An early career, somewhat turbulent and checkered, has induced him to settle into that frigid respectability which, like his mustachios, appear to have frozen into a rigid hoar frost. The question as to who should marshal the cohorts of "reform" and "living issues" to victory was an undetermined political problem. The gentleman from New York is a little—just a very little—slow. He had felt the potency of the extreme Southern wing in the contest for Speaker. It is true, that it was a little late in the day—the "day after the fair"—but as it was his first opportunity he made a great bid to that prejudice by dragging up the Louisiana question. Instead of earning the gratitude of his countrymen as a "leader," he fell under ban as a "mis"-leader.

His colleague, the genial and witty, is too nice a man, and too funny, to be criticised. He, in a rash moment, might consent to sacrifice his party, or his country, but never his joke. The new Speaker persists in calling him "the gentleman from Ohio," a fearful innuendo as regards "carpet bagging," to which we desire to call the attention of the statesman from Indiana. This gentleman from New York is, pre-eminently, a scholar, a citizen of the world, and a wag. That any one should have seriously contemplated his election as Speaker seems scarcely probable. Even the large vote he got does not relieve one's mind from doubts about it. He is no admirer of his very bland colleague; still, in the attempt of the latter at leadership he followed. The result was simply the old story, "when the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

The gentleman from Mississippi occupies a somewhat different position from the other would-be Democratic leaders. Tall and handsome, dignified in his demeanor, even elegant in his manners, he loomed up in the Democratic ranks, in the eyes of an expectant country, as the coming "Admirable Crichton." The occasion of the Sumner eulogies was the occasion for magnanimous words, which the country hoped would be

the prelude to magnanimous statesmanship. There was scarcely another man, North or South, who had so promising a future. The first day's proceedings in the House dispelled what the violence of Mississippi had left. He supported the motion of the gentleman from New York with eloquence and zeal; but in doing so proved to the country that he lacked patriotism and judgment. Even in the Republican ranks his failure was witnessed with profound regret.

There is a gentleman from Indiana, who is one of the most rigid of Democrats, but who did not sympathize with the performances. He was formerly, while his party was not in power, the great objector. A bill of any kind was to him what a red rag is to a bull, his tail went up and his horns down, and he made a charge at it. There used to be another gentleman on the Republican side who divided with him this inestimable responsibility. The latter, alas! has gone, and leaves the patriotic mind in a tremulous fear as to whether the gentleman from Indiana, with all his new cares, shall prove equal to the emergency.

As has been remarked, the gentleman from Indiana is a rigid Democrat. We think it likely that he would be regarded as a finished specimen of a Democrat, but for one thing. Providence, in organizing him for his sphere in the world, in a moment of absent-mindedness, gave him a rather astute judgment. Some malicious persons in his own party have suggested that this feature in his character grew out of the "I object!" experience; and it is even alleged that this has grown hereditary in his family, and will go down to latest generations, no matter what party is in power. Such an idea is unworthy of consideration. He saw the hole the Democratic party was going into, and cried, "hold!" The halt was come to in a somewhat hesitating and promiscuous manner. They did not halt all at once. It ran through several votes, but was final and moderately respectable when, on motion of the leader of the Republicans, the gentleman from Louisiana appeared and was sworn in.

Seriously speaking, the first blunder of the Democracy is not merely a mistake for lack of experience; it is an inherent and



fatal defect. On the question of peace and security to the country, of tariff, of money, they have nothing to offer, and nothing on which they can unite. They carried the North by professing living issues, and acceptance of the situation. They carried the South by appeals to the rebel intelligence and power, and crushed the growing elements of Republican liberty. They are together; let them—simmer. The same thing that has occurred before will occur again. Does any man in the United States feel that he can safely trust the government of this

great republic to such unstable and unreliable elements? This may be said even if you give them the benefit of all their professions.

As to the Democratic "leaders," we are sorry for them. In their first unwise rush they found plenty of enthusiastic followers, but in the end, like Jim Gunter's membership in the old Baptist church, it "petered out." The question now is, "Who are the leaders of the Democratic party?" Echo answers, "Who?" As for those who wanted to be, the curse of Reuben is on them all.

"Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel."

## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

### THE EXECUTIVE.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The President's Message to Congress is accepted by the press and the people as a very satisfactory State paper. It is more fully reviewed in another part of the present number of THE REPUBLIC.

The following are the closing paragraphs of the Message:

As this will be the last annual Message which I shall have the honor of transmitting to Congress before my successor is chosen, I will repeat or recapitulate the questions which I deem of vital importance which should be legislated upon and settled at this session.

First—That the States shall be required to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within their limits.

Second—No sectarian tenets shall ever be taught in any school supported in whole or part by the State, nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon any community. Make education compulsory so far as to deprive all persons who cannot read and write from becoming voters after the year 1890, disfranchising none, however, on grounds of illiteracy who may be voters at the time this amendment takes effect.

Third—Declare church and State forever separate and distinct, but each free within their proper spheres, and that all church property shall bear its own proportion of taxation.

Fourth—Drive out licensed immorality, such as polygamy and the importation of women for illegitimate purposes. To recur again to the centennial year, it would seem as though now as we are about to begin the

second century of our national existence would be a most fitting time for these reforms.

Fifth—Enact such laws as will insure a speedy return to a sound currency, such as will command the respect of the world.

Believing that these views will commend themselves to the great majority of the right thinking and patriotic citizens of the United States, I submit the rest to Congress.

### TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

#### SUMMARY OF THE ANNUAL REPORTS.

Secretary Bristow's report is lengthy and valuable, and on the whole quite satisfactory. The following quotations embrace the receipts and expenditures for 1875, and a portion of 1876, and estimates for the fiscal year 1877, together with the public debt during the fiscal year 1875:

#### RECEIPTS.

The moneys received and covered into the Treasury by warrants during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, were as follows:

From customs.....	\$157,167,722 25
From internal revenue.....	110,007,493 58
From sales of public lands.....	1,413,640 17
From tax on circulation and deposits of national banks.....	7,268,379 16
From repayment of interest by Pacific Railway Companies.....	882,274 91
From customs' fines, penalties, &c.....	228,870 23
From labor, drayage, storage, &c.....	1,112,500 53
From sales of Indian-trust lands.....	243,071 66
From fees—consular, letters patent, and land.....	1,818,884 29
From proceeds of sales of Government property.....	1,278,693 87
From Marine Hospital tax.....	338,893 78
From steamboat fees.....	260,944 75
From profits on coinage, &c.....	452,657 40
From tax on seal-skins.....	317,494 75
From miscellaneous sources.....	1,228,649 98

Total ordinary receipts..... 284,020,771 41

Premium on sales of coin..... 3,979,279 69

Total net receipts, exclusive of loans..... 288,000,051 10  
Balance in Treasury June 30, 1874, including deposits of coin and United States notes represented by certificates outstanding..... 150,731,694 63

Total available cash..... 438,731,745 73

## EXPENDITURES.

The net expenditures by warrants during the same period were:

For civil expenses..... \$17,316,929 53  
For foreign intercourse..... 1,235,418 23  
For Indians..... 8,384,656 82  
For pensions..... 29,456,216 22  
For military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals..... 41,120,645 98  
For naval establishment, including vessels and machinery and improvements at navy yards.. 21,497,626 27  
For miscellaneous civil, including public buildings, light-houses, and collecting the revenues..... 50,528,536 22  
For interest on the public debt, including interest on bonds issued to Pacific Railway companies..... 103,093,544 57  
For payment of award to British claimants..... 1,920,819 00

Total net expenditures..... \$274,623,292 84  
Redemption of the public debt.. 19,405,936 48

Total net disbursements..... \$294,029,329 32  
Balance in Treasury June 30, 1875. 144,702,416 41

Total..... \$438,731,745 73

This statement shows that the net revenues for the fiscal year were..... \$288,000,051 10

And the ordinary expenses (including the award to British claimants, \$1,929,819)..... 274,623,392 84

Leaving a surplus revenue, exclusive of provision for the Sinking Fund..... \$13,376,658 26

By reference to the last annual report, page 6, it will be observed that the estimate then made was that the revenues for this fiscal year would reach the sum of \$284,318,-285.99, and that the expenditures would amount to \$275,315,489.42.

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE FISCAL

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1876.

The receipts during the first quarter were:

From customs..... \$44,233,626 25  
From internal revenue..... 28,199,723 50  
From sales of public lands..... 308,641 73  
From tax on circulation, &c., of national banks..... 3,626,033 83  
From repayment of interest by Pacific Railways..... 262,212 87  
From customs' fines, &c..... 28,521 75  
From consular, patent, and other fees..... 510,427 19  
From proceeds of sales of Government property..... 104,273 65  
From miscellaneous sources..... 1,722,408 90

Net ordinary receipts..... \$78,995,869 67  
Premiums on sales of coin..... 2,160,275 47

Total net ordinary receipts.. \$81,156,145 14  
Balance in Treasury June 30, 1875. 144,702,416 41

Total available..... \$225,858,561 55

The expenditures during the same period were:

For civil and miscellaneous expenses, including public buildings, light-houses, and collecting the revenues..... \$18,673,072 68  
For Indians..... 2,660,474 38  
For pensions..... 8,845,927 64  
For military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals..... 11,391,476 26  
For naval establishment, including vessels and machinery, and improvements at navy yards.. 7,959,037 99  
For interest on the public debt, including Pacific Railway bonds 34,517,554 81

Total ordinary expenditures.. \$84,047,543 76  
Redemption of the public debt.. 6,838,999 66  
Balance in Treasury September 30, 1875..... 134,972,018 13

Total..... \$225,858,561 55

For the remaining three quarters it is estimated that the receipts will be:

From customs..... \$112,000,000 00  
From internal revenue..... 92,000,000 00  
From sales of public lands..... 1,100,000 00  
From tax on national banks..... 3,650,000 00  
From reimbursement by Pacific Railways..... 350,000 00  
From customs' fines, penalties, and forfeitures..... 100,000 00  
From consular, patent, and other fees..... 1,300,000 00  
From proceeds of sales of public property..... 600,000 00  
From miscellaneous sources, including premium on coin..... 5,200,000 00

Total net receipts..... \$216,300,000 00

For the same period it is estimated that the expenditures will be:

For civil miscellaneous, including public buildings..... \$49,500,000 00  
For Indians..... 4,400,000 00  
For pensions..... 21,000,000 00  
For military establishment..... 30,000,000 00  
For naval establishment..... 12,000,000 00  
For interest on the public debt.. 67,500,000 00

Total ordinary expenditures.. \$184,400,000 00

From the foregoing statement of actual receipts and expenditures for the first quarter of the current fiscal year, and the estimates of the same for the remaining three quarters, based upon appropriations already made, and also on the assumption that Congress will not increase the expenditures by deficiency or other appropriations, it will be seen that, in the judgment of the department, the revenues will reach the sum of \$297,456,145.14, and that the ordinary expenditures will amount to \$268,447,543.76. This exhibit gives a surplus revenue of \$29,-008,601.38. Under existing laws it is estimated that \$32,293,692.32 will be required to be provided for the Sinking Fund for this year. If the statement as here submitted shall prove to be approximately correct, the revenues will fall short by the amount of \$3,285,090.94 of providing for the appropriations made by Congress.

## ESTIMATES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1877.

It is estimated that the receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, will be:

From customs.....	\$165,000,000 00
From internal revenue.....	120,000,000 00
From sales of public lands.....	1,500,000 00
From tax on circulation of national banks.....	7,200,000 00
From reimbursement of interest by Pacific Railway Companies...	500,000 00
From customs' fines, penalties, and forfeitures.....	100,000 00
From consular, letters-patent, and other fees.....	1,900,000 00
From proceeds of sales of Government property.....	800,000 00
From miscellaneous sources.....	7,000,000 00
<b>Total ordinary receipts.....</b>	<b>\$304,000,000 00</b>

It is estimated that the ordinary expenditures for the same period will be:

For civil expenses.....	\$17,500,000 00
For foreign intercourse.....	1,353,000 00
For Indians.....	7,000,000 00
For pensions.....	29,534,000 00
For military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals.....	40,000,000 00
For naval establishment, including vessels and machinery and improvements at navy yards...	21,000,000 00
For civil miscellaneous, including public buildings and light-houses, collecting revenue, mail steamship service, deficiency in postal revenues, public printing, &c.....	52,000,000 00
For interest on public debt.....	97,000,000 00
For interest on Pacific Railway bonds.....	3,878,000 00

Total estimated expenditures, exclusive of the Sinking Fund account and principal of the public debt..... \$269,265,000 00

It is expected that for this fiscal year the surplus revenues of the Government will amount to \$34,735,000. The estimated amount to be provided for the Sinking Fund is \$34,063,377 40. There is reason to hope, therefore, that the income of the Government for this year will amply provide for all its obligations, including the Sinking Fund. The estimates received from the several executive departments are as follows;

Legislative establishment.....	\$2,865,378 50
Executive establishment.....	18,717,045 40
Judicial establishment.....	3,403,450 00
Foreign intercourse.....	1,352,485 00
Military establishment.....	33,697,178 50
Naval establishment.....	20,871,666 40
Indian affairs.....	5,787,795 64
Pensions.....	29,533,500 00
Public works:	
Treasury Department.....	\$3,152,846 86
War Department.....	19,888,238 44
Navy Department.....	1,725,000 00
Interior Department.....	800,500 00
Department of Agriculture.....	21,825 00
Department of Justice.....	3,000 00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>28,591,410 30</b>

Postal service.....	9,281,602 19
Miscellaneous.....	13,881,185 79
Permanent appropriations. (including \$34,063,377 40 for Sinking Fund).....	146,620,910 76
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$314,612,608 48</b>

## REDUCTION OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

By the monthly statement of the public debt, issued June 30, 1875, the reduction of the debt during the year was shown to be \$14,399,514 84, viz:

Principal of the debt, July 1, 1874.....	\$2,251,690,468 43
Interest due and unpaid, and accrued interest to date.....	38,939,087 47
<b>Total debt.....</b>	<b>\$2,290,629,555 90</b>
Cash in Treasury.....	147,541,314 74
<b>Debt less cash in Treasury.....</b>	<b>\$2,143,088,241 16</b>
Principal of the debt July 1, 1875.....	\$2,232,284,531 95
Interest due and unpaid, and accrued interest to date.....	38,647,556 19
<b>Total debt.....</b>	<b>\$2,270,932,088 14</b>
Cash in Treasury.....	142,243,361 82
<b>Debt, less cash in Treasury.....</b>	<b>\$2,128,688,726 32</b>
Showing a reduction, as above stated, of.....	\$14,399,514 84

## COMPTROLLER KNOX'S REPORT—THE CURRENCY.

A considerable portion of the report of Mr. Knox, Comptroller of the Currency, is devoted to an elaborate defense of the national banking system, which he thinks should be continued as at present organized. A number of amendments to the banking laws are suggested, embracing among others: (1) Authorizing the Comptroller to appoint receivers of national banks when insolvency becomes evident; (2) for the appointment of a receiver when the charter of a bank is determined and adjudged forfeited by a United States court; (3) providing that if the shareholders of a bank whose capital stock is impaired refuse to pay their assessments after three months' notice, the capital stock of such delinquents shall be sold to make good the deficiency; (4) prohibiting the deposit of more than 10 per cent. of the capital of a national bank with any private banker; (5) the repeal of the 2-cent stamp tax upon bank checks; (6) requiring the words "counterfeit," or "altered," or "illegal" to be stamped on all counterfeit or unauthorized issues.

Altogether the report of Mr. Knox is one of the best in completeness ever issued by the Comptroller of the Currency.



## WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following quotations embrace important suggestions from Secretary Belknap's report :

A marked improvement has taken place in the *morale* of the service. The army is now reduced to twenty-five thousand men. Recruiting was resumed in November, 1874, for the purpose of keeping up the standard number, and under a careful system in the selection of the men the class of recruits now received is of a superior quality. The number of desertions has been largely reduced, being about two thousand one hundred less than during the previous year, while the number of re-enlistments has increased nearly threefold. The state of contentment thus shown is due, in a great measure, to the excellent system of pay established, which is now graduated by length of service, and affords the soldier an opportunity to deposit his savings with the Government and receive interest for the same until the end of his term.

The Adjutant General, under whose immediate charge the recruiting of the army is placed, has raised to the highest standard of excellence the discipline at recruiting depots, and the recruits are now well instructed and drilled before being sent to join companies in the field.

I renew the recommendation for the enlistment of music-boys over twelve years of age, in order to furnish field-music to companies, and hope that suitable legislation may be had during the next session of Congress to supply this want.

Attention is invited to the accompanying report of the Adjutant General upon the operations of the military prison, so far as they have progressed. The controlling reason for the establishment of a military prison has been that soldiers convicted of military offenses merely should be separated from the degrading influences to which they are subjected when confined with ordinary convicts. There have been 362 prisoners received during the year, and there are now 225 in the establishment. Those prisoners have been employed in various ways on the prison building and about the post, thus saving the expense of employing labor. It is hoped that an appropriation will be made for starting workshops, for it is confidently believed that the prisoners may be made to earn sufficient for their own maintenance, and in time that no appropriation will be required to be made by Congress for their support.

The desertions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1874, were four thousand six hundred and six; of re-enlistments, six hundred and ninety-nine; the number of sergeants re-enlisted, one hundred and forty-nine. The desertions for the fiscal year ending

June 30, 1875, were two thousand five hundred and twenty-one; re-enlistments, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-six; sergeants re-enlisted, three hundred and forty-seven. No better evidence can be furnished of the improved condition of the service than by presentation of the foregoing figures.

The general sentiment prevailing, and the interest evinced by the great majority of those whom I met in the performance of their duties properly and well satisfy me that reflections upon the present standard of military discipline are uncalled for, but, on the contrary, that it has constantly improved during each year since the war.

## EXPENDITURES.

The actual expenditures of the War Department for the year ending June 30, 1874, including river and harbor improvements, were.....	\$42,326,314 71
The same for the last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1875, were.....	41,277,375 28

Showing a reduction of.....	\$1,048,939 43
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The estimates for the military establishment for the ensuing fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, are.....	\$33,452,396 50
Those for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, were.....	32,488,969 50

Being an increase of.....	\$963,427 00
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The appropriations for that purpose for the current fiscal year were.....	\$28,727,407 99
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Good progress has been made during the year in the preparation of the official records of the war of the rebellion, both in the Federal and Confederate branches. I have placed the general supervision of the compilation of these records in charge of the Chief Clerk of the department, who, under my direction, has organized an efficient force of assistants, selected from those clerks who are best acquainted with the arrangement of the official papers on hand, and who are well adapted to the work for the purpose by experience with department and army records. The estimates of the Superintendent of the Military Academy, which will be submitted to Congress, have been carefully revised by myself in the interest of economy, and make no demand for appropriations beyond those necessary for the maintenance of the military establishment at West Point save what is found to be necessary for the interests of the service. During the past year strenuous exertions have been made to bring the corps up to its maximum strength, but the large number of candidates failing to pass the examination has rendered this action of the department nugatory. As it is generally conceded by those conversant with the subject that the standard of examination is not too high, it seems evident, from the large number of failures each year, that some defect exists in the elementary instruction of those appointed.

The curiosities of the National Park are rapidly being destroyed. How they can be preserved is a problem, but they should be saved: and if authority were given to the War Department to make a survey of routes to, and to station one or two companies of troops in or near the park for the purpose of preventing spoliation, which will otherwise frequently occur, I have no doubt that the result will be satisfactory. Surely everything should be done that can be to protect all that is grand and beautiful in that remarkable region.

The officer designated in pursuance of the President's order of January 23, 1874, to take charge of the contribution to be made by the War Department at the International Exhibition of 1876, has labored to organize the means within the department of making a display of our war materials equal in extent and variety to any similar contribution to like exhibitions in this or foreign countries. Co-operation on the part of the several contributing bureaus has been secured through the medium of officers selected by their respective chiefs, and to whose duties has been superadded that of collecting, arranging, and disposing of the articles and materials designed to be displayed under the direction of the officer referred to. The total expense of making a full and satisfactory exhibit of our war materials has heretofore been estimated at \$200,000. Congress at the last session only appropriated \$133,000 of this amount, and burdened the appropriation with a *pro rata* share of the expense of any building that might be erected for the accommodation of the entire Government exhibit. Experience has shown that the amount thus left for the practical exhibit of the War Department is inadequate, and I recommend that Congress supplement the appropriation already made with a further one, granting sufficient to make up the sum of \$200,000 for the practical exhibit of the department. This amount is set down at \$89,000, which includes an item of \$22,000 as reimbursement for moneys expended in the erection of the Government building at the Exhibition. I believe that the Government, in appearing as a voluntary contributor at this Exhibition, international as it is in character, should avoid the mortification of an inconsiderable or discreditable display.

#### QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S REPORT.

The Quartermaster-General, in his annual report, states that the clothing issued to the troops has proved satisfactory except the campaign hats, and measures are being taken to procure more suitable ones for adoption in their stead. Through the courtesy of Sir

Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington, 100 cork helmets, such as are worn by the British troops in hot countries, have been procured, and are being tried in Arizona. Clothing to the value of \$184,041 has been issued to the National Home for Disabled Volunteers. The total cost of animals purchased during the year was \$390,896, and 2,526 animals were sold, for which \$70,901 was received and deposited in the Treasury. The cost of forage was much increased by the ravages of the grasshoppers and drought in certain localities, which consequently increased the expenditures on account of this class of supply.

#### THE SIGNAL SERVICE.

The Chief Signal Officer, in his report, states that the display of cautionary signals has been systematically made at forty-three different stations, sea and lake ports and cities. Of the total number of cautionary signals thus displayed, 76 per cent. have been afterwards reported as justified. No great storm has passed over any considerable number of the ports of the United States without preannouncement. The watch kept by the service and the prompt transmission in times of danger of a few messages have saved property amounting to more than the cost of the lines. The question of the useful preannouncement of approaching meteoric changes may be considered as determined by now five years of successful service. With each year of labor the paths for improvement open more plainly. What was conjectured became a certainty.

#### NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Secretary Robeson says of the Navy: The number of vessels of every class and description now borne on the navy register is 147, carrying 1,195 guns, and 152,492 tons measurement. Of these, many are sailing vessels of little or no value as part of the efficient force for either the cruising or fighting purposes of the present day. The steam vessels as distinguished from iron-clads and torpedo ships, number 95, of which 25 are tugs. Of the remainder, 38 are ready for use when required. Our iron-clad fleet consists of 26 vessels — 21 of the monitor type, 2 torpedo ships, and 3 never launched. All the vessels

(80) are available, including 16 iron-clads and 2 torpedo boats. Details are given of the operations of the fleet on each of the six stations.

It is gratifying to be able to report that the navy is now in a stronger and more efficient condition than it has ever been at any time, at least since the commencement of your administration. It is not very strong in the number or classes of its ships, but what there are of them are in as good condition as it is practicable to keep such materials of war, under the various and trying conditions to which they are, in the nature of their service, constantly exposed. A far larger proportion than usual of our wooden ships are ready for service; our iron-clad fleet is efficient; our storehouses are fairly stocked with ordnance, equipments, and supplies; we have on hand a fair supply of the best material for the building and repair of ships. The service has been placed in a state of efficiency, compared to what existed a few years ago, by utilizing—except in the case of the eight sloops built under special appropriations—what could be spared from the current appropriations made during the Cuban emergency, and of applying these means practically and steadily towards putting what was worth saving of the navy, as it existed, in as permanent good condition as the state of the ships and the means at command permitted. The wisdom of this policy is, I think, illustrated by the strength of our position to-day. It would also be well, I think, if Congress would afford the means to finish at once the repairs of the five double-turreted monitors. With these added to it, our iron-clad force would, for purposes of defense, present a very substantial barrier to anything which would cross the seas and attempt to enter our ports.

THE VESSELS REFITTED FOR ACTIVE SERVICE DURING THE PAST YEAR.

According to the annual report of W. W. Wood, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering at the Navy Department, the machinery of the following vessels has been repaired and refitted for active service during the past year: Franklin, Pensacola, Plymouth, Ticonderoga, Ossipee, Tuscarora, Canonicus, Saugus, Gettysburg, Tallapoosa, Jason, Montauk, Nantucket, Palos.

Repairs to the appended are now being made: Monocacy, Comanche, Snowdrop, Benicia, Amphitrite, Monadnock, Terror, Ashuelot, Iroquois, Cohasset, Leyden, Mayflower, Race, Phlox.

Those whose machinery needs repairing are: Colorado, Wabash, Brooklyn, Canandaigua, Congress, Dictator, Lancaster, Shenandoah, Worcester, Juniata, Narragansett, Wyoming, Wachusett, Pinta, Standish, Saco.

Mr. Wood says that since his last report compound engines for the Alert, Alliance, Ranger, Adams, Essex, and Huron have been completed and successfully tried. Compound engines for the Trenton, Enterprise, and the double-turreted monitor Miantonomah are in course of construction, and are being erected on board the two former vessels. Engines for the Marion, Quinnebaugh, and Vandalia have been converted from simple to compound. He refers to his recommendations last year in regard to the discontinuance of the two bladed propellers, and says, from carefully conducted experiments the fallacy of their use on our vessels was made apparent. The four-bladed screws have been restored to several of our naval steamers, and these changes will be continued as opportunities are afforded.

#### INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

THE LAND OFFICE—THE NUMBER OF ACRES DISPOSED OF BY ORDINARY CASH SALES AND IN OTHER WAYS.

The annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the fiscal year ending July 30, 1875, makes the following exhibit:

	<i>Acres.</i>
Disposal of public lands by ordinary cash sales.....	745,061 30
Military bounty land warrant locations under acts of 1850, 1852, and 1855.....	137,000.00
Homestead entries.....	2,356,057.69
Timber culture entries.....	464,870.16
Agricultural College scrip locations	9,432.02
Certified to railroads.....	3,107,643.14
Land approved to States as swamp.	47,721.25
Certified for agricultural colleges..	22,321.24
Certified for common schools.....	142,388.11
Certified for universities.....	16,454.04
Internal improvement selections approved to States.....	8,614.25
Sioux half-breed scrip locations....	1,526.45
Chippewa half-breed scrip locations .....	11,181.64
Total.....	7,070,271.69
Disposals of previous year.....	9,530,872.93
Decrease in disposals.....	2,460,601.64



## CASH RECEIPTS UNDER VARIOUS HEADS.

Purchase money of land sold.....	\$1,382,281 52
Homestead fees.....	185,970 00
Commissions.....	159,125 80
Timber culture fees.....	36,430 00
Commissions.....	14,572 00
Agricultural College scrip fees.....	236 00
Fees for exemplifications furnished by the General Land Office.....	5,385 95

Total.....\$1,784,001 27

## PATENTS.

During the year ending the 30th ultimo, 21,489 applications for patents were filed and 14,230 patents, including reissues and designs, issued; 42 applications for extensions were made, and 81 patents extended; 3,052 caveats were filed; 2,495 patents were granted, but not issued by reason of non-payment of the final fees; 951 applications for the registration of trade-marks were received, and 993 trade-marks were registered. The number of patents issued during said year exceeded those of the preceding year by 685. The total amount received during the year from fees, etc., was \$732,285.87, and the total expenditures were \$708,874.35, leaving an unexpended balance of \$23,411.52.

## INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The general situation of the Indian service may be regarded as encouraging. At the important agencies of Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, in the Dakota or Sioux nation, however, one of the principal elements of success—a productive soil—is wanting. The removal of these agencies to the Missouri river, at some point or points between the mouth of the Cheyenne river and Fort Randall, to be hereafter determined upon, will result in a greater economy and convenience of supply and greater facility to restrain and coerce refractory Indians. The failure of the negotiations for the relinquishment of the Black Hills necessitates the adoption of some measures to relieve the Department of a great embarrassment.

For two years the Government has been appropriating about \$1,250,000 for the subsistence of Sioux of various tribes. It is submitted, therefore, under these circumstances, for the consideration of Congress, whether it would not be justifiable and proper to make future appropriations for supplies to this people contingent on their relinquishment of the gold fields in the Black Hills, and the right of way thereto. It would be beneficial to the Indian service, in my opinion, and would promote its efficiency if the laws preventing the detail of army officers for civil service were so far modified as to allow their employment in the Indian service at the discretion of the President in case of emergency. There are still some roving bands of hostile Sioux in the Big Horn and Powder river country of Dakota and Montana which should be subju-

gated and compelled to cease their raids and depredations upon other tribes and upon the whites. When this is done there will be but little trouble, with a fair degree of tact, intelligence, and force, to control our entire Indian population.

## PENSIONS.

The annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions shows that the number of pensioners on the roll continues to decrease. There has not, however, been a corresponding reduction in the annual charge to the Government on this account, for, while the roll has decreased 1,420 in number during the last fiscal year, the total annual rate is \$44,733.13 in excess of that of the preceding year. On the 30th of June, 1874, the names of 236,241 pensioners were borne on the rolls, at an annual aggregate rate of \$26,241,786.46. During the year next ensuing, 11,577 names were added to the roll, and 12,977 dropped therefrom for various causes, leaving the names of 234,821 persons on the roll June 30, 1875, whose pensions annually aggregate the sum of \$26,289,519.59. Of the latter number 210,363 were army pensioners, 105,479 of whom were invalids, and 104,885 widows and dependent relatives; 3,420 were navy pensioners, of whom 1,636 were invalids, and 1,784 widows, etc., and 21,038 were pensioners of the War of 1812, 15,875 of whom were survivors, and 5,163 widows; a total of 234,821 pensioners. During said year the payments from the appropriations for pensions were as follows: To army invalids, \$11,748,433.78; to army widows and dependent relatives, \$15,525,734.30; to navy invalids, \$185,675.82; to navy widows, etc., \$334,672.65; to survivors of the War of 1812, \$1,355,599.86, and to widows of soldiers in that war, \$533,000.21; in all \$29,683,116.63, which amount includes the expenses of disbursement. It is estimated that the sum of \$29,535,000 will be required for the pension-service during the next fiscal year; which amount is less by \$975,000 than the estimate submitted for the current fiscal year.

## EDUCATION.

The demand upon the office for information upon special topics has been met, in part, by the publication of eight pamphlets, containing in all 704 octavo pages. A special report is now in course of preparation in regard to public libraries in the United States, including those of schools, colleges, societies, etc., which will furnish interesting statistics, and show their historical development, classification, management, and circulation. The Commissioner alludes to the embarrassment encountered by the promoters of education in those States wherein slavery has been more recently abolished, and recommends the

adoption of appropriate relief measures by the General Government.

#### THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

From the report of Postmaster-General Jewell we glean that the earnings of the department for the last fiscal year fell short of its expenditures by something more than six million dollars. Of registered letters sent by mail during the year, 911 have been absolutely lost—stolen, of course—and 683 are missing, but not yet given up as lost. There have been 107 persons convicted of violating the postal laws, and 157 others await trial. The fastmail trains have worked so satisfactorily that the Postmaster-General expects a voluntary extension of that species of service by the railroads at an early date. There is a sensible recommendation that the postage on transient printed matter be reduced to the old rate, one cent for two ounces. The prepayment of newspaper postage has not been found to increase the revenue, but there has been a material saving in commissions, sufficient to prove that the change is profitable to the Department.

#### THE LIGHT-HOUSE BOARD.

The report of the Light-house Board shows that the Board has made an extensive and careful series of experiments with regard to the merits of the mineral oils of this country for the purpose of light-house illumination and an elaborate and extensive series of experiments with regard to sounds as applied to signals for warning the mariner of his approach to danger in thick or foggy weather, when all other guides become of little use. Even at this stage of the experiments success has been most gratifying, and by pursuing these inquiries the Board hopes to arrive at results not only valuable to science but of practical importance in enabling it better to contend with one of the worst elements of danger which the mariner has to meet on our extended and dangerous coast. The Board asks for \$2,139,600 for the year ending June 30, 1877, as against \$1,899,000 appropriated last year for its general support, and \$789,926 for constructing new light-houses, light-ships, etc., as against \$915,400 appropriated last year.

#### The Inter-Oceanic Canal.

The idea of constructing a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama has not yet been abandoned by the United States. The vast benefits which would flow from this artificial highway between the two oceans cannot be over-estimated. Our Western coast would be within easy reach of our commercial marine, and the perilous trip

around the Horn would be avoided altogether by those vessels seeking the Pacific ocean. As if conscious of the immense value of this route to the civilized world, Nature presents almost insurmountable obstacles to the successful prosecution of the work. Deadly swamps; deep rivers; dense forests; mountains of flinty rock, seem to have been purposely placed on this narrow neck of land that separates two oceans. For many years the best engineering talent of the land has been trying to find some practicable route over the isthmus. Large sums of money and many lives have been sacrificed in the endeavor to master the natural difficulties which present themselves. During the past year two expeditions were sent out by the United States Government to complete the survey for the inter-oceanic canal.

One was under the command of Lieutenant Frederick Collins, who was instructed to make a careful survey of the Napipi canal route.

Swamps and morasses were encountered for the first five miles of the route. These gave place to hills and mountains as the party neared the Pacific, making the entire line extremely difficult to survey. The route followed by Lieutenant Collins is 32.2 miles long, and the estimated cost for a ship canal is \$98,000,000. By this route the proposed tunnel under the dividing ridge would be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles long.

The other expedition was under the charge of Commander Edward P. Lull, and its line of survey was near the line of the Panama railroad. The route laid out by Commander Lull runs from the Bay of Aspinwall on the Carribean Sea to Panama on the Pacific. The length of the line is 41.7 miles, and the estimated cost \$94,911,360. Neither of these routes present any advantage over the one known as "The Nicaraguan Route," hitherto surveyed, and to those who have made the subject a study the latter route is deemed the most practicable for a ship canal. This route begins at Greytown on the Atlantic side, and strikes the Pacific a short distance north of the Rio del Brito. Each subsequent survey of new lines appears to have strengthened the claims of this one, and it is not improbable that before many years the Nicaragua Ship Canal will be one of the accomplished facts of the century.



## THE SENATE.

STATES.	Begin.	End.	NAMES.	Pol- itics.
Alabama.....	1871	1877	Geo. Goldthwaite..	Dem.
	1868	1879	Geo. E. Spencer....	Rep.
Arkansas.....	1871	1877	Powell Clayton....	Rep.
	1873	1879	S. W. Dorsey.....	Rep.
California.....	1875	1881	Newton Booth.....	Ind.
Connecticut....	1875	1881	Wm. W. Eaton.....	Dem.
	1875	1879	Jas. E. English....	Dem.
Delaware.....	1869	1881	Thos. F. Bayard....	Dem.
	1871	1877	Eli Saulsbury.....	Dem.
Florida.....	1875	1881	Chas. W. Jones....	Dem.
	1873	1879	S. B. Conover.....	Dem.
Georgia.....	1871	1877	Thos. M. Norwood..	Dem.
	1873	1879	John B. Gordon....	Dem.
Illinois.....	1871	1877	John A. Logan.....	Rep.
	1873	1879	Richard J. Oglesby..	Rep.
Indiana.....	1875	1881	Jos. E. McDonald..	Dem.
	1867	1879	Oliver P. Morton....	Rep.
Iowa.....	1871	1877	Geo. G. Wright.....	Rep.
	1873	1879	Wm. B. Allison....	Rep.
Kansas.....	1873	1877	J. M. Harvey.....	Rep.
	1873	1879	John J. Ingalls....	Rep.
Kentucky.....	1871	1877	John W. Stevenson..	Dem.
	1868	1879	Thos. C. McCreery..	Dem.
Louisiana.....	1871	1877	J. Rodman West....	Rep.
	1873	1879	P. B. S. Pinchback..	Rep.
Maine.....	1848	1881	Hannibal Hamlin..	Rep.
	1861	1877	Lot M. Morrill....	Rep.
Massachusetts..	1873	1877	G. S. Boutwell....	Rep.
	1875	1881	Henry L. Dawes....	Rep.
Maryland.....	1875	1881	Wm. P. Whyte.....	Dem.
	1873	1879	Geo. R. Dennis....	Dem.
Michigan.....	1875	1881	I. P. Christianity....	Rep.
	1871	1877	Thos. W. Ferry....	Rep.
Minnesota.....	1875	1881	S. J. R. McMillan..	Rep.
	1871	1877	Wm. Windom.....	Rep.
Mississippi.....	1875	1881	D. K. Bruce.....	Rep.
	1871	1877	Jas. L. Alcorn.....	Rep.
Missouri.....	1875	1881	F. M. Cockrell....	Dem.
	1873	1879	L. V. Bogy.....	Dem.
Nebraska.....	1875	1881	A. S. Paddock.....	Rep.
	1871	1877	P. W. Hitchcock....	Rep.
Nevada.....	1875	1881	Wm. Sharon.....	Rep.
	1873	1879	John P. Jones.....	Rep.
N. Hampshire...	1865	1877	A. H. Cragin.....	Rep.
	1873	1879	B. Wadleigh.....	Rep.
New Jersey.....	1875	1881	T. H. Randolph....	Dem.
	1866	1877	F. Frelinghuysen..	Rep.
New York.....	1875	1881	Francis Kernan....	Dem.
	1867	1879	Roscoe Conkling..	Rep.
N. Carolina.....	1872	1877	M. H. Ransom.....	Dem.
	1873	1879	A. S. Merrimon....	Dem.
Ohio.....	1869	1881	A. G. Thurman.....	Dem.
	1861	1879	John Sherman.....	Rep.
Oregon.....	1871	1877	James K. Kelley....	Dem.
	1873	1879	John H. Mitchell..	Rep.
Pennsylvania...	1875	1881	Wm. A. Wallace....	Dem.
	1845	1879	Simon Cameron....	Rep.
Rhode Island...	1875	1881	A. E. Burnside....	Rep.
	1859	1877	H. B. Anthony....	Rep.
S. Carolina.....	1868	1879	T. J. Robertson....	Rep.
	1873	1879	John P. Patterson..	Rep.
Tennessee.....	1875	1881	D. M. Key.....	Dem.
	1871	1877	Henry Cooper.....	Dem.
Texas.....	1875	1881	S. B. Maxey.....	Dem.
	1870	1877	M. C. Hamilton....	Ind.
Vermont.....	1866	1881	Geo. F. Edmunds..	Rep.
	1867	1879	Justin S. Morrill..	Rep.
Virginia.....	1875	1881	R. E. Withers.....	Dem.
	1870	1877	John W. Johnston..	Dem.
West Virginia...	1875	1881	A. T. Caperton....	Dem.
	1871	1877	Henry G. Davis....	Dem.
Wisconsin.....	1875	1881	Angus Cameron....	Rep.
	1861	1879	Timothy O. Howe..	Rep.

Republicans, 44; Democrats, 28; Independents' 2; total Senate, 74; Republican majority, 14.

## THE HOUSE.

Republicans (marked R.), 107; Democrats (marked D.), 178; Independents (marked I.), 6. One vacancy exists in Tennessee, caused by death. The asterisk (\*) indicates members of the last Congress re-elected. The C. stands for colored.

## ALABAMA—8.

1 Jerry Haralson, C.R.	5 *Jno. H. Caldwell, D
2 Jere. N. Williams, D	6 G. H. Hewitt, D.
3 Paul Bradford, D.	At { B. R. Lewis, D
4 *Charles Hays, R.	L. { Wm. H. Forney, D

## ARKANSAS—4.

1 Lucien C. Gause, D.	3 W. W. Wiltshire, D.
2 Wm. F. Slemons, D.	4 *Thos. M. Gunter, D

## CALIFORNIA—4.

1 W. A. Piper, D.	3 J. K. Luttrell, D.
2 *H. F. Page, R.	4 P. D. Wigginton, D

## CONNECTICUT—4.

1 Geo. M. Landers, D.	3 H. W. Blair, R
2 James Phelps, D.	4 *W. H. Barnum, D.

## DELAWARE—1.

1 James Williams, D.
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## FLORIDA—2.

1 *Wm. J. Purman, R.	2 *Josiah T. Wall, C. R
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## GEORGIA—9.

1 Julian Hartridge, D	6 *Jas. H. Blount, D.
2 Wm. E. Smith, D.	7 Wm. H. Felton, D.
3 *Philip Cook, D.	8 *A. H. Stephens, D.
4 *Henry R. Harris, D.	9 *Benj. H. Hill, D.
5 M. H. Chandler, D.	

## ILLINOIS—19.

1 B. G. Caulfield, D.	11 Scott Wike, D.
2 C. H. Harrison, D.	12 Wm. M. Springer, D
3 *Chas. B. Farwell, R	13 A. E. Stephenson, D
4 *S. A. Hurlbut, R.	14 *J. G. Cannon, R.
5 *H. C. Burchard, R.	15 *John R. Eden, D.
6 *T. J. Henderson, R.	16 Wm. A. J. Sparks, D
7 Alex. Campbell, I.	17 *W. K. Morrison, D.
8 *G. L. Fort, R.	18 William Hartzell, D
9 Rich. H. Whiting, R	19 Wm. B. Anderson, I.
10 John C. Bagby, I.	

## INDIANA—13.

1 Benoni S. Fuller, D	8 *M. C. Hunter, R.
2 Jas. D. Williams, D.	9 Thos. J. Cason, R.
3 Michael C. Kerr, D.	10 Wm. S. Raymond, D
4 Jephtha D. New, D.	11 Jas. E. Evans, R.
5 *Wm. S. Holman, D.	12 A. H. Hamilton, D.
6 *M. S. Robinson, R.	13 John H. Baker, R.
7 Frankl'n Landers, D.	

## IOWA—9.

1 *G. W. McCrary, R.	6 E. S. Sampson, R.
2 John Q. Tufts, R.	7 *John A. Kasson, R
3 L. L. Ainsworth, D.	8 *Jas. W. McDill, R.
4 *Henry O. Pratt, R.	9 Addison Oliver, R.
5 Jas. Wilson, R.	

## KANSAS—8.

1 *Wm. A. Phillips, R.	3 Wm. R. Brown, R.
2 John R. Goodin, D.	

## KENTUCKY—10.

1 A. R. Boone, D.	6 Thos. L. Jones, D.
2 *John Y. Brown, D.	7 J. S. C. Blackburn, D
3 C. W. Milliken, D.	8 *M. J. Durham, D.
4 J. P. Knott, D.	9 John D. White, R.
5 Ed. Y. Parsons, D.	10 John B. Clark, D.

## LOUISIANA—6.

1 R. L. Gibson, D.	4 Wm. M. Levy, D.
2 E. John Ellis, D.	5 *Frank Morey, R.
3 *C. B. Darrall, R.	6 *C. E. Nash, C. R.

## MAINE—5.

1 *J. H. Burleigh, R.	4 H. M. Plaisted, R.
2 *Wm. P. Frye, R.	5 *Eugene Hale, R.
3 *Jas. G. Blaine, R.	

## MARYLAND—6.

1 Phil. E. Thomas, D.	4 Thos. Swann, D.
2 Chas. B. Roberts, D.	5 Eli J. Henkle, D.
3 Wm. J. O'Brien, D.	6 Wm. Walsh, D.



## MASSACHUSETTS—11.

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|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 W. W. Crapo, R.     | 7 John K. Tarbox, D. |
| 2 *Benj. W. Harris, R | 8 W. W. Warrant, D.  |
| 3 *Henry L. Pierce, R | 9 *Geo. F. Hoar, R.  |
| 4 Rufus S. Frost, R.  | 10 *J. H. Seelye, L. |
| 5 Nath'l P. Banks, L. | 11 C. W. Chapin, D.  |
| 6 C. P. Thompson, D.  |                      |

## MICHIGAN—9.

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|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 A. S. Williams, D. | 6 G. H. Durand, D.    |
| 2 *Henry Waldron, R  | 7 *O. D. Conger, R.   |
| 3 *George Willard, R | 8 *N. H. Bradley, R.  |
| 4 Allen Potter, D.   | 9 *Jay A. Hubbell, R. |
| 5 W. B. Williams, R. |                       |

## MINNESOTA—3.

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|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 *M. H. Dunnell, R.   | 3 Wm. S. King, R. |
| 2 Horace B. Strait, R. |                   |

## MISSISSIPPI—6.

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|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 *L. Q. C. Lamar, D. | 4 O. R. Singleton, R. |
| 2 G. W. Welles, R.    | 5 Chas. E. Hooker, D. |
| 3 H. B. Money, D.     | 6 *John K. Lynch, R.  |

## MISSOURI—13.

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Edward C. Kehr, D   | 8 B. J. Franklin, D.    |
| 2 *Erastus Wells, D.  | 9 David Rea, D.         |
| 3 *Wm. H. Stone, D.   | 10 E. A. DeBolt, D.     |
| 4 *R. A. Hatcher, D.  | 11 J. B. Clark, Jr., D. |
| 5 *Rich. P. Bland, D. | 12 *John M. Glover, D   |
| 6 Chas. H. Morgan, D  | 13 *A. H. Beckner, D.   |
| 7 John Phillips, D.   |                         |

## NEBRASKA—1.

- 1 Lorenzo Crounse, R.

## NEVADA—1.

- 1 William Woodburn, R.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE—3.

- |                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Frank Jones, D. | 3 H. W. Blair, R. |
| 2 S. N. Bell, D.  |                   |

## NEW JERSEY—7.

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 C. H. Sinnickson, R. | 5 Aug. W. Cutler, D.  |
| 2 *S. A. Dobbins, R.   | 6 Fred'k H. Teese, D. |
| 3 Miles Ross, D.       | 7 A. A. Hardenburg, D |
| 4 *Robt. Hamilton, D   |                       |

## NEW YORK—33.

- |                          |                        |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 H. B. Metcalfe, D.     | 18 Andr'w Williams, R  |
| 2 *J. G. Schaunaker, D   | 19 *W. A. Wheeler, R.  |
| 3 S. B. Chittenden, L.   | 20 *H. H. Hathorn, R.  |
| 4 A. M. Bliss, D.        | 21 Sam'l F. Miller, R. |
| 5 Edwin R. Meade, D.     | 22 Geo. A. Bagley, R.  |
| 6 *Samuel S. Cox, D.     | 23 Scott Lord, D.      |
| 7 Smith Ely, Jr., D.     | 24 Wm. H. Baker, R.    |
| 8 Elijah Ward, D.        | 25 E. W. Leaven-       |
| 9 *Fernando Wood, D      | 26 worth, R.           |
| 10 A. S. Hewitt, D.      | 27 C. D. McDougall, R  |
| 11 Benj. A. Wilton, D.   | 28 E. G. Lapham, R.    |
| 12 N. Holmes Odell, D.   | 29 *Thos. C. Platt, R. |
| 13 *J. O. Whitehouse, D  | 30 C. C. B. Walker, D  |
| 14 Geo. M. Beebe, D.     | 31 John M. Davy, R.    |
| 15 J. H. Bagley, Jr., D. | 32 *Geo. G. Hoskins, R |
| 16 Chas. H. Adams, R.    | 33 *Lynan K. Bass, R   |
| 17 M. I. Townsend, R.    | 34 Nelson I. Norton, R |

## NORTH CAROLINA—8.

- |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Jesse J. Yeats, D.  | 5 Alfred M. Scales, D |
| 2 J. A. Hyman, C. R.  | 6 *Thos. H. Ashe, D.  |
| 3 *A. M. Waddell, D.  | 7 *W. M. Robbins, D.  |
| 4 Joseph J. Davis, D. | 8 *Robt. H. Vance, D  |

## OHIO—20.

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Milton Saylor, D.   | 11 John L. Vance, D.    |
| 2 *H. B. Banning, D.  | 12 Ansel T. Walling, D  |
| 3 John S. Savage, D.  | 13 *M. I. Southard, D.  |
| 4 J. A. McMahon, D.   | 14 John P. Cowan, D     |
| 5 A. V. Rice, D.      | 15 N. H. Van Vorhes, R  |
| 6 Frank H. Hurd, D.   | 16 *L. Danforth, R.     |
| 7 *Law'ret T. Neal, D | 17 *L. D. Woodworth, R  |
| 8 *Wm. Lawrence, R.   | 18 *James Monroe, R.    |
| 9 F. F. Poppleton, D. | 19 *Jas. A. Garfield, R |
| 10 *Chas. Foster, R.  | 20 Henry B. Payne D.    |

## OREGON—1.

- 1 Lafayette Lane, D.

## PENNSYLVANIA—27.

- |                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 C. Freeman, L.     | 15 Joseph Powell, D.  |
| 2 *Chas. O'Neill, R. | 16 *Sobieski Ross, R. |
| 3 *S. J. Randall, D. | 17 John Reilly, D.    |

- |                        |                        |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 4 *Wm. D. Kelley, R.   | 18 Wm. S. Stenger, D.  |
| 5 John Robbins, D.     | 19 Levi Maish, D.      |
| 6 *W. Townsend, R.     | 20 Levi A. Mackay, D.  |
| 7 Alan Wood, Jr., R.   | 21 Jacob Turner, D.    |
| 8 *Heister Clymer, D.  | 22 Jas. H. Hopkins, D. |
| 9 *A. Herr Smith, R.   | 23 Alex. G. Cochran, D |
| 10 Wm. Mutchler, D.    | 24 John W. Wallace, R  |
| 11 F. D. Collins, D.   | 25 Geo. A. Jenks, D.   |
| 12 W. W. Ketcham, R.   | 26 Jas. Sheakley, D.   |
| 13 Jas. R. Reilly, D.  | 27 Albert G. Egbert, D |
| 14 *John B. Packer, R. |                        |

## RHODE ISLAND—2.

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 *Benj. T. Eames, R. | 2 L. W. Ballou, R. |
|-----------------------|--------------------|

## SOUTH CAROLINA—5.

- |                        |                      |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 *J. H. Rainey, C. R. | 4 *A. S. Wallace, R. |
| 2 E. W. M. Mackey, D   | 5 R. Smalls, C. R.   |
| 3 Solom'n L. Hoge, R   |                      |

## TENNESSEE—10.

- |                        |                        |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Wm. McFarland, D.    | 6 John F. House, D.    |
| 2 *J. M. Thornburgh, R | 7 *W. C. Whitthorne, D |
| 3 Geo. G. Dibrell, D.  | 8 *J. D. C. Atkins, D. |
| 4 Vacancy.             | 9 Wm. P. Caldwell, D   |
| 5 *John M. Bright, D   | 10 H. Casey Young, D.  |

## TEXAS—6.

- |                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 John H. Reagan, D.     | 4 *Roger Q. Mills, D. |
| 2 D. B. Culbertson, D.   | 5 *John Hancock, D.   |
| 3 J. W. Throckmorton, D. | 6 Gus. Schleicher, D. |

## VERMONT—3.

- |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Chas. H. Joyce, R. | 3 *Geo. W. Hendee, R |
| 2 D. C. Denison, R.  |                      |

## VIRGINIA—9.

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 B. B. Douglas, D.    | 6 John R. Tucker, D.  |
| 2 *John Goode, Jr., D  | 7 *John T. Harris, D. |
| 3 Gilbert C. Walker, D | 8 *Eppa Hunton, D.    |
| 4 *W. H. H. Stowell, R | 9 William Terry, D.   |
| 5 Geo. C. Cabell, D.   |                       |

## WEST VIRGINIA—3.

- |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Benj. Wilson, D.   | 3 *Frank Hereford, D |
| 2 C. G. Faulkner, D. |                      |

## WISCONSIN—8.

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 *C. G. Williams, R. | 5 S. D. Burchard, D. |
| 2 L. B. Caswell, R.   | 6 A. M. Kimball, R.  |
| 3 H. S. Magoun, R.    | 7 *J. M. Rusk, R.    |
| 4 W. Pitt Lynde, D.   | 8 Geo. W. Cate, D.   |

## TERRITORIAL DELEGATES.

- Arizona—Hiram S. Stephens, L.  
 Colorado—Thomas M. Patterson, D.  
 Dakota—Jefferson P. Kidder, R.  
 Idaho—Thomas W. Bennett, R.  
 Montana—\*Martin Maginnis, D.  
 New Mexico—Stephen B. Elkins, R.  
 Utah—\*George Q. Cannon, I.  
 Washington—Orange Jacobs, R.  
 Wyoming—\*William R. Steele, D.

## CONTESTED SEATS IN THE HOUSE.

- | State.              | Seat.            | Contested by         |
|---------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Alabama .....       | Haralson, R.     | F. G. Bronberg, D    |
| Alabama .....       | Williams, D.     | J. T. Rapier, C. R.  |
| Alabama .....       | Hays, R.         | Jas. T. Jones, D.    |
| Florida .....       | Purman, R.       | J. A. Henderson, D   |
| Florida .....       | Walls, col. R.   | Jesse J. Finley, D   |
| Georgia .....       | Hartridge, D.    | Jno. E. Bryant, R    |
| Georgia .....       | Smith, D.        | R. H. Whiteley, R    |
| Illinois .....      | Farwell, R.      | J. V. Le Moynes, D   |
| Illinois .....      | Whiting, R.      | Leon'ed F. Ross, D   |
| Indiana .....       | Hunter, R.       | Harris'n J. Rice, D  |
| Indiana .....       | Baker, R.        | Freem'n Kelley, D    |
| Kentucky .....      | White, R.        | H. Cockrill, D.      |
| Louisiana .....     | Morey, R.        | W. B. Spencer, D.    |
| Maryland .....      | Walsh, D.        | Lloyd Lowndes, D     |
| Massachusetts ..... | Frost, R.        | J. G. Abbott, D.     |
| Minnesota .....     | Strait, R.       | E. St. Julien Cox, D |
| Pennsylvania .....  | Freeman, R.      | T. B. Florence, D.   |
| Pennsylvania .....  | Egbert, D.       | C. B. Curtis, R.     |
| S. Carolina .....   | Hoge, R.         | B. H. McGowan, D     |
| S. Carolina .....   | Wallace, R.      | J. B. Kershaw, D.    |
| Virginia .....      | Goode, D.        | J. H. Platt, Jr., R. |
| New Mexico .....    | S. B. Elkins, R. | Pedro Valdez, D.     |

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1876.

Vol. 6.

PREMIUMS.

Vol. 6.

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DEVOTED TO

THE DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION.

Vol. VI.—No. 2.

FEBRUARY, 1876.

Whole No. 36.

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1876.

Vol. 6.

**PROSPECTUS.**

Vol. 6.

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# THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI. WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY, 1876. No. 2.

## THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

### THE CASE OF M'MILLEN.

A long debate sprang up in the Senate on the case of W. L. McMillen, heretofore claiming a seat in the Senate from the State of Louisiana—the motion being on his request to withdraw his credentials from the files of the Senate. It was a dispute about the old condition of things in that State, and ended where it began, with the passage of the resolution by a vote of 30 to 28. So a distracting element has been withdrawn, it is hoped forever, from the hall of the United States Senate.

### HOUSE RESOLUTIONS.

In the House the two parties were evidently feeling each other's strength and preparing to make a record to go to the country. Mr. Blaine introduced a proposal for an amendment of the Constitution which is likely to open a long discussion and to stir the popular mind of the country to its very depths. It is as follows :

### ARTICLE XVI.

"No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations."

This proposal was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### EMPLOYEES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. Fort proposed the following resolution:

"That in all subordinate appointments  
5R

under any of the officers of this House it is the judgment of this House that wounded Union soldiers who are not disabled from performance of duty should be preferred."

Mr. Cox offered an amendment "that inasmuch as the union of the States has been restored, all the citizens thereof are entitled to consideration in all appointments to offices under this Government," and proposed the whole subject be referred to the Committee on Accounts. It was so decided by the Democratic majority.

### PRESIDENTIAL TERM.

Mr. Harrison proposed the following amendment to the Constitution :

### ARTICLE XVI.

"From and after the election for President of the United States next following the ratification of this article, the President shall hold his office during the term of six years, and, together with the Vice President chosen for the same term, be elected in the manner as now provided, or may hereafter be provided; but neither the President nor Vice President, when the office of President is devolved upon him, shall be eligible for re-election as President, but shall be from and after the expiration of his office as President, unless the same be by impeachment. A Senator for life for the United States at large, and as such Senator shall have the same privileges as other Senators, except that he shall not vote as Senator, nor shall he be President *pro tempore* of the Senate, he shall have the same immunities and compensation; but his attendance upon the sessions shall not be compulsory, nor shall his compensation be abridged by reason of his non-attendance."

Mr. Morrison offered a joint resolution proposing the term of the Presidential office for six years, and to make the President ineligible for more than six years in any term of twelve years after the next Presidential election,



which resolution was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

#### REDUCTION OF THE ARMY.

Mr. Springer offered a resolution "that the Committee on Military Affairs be requested to inquire into the expediency of reducing the regular army to 10,000 men, or to such number as will insure an efficient public service at an expense of not exceeding \$20,000,000 annually, and that said committee report by bill or otherwise. The resolution was adopted.

#### DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

Mr. Stone introduced a bill proposing to establish a Department of Commerce, having charge of the agricultural, manufacturing, and mining interests of the United States, so far as they are committed to the National Government by the Constitution, with a Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Chief Clerk, and such other clerks and officers as may hereafter be designated by law, and that these officers be put on the same footing as those of the other Departments of the Government; that the Department of Commerce shall be charged with the execution of all laws of the United States relating to trade and commerce, foreign and domestic, and of all laws for raising revenue taxes, excises, and duties on imports; that it shall tabulate statistics relating to the subjects with which it is charged, and make an annual report to the President.

#### REMOVAL OF HENDERSON.

Mr. Buckner submitted a resolution calling on the President "to transmit to the House all correspondence in reference to the dismissal of ex-Senator John B. Henderson, of Missouri, as one of the special counsel of the United States in the prosecution of the whisky-fraud cases before the United States Court at St. Louis." The resolution was laid over.

#### PROTECTION FROM RAILROAD EXTORTION.

Mr. Wilson introduced a resolution "that it is the duty of Congress to regulate commerce on inter-State railroads by appropriate legislation, so that the agricultural, commercial, and other industrial interests of the country may be protected from extortion and discrimination." It was referred to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

#### GOVERNMENT DEFAULTERS.

Mr. Hereford submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the House with the names of the various persons or officers whose accounts have not been settled, or who have been defaulters to the General Government since March 2, 1865, together with the amounts of each, and by whom appointed." The resolution was laid over.

#### CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. Cox presented a memorial from the Centennial Commission and Board of Finance for an appropriation in aid of the exposition. The memorial recites the creation of the commission by act of Congress March 3, 1871, and the subsequent steps of the Government for the furtherance of this national design. It states that the amount required to carry the work to the opening-day is \$6,724,850, of which there is now a deficiency of \$1,537,100, and makes an earnest appeal for the action of Congress. A visit of those representing the three departments of Government to the Centennial buildings and grounds was subsequently planned and accomplished—a very large number of our public men from the capital sharing the excursion. They were entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and have returned to their posts of office doubtless deeply impressed with the greatness of the occasion, and the need of Congressional assistance.

#### ALASKA SEAL-FISHERIES.

Mr. Payne offered resolutions calling on the Secretaries of the Navy and the Treasury for information respecting the seal-fisheries in Alaska, and the management of the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco from the date of its lease from the United States to the present time. The resolutions were agreed to.

#### WHISKY FRAUDS.

Mr. Randall submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of all letters, telegrams, orders, and instructions relating to the organization and prosecution of the present movements against the so-called "whisky rings" of St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee." The resolution was laid over.

## COURT OF COMMISSIONERS OF ALABAMA CLAIMS.

A proposition was made in the House for the extension of this court beyond the 22d of January, 1876. It was stated that in July, 1873, the amount received from Great Britain in gold to pay for damages by the rebel vessels Alabama, Florida, and Shenandoah was \$15,500,000, the value of which is estimated at present to be \$19,762,000. The judgments rendered by this commission to December 9, 1875, amounted to \$5,836,805.66. The claims that remain undecided amount to \$3,400,000, which leaves a balance in the Treasury of \$10,426,194.34. The proposal was agreed to.

## STATUE OF LAFAYETTE.

Mr. Hoar submitted the memorial of B. H. Kinney requesting an appropriation of \$100,000 for the erection of an equestrian statue of Lafayette, in memory of his distinguished services in the war of the revolution, and with appropriate designs commemorating the services of other French officers and soldiers in that memorable contest.

## NATIONAL AND STATE RIGHTS.

In the Senate, Mr. Morton submitted a series of concurrent resolutions declaring that the people of the United States constitute a nation, and are one people in the sense of national unity; that the Government of the United States is not a compact between the States, but was formed between the people of the United States in their primary capacity; that the rights of the States are defined and guaranteed in the Constitution, and not by any outside theory of State sovereignty; and that these rights cannot be modified except by constitutional amendment; and that State secession is an extinguished heresy.

## INFRACTIONS OF REVENUE LAWS.

Senator Stevenson submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of all dispatches and papers relating to the "whisky-frauds" in St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee. On this resolution a spirited debate sprang up, in which it was contended that the communication of such intelligence to the country at this time would impede the prosecution of parties to these frauds, whereupon the resolution was withdrawn.

## SPECIE PAYMENTS.

In the House, Mr. Hale submitted a preamble and resolution reciting the commitment of the country against repudiation, and declaring it to be the judgment of the House that the former legislation of Congress on this subject should be carried out, and that for this purpose all the necessary power should be put in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

## REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES.

Mr. Randall presented a preamble and resolution proposing to remove all remaining disabilities upon persons in the United States arising out of the late civil war, which was made a special order on the Tuesday following.

## PAYMENTS TO DISLOYAL PERSONS.

Mr. Vance introduced a bill proposing to repeal the former legislation of Congress prohibiting payments to disloyal persons, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## OATH OF OFFICE.

Mr. Morey introduced a bill prescribing the following oath of office for persons elected or appointed to offices under the Government of the United States: "I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign or domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this oath freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, so help me God;" that said oath, so taken and signed, shall be preserved in the files of the proper office, and any person who shall falsely take the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the present penalties for this offense, shall be deprived of his office, and rendered incapable forever after of holding any office or place under the United States. The second section provides that no other oath shall be required; but this act shall not be construed as relieving persons from any disabilities under which they may lie at present.

The bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

#### JAPANESE INDEMNITY FUND.

In 1863-'4, in consequence of disturbance in the Japanese Empire for damages accrued to the shipping interests of other nations, for which an indemnity of three millions of dollars was exacted by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Netherlands, and the United States, the share of the United States was \$750,000. The actual damages and expenses arising from the event referred to have all been paid, and amounted to less than \$50,000. The unexpended balance amounts at present to more than a million and a quarter dollars. The memorial of David Murray, presented in the House, recites the facts of the case, and offers very cogent reasons why this sum should be returned to the Government of Japan. The subject was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### FINANCIAL POLICY.

Mr. Lawrence presented a resolution "that it is the sense of this House that the policy of finance should be steadily pursued which, without a shock to business, will ultimately equalize the purchasing power of the gold and paper dollar. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Currency and Banking.

#### SUBSIDIES.

Mr. Holman submitted the following resolution: "That in the judgment of this House, in the present condition of the financial affairs of the Government, no subsidies of any sort or kind should be granted by Congress, and that at this time all appropriations should be limited to such amounts only as shall be imperatively demanded by the public service." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 232 to 18; thirty-nine members not voting.

#### CURRENCY AND EXPENSES.

Mr. Anderson submitted resolutions declaring that instead of increasing revenue Congress should cut down expenses, and that the Committee on Banking and Currency be instructed to report a bill repealing the national banking law, and substituting for national bank currency a national paper money issued directly from the Treasury,

made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, including duties on imports, and to be interchangeable for registered bonds bearing 3.65 per cent. interest. The first resolution was adopted, the second referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### RECIPROCITY.

Mr. Ward introduced a resolution to authorize the appointment of commissioners to ascertain on what terms a mutual beneficial treaty between the United States and Canada may be negotiated. It was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

#### SENATOR SPENCER.

Senator George S. Spencer submitted some remarks touching the aspersions publicly made on the manner of his election to a seat in the Senate from the State of Alabama, and offered a resolution that the Committee on Privileges and Elections be instructed to investigate and report upon the same. The resolution was agreed to.

#### THE MISSISSIPPI ELECTION.

Senator Morton offered a preamble and resolution in regard to the alleged fraud and violence of the recent election in this State, which was taken up for consideration. A long and spirited debate ensued—conducted by Messrs. Morton, Bayard, and Thurman, pending which the Senate entered into executive session. The extent of the scandal of this election is beyond any parallel in the history of the country, and if one-tenth part of the allegation is true, it is a cause of shame that should bring a blush to the cheek of every lover of American institutions.

#### THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

Senator Edmunds offered the following resolution:

"Whereas, since the last session of the Senate the Vice President of the United States has deceased, therefore

*"Resolved, That on the 7th of January next at one o'clock, P. M., the Senate will proceed to the election of a President pro tempore."*

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The subject was subsequently brought to the attention of the Senate by the following resolution offered by Senator Edmunds:

*"Resolved, That Mr. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from the State of Michigan, be the*



President of the Senate until January 7, 1876, and until a fresh appointment shall be made."

The resolution was agreed to.

#### PETITIONS, BILLS, AND RESOLUTIONS.

To a stranger the number of papers offered in Congress on all subjects is something most surprising. Already in the first month of the session there is a flood of business pouring in upon the new Congress—for increase of pensions, for the relief of private persons, for the division of States into judicial districts, touching the disposition of the Geneva award, for the completion of a naval monument, for the amendment of the revised statutes of the United States, for new post-routes, for the reduction of rates of postage, concerning the transmission of merchandise through the mails, for a joint high commission to settle by arbitration all disputes among nations, for the reduction of tariff on wines, for the relief of Methodist churches, for a commission of inquiry into the alcoholic traffic, for the establishment of new signal stations, and indeed for every thing and all things that it ever entered into the imagination of man to conceive. Surely the right of petition is in full exercise among our fellow-citizens. At this present writing 169 bills have been offered in the Senate, and 384 in the House.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEES.

As the House is Democratic, great interest was manifested in the forty-seven standing committees. This was one of the last acts of Speaker Kerr before the adjournment for the holidays. The committees as at present constituted show a great preference given to the West and South, and an almost total disregard of New England. Many surprises were excited, and the ambition of some prominent gentlemen in the Democratic party has no doubt been disappointed. Time alone will prove with what judgment the Speaker has acted in this important matter.

#### PAGE'S RESOLUTION.

On Friday, December 17, 1875, Mr. Page submitted the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the Constitution of the United States as framed by the fathers of the Republic imposes no limit upon the eligibility of

any citizen to the office of President, further than that he shall be native-born, and of a certain age, and time of residence; therefore be it

*"Resolved*, That in the judgment of this House the right of selecting candidates for the office of President can only be lawfully exercised by the people under the existing Constitutional restrictions, and has never been delegated by the people to the House of Representatives, or to any members of the same, and that any attempt by the House of Representatives to limit or forestall the public will on a question of such importance is an invasion of powers reserved to the people at large, to be freely exercised by them without any interference from any legislative body whatever."

The resolution was permitted to lie on the table. On Monday Congress adjourned for the holidays to Wednesday, January 5, 1876.

The light of the Centennial year has broken upon us—a year to be memorable in the history of the Republic.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Both Houses met January 5th, 1876, and proceeded to business. In the Senate little but routine business has occurred up to the present date. Tuesday, January 11th, was set apart for eulogies upon the life and character of Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, who deceased during the summer recess of the Senate; and Thursday, January 13th, was set apart for eulogies on Henry Wilson, the late Vice President of the United States. Both occasions were marked by much feeling and the utterance of honest and kindly words.

#### PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

The question raised by Senator Edmunds before the recess upon the status of the presiding officer of the Senate has been disposed of in the following action of the Senate. Mr. Morton, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, submitted the following resolutions:

1. That the tenure of office of the President *pro tempore* of the Senate elected at one session does not expire at the meeting of Congress after the first recess, the Vice President not having appeared to take the Chair.

2. That the death of the Vice President does not have the effect to vacate the office of the President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

3. That the office of President *pro tempore*

of the Senate is held at the pleasure of the Senate.

4. That Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from Michigan, who was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate at the last session, is now the President *pro tempore* of the Senate by virtue of said election.

Senator Merrimon contended that when a President *pro tempore* has been elected he may rightfully continue to hold the office so long as his term of Senator continues, or unless he be removed for cause, until the Vice President shall return to the chair, or a new Vice President shall be elected. An investigation of the records shows the first four cases occurring prior to 1804, which were treated upon the assumption that the office ceased on the reappearance of the Vice President, or on the meeting of the Senate after the first recess. But subsequent to 1804 forty-nine cases are given in support of the position that the office continues without re-election.

Senator Saulsbury maintained that the Senate does not exhaust its power over the question by the choice of a President *pro tempore*, otherwise a state of things might occur in which the business of the Senate must stop.

Senator Jones, of Florida, concurred in the views of Senator Merrimon, and argued that the Senate has only an implied right of removal, while the law of Congress devolving the duties of President on the President *pro tempore* of the Senate in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice President has constitutional authority; and that in a conflict between an implied right of the Senate and a law of constitutional authority the implied right must give way to the constitutional authority.

The question being then taken on the first and second resolutions by yeas and nays they were unanimously adopted.

On the third resolution, Senator Thurman held that the solution of this question depends upon the meaning of the phrase *pro tempore*, and in view of the circumstances moved that the resolution be indefinitely postponed—pending which the Senate adjourned. On Wednesday, January 12th, the subject again recurred. Senator Edmunds

argued that the phrase *pro tempore* means “for the time being,” “for the instant,” and that the framers of the Constitution so intended. He cited the practice of the English House of Lords in confirmation of this view. He also contended that the power of appointment or election implies the power of removal and change. He supposed a number of cases where any other construction would create confusion, and possibly arrest the legislation of the country.

Senator Wallace held that the President *pro tempore* of the Senate is an officer of the United States as well as of the Senate. He cited the early action of the framers of the Constitution in proof of this, showing their manifest intention to place the possible succession to the Presidency only upon an officer of the United States. He advanced other cogent proofs of this construction from the legislation of 1792, and from the remarks of Mr. Seward upon the subject in the 33d Congress.

Senator Morton concurred in the views of Senator Edmunds that the Senate has power to elect a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice President at its pleasure, quoting in support of his position from Cushing on Parliamentary Law.

Senator Norwood put the question, “Suppose the President of the United States should die to-day, would not the President *pro tempore* immediately become acting President—and if so could we by a vote of the Senate here to-morrow change the first and put another man in his place?” To this question Senator Morton replied that he could not answer, as that is one of the very points which remain in doubt. He expressed the opinion, however, that in the case supposed the incumbent would hold both offices and be bound to discharge the duties of both. Instances analogous were cited from the States of Arkansas and Illinois.

Senator Stevenson maintained that the office of President *pro tempore* of the Senate is one of fixed tenure, not subject to change at the mere pleasure of the Senate, citing in confirmation the opinions of the eminent jurists, Collamer of Vermont and Bayard of Delaware. There was no difference between them on the point that the office was fixed

by the Constitution, although they reached different results as to its duration. He held that while the tenure of the office of President *pro tempore* is of uncertain duration, it is fixed and determined, not by the Senate, but by the Constitution, hence the act of 1792 and a long series of precedents subsequently arising giving this construction.

Senator Conkling put the following case: Suppose the President *pro tempore* should enter on the duties of the Presidential office, and his term as Senator should expire before the close of the Presidential term, would he continue to be acting *ex officio* as President of the United States though the term of his Senatorship by virtue of which he came to be President *pro tempore* had expired?

Senator Stevenson replied that in his opinion such acting President should continue to act though his term as Senator had expired. He likewise contradicted the view of Senator Morton that a President *pro tempore* on assuming the duties of President of the United States should be bound at the same time to act as presiding officer of the Senate. He cited a case of himself in the State of Kentucky in refutation of such a view, and Senator Thurman of Ohio added two cases in his own State where the governorship of the State devolved on the speaker of the Senate, and it was decided in both cases that the speaker accepting the office of Governor thereby vacated his office as Senator.

Senator Morton added the case of Pinchback, who became Governor of Louisiana; meantime his office as Senator expired, but he continued to act as Governor till Governor Kellogg was installed.

Senator Stevenson contended that this case was directly in support of his views on the question now pending.

Senator Thurman stated that at first he was induced to take the view of the report of the committee, but that the discussion had changed his mind, and that now he inclined to believe that the preponderance of argument was against the power of the Senate to change the presiding officer of the Senate as was contended in the report. He further argued that on assuming the duties of the President of the United States the President *pro tempore* would vacate his office as Senator.

Senator Alcorn argued in favor of the view that when the President *pro tempore* assumes the duties of President of the United States he is then beyond the reach of the Senate. He cited authorities from his own state of Mississippi in support of this position, while at the same time contending that the power to appoint implies the power to remove. But he thought these questions did not really conflict.

The question being taken on the indefinite postponement of the resolution, the Senate refused to postpone.

Senator Whyte offered an amendment in pursuance of the view that when the President *pro tempore* assumes the duties of the President of the United States he steps beyond the reach of the Senate.

The amendment was rejected, and the resolution was agreed to by a vote of 34 to 15.

Senator Stevenson suggested that this action had left the whole question in great uncertainty, and that he should propose a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to look into this matter and by necessary and proper legislation provide for any and every contingency that may occur.

The fourth resolution, declaring that Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from Michigan, who was elected President *pro tempore* at the last session, is now the President *pro tempore* by virtue of said election, was withdrawn on the ground that in view of the other resolutions already adopted this resolution is unnecessary.

And so after all the efforts on this subject nothing has been settled but a temporary decision of the Senate that it may at its will supersede one incumbent of the office by the election of another, and this rule may itself be reversed at some future time by another vote of the Senate. But the discussion has shown one thing, namely: the great defects of existing legislation upon the whole question, and the imperative necessity in so important a matter of passing an act which will clear the case of its present difficulties and avoid the formidable evils which might now arise in a very palpable contingency.



## NEUTRALITY BETWEEN SPAIN AND CUBA.

Senator Conover submitted a concurrent resolution, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed, which was to the effect that the President should issue a proclamation of strict neutrality between Spain and Cuba, and that the President place in full force and operation the same provisions made and enacted by the Government of Her Majesty, the Queen of Spain, June 17th, 1861, on the occasion of the outbreak of the civil war in the United States.

## NATIONAL AND STATE RIGHTS.

Senator Whyte gave notice of a substitute for the resolutions of Senator Morton on National and State rights, which substitute recites the old Democratic doctrine on this subject as held before the late war for the suppression of secession and rebellion.

## WOMEN'S PETITION FOR POLYGAMY.

Senator Sargent presented the memorial of 22,626 women of Utah, of the Mormon faith, with the remark that while he did not concur in the objects of the petition, but believed them to be wholly detrimental to society, yet recognizing always the people's right of petition he desired that the memorial might be read and referred to the Committee on Territories. The petition prays that Congress may make no law prohibiting the practice of plural marriages as found in the Territory of Utah, and that Utah may be received as a State into the Union.

Strange fanaticism! Can society, for whose protection Government exists, permit such a solecism in the nineteenth century? This is the problem. Men and women claim, under the American doctrine of personal conscience and private judgment, the right to perpetuate as a part of their religious faith this relic of a civilization which was long ago worn out and cast aside through the length and breadth of Christendom.

## THE HOUSE.

On the first day of meeting after the recess Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means, in Committee of the Whole, offered resolutions assigning the different portions of the President's Message to their respective committees, which being reported to the House caused considerable debate, particularly as to the assignmet n f

questions on currency and finance to the Committees of Ways and Means and of Banking and Currency. This resulted in the adoption of the resolutions as they stood.

## HISTORICAL SKETCHES.

Mr. Holman offered a resolution recommending that the people of every county in the United States assemble on the 4th of July, 1876, in their several counties, and cause to be delivered a historical sketch of the county from its formation, a copy of which shall be filed with the Librarian of Congress. The resolution was referred to the Centennial Committee.

## WORKING MEN OF THE DISTRICT.

Mr. O'Brien presented a long memorial, prepared by John Pope Hodnett, in behalf of the working men of the District of Columbia, setting forth a great variety of facts and figures in relation to the condition of labor, and the system of contracts, and the scale of prices, and the claims of laborers under the direction of the Board of Public Works, and the indebtedness of contractors to working men of the District, as well as detailed accounts of the same, and praying an appropriation to pay these men, and the appointment of a disbursing officer to see them paid.

This petition, signed by fourteen thousand working men, was ordered to be printed in the Congressional Record.

## MANAGEMENT OF NAVY-YARDS.

Mr. Goode submitted a resolution of inquiry on the management of the navy-yards and of ship building, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

## PACIFIC RAILROAD SUBSIDY BONDS.

Mr. Lawrence submitted a resolution of inquiry as to what legislation may be necessary to secure the United States indemnity from the Pacific Railroad Company, which was adopted and referred to the Judiciary Committee. He stated that this company received from the United States over twenty-seven millions in bonds, and now refuses to pay the full interest on these bonds. At the same time the company is taking no measures to pay this interest save what is paid in certain amounts of freight, leaving a large balance unprovided for, which balance in bonds and arrears of interest amounts to forty-eight millions of dollars.

## EDUCATION.

Mr. Monroe submitted the following preamble and resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor:

"Whereas it is commonly admitted that the general education of the people is indispensable to the prosperity and even to the continued existence of a republic in which the responsibilities of suffrage are universal; and whereas the last census reveals the alarming fact that more than one-fifth of the population of the United States above the age of ten years is unable to read or write, and that nearly one-fourth of all the legal voters of the nation is in this condition of illiteracy; and whereas this want of the rudiments of knowledge among those who elect the officers of the State and nation exists largely by the act of the National Government through the extension of the right of suffrage and in States which are disabled by the waste and impoverishment of war, from making adequate provision for the support of common schools; and whereas our soundest jurists have held, with Judge Story, that the Constitution confers the power upon Congress, in the exercise of a sound discretion and with proper regard to the just autonomy of the States, to apply the money raised by taxation to the promotion of the general welfare of the United States: Therefore,

*"Resolved,* That the Committee on Education and Labor be requested to inquire in regard to the expediency of making moderate appropriation from the Treasury, upon the ratio of illiteracy, for the voluntary acceptance of States which have established or will establish a permanent system of common schools for the education of all their youth, and supported in fair proportion, by the taxation of their own people; and that the said committee report by bill or otherwise."

Mr. Randall. I would like to hear that resolution read again, as it seems to be a very important one.

Mr. Monroe. It is only offered for reference, and not for adoption.

Mr. O'Brien asked if it would be proper to include in this reference of the resolution to the committee that it should never come back again?

Mr. Buckner objected to its going in the Record!

These gentlemen are Democrats.

## ECONOMY AND REFORM.

Mr. Morrison submitted the following, which was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means:

*"Resolved,* That the several committees of this House having in charge matters pertaining to Indian affairs, military affairs, naval affairs, post-office and post-roads, public lands, public buildings and grounds, claims and war claims, be, and they are hereby, instructed to inquire, so far as the same may properly be before their respective committees, into any errors, abuses, or frauds in the administration and execution of existing laws affecting said branches of the public service, with a view to ascertain what change and reformation can be made so as to promote integrity, economy, and efficiency therein; that the Committees on Expenditures in the State Department, in the Treasury Department, in the War Department, in the Navy Department, in the Post-Office Department, in the Interior Department, in the Department of Justice, and on Public Buildings, be, and they are hereby, instructed to proceed at once, as required by the rules of the House, to examine into the state of the accounts and expenditures of the respective departments submitted to them, and to examine and report particularly whether the expenditures of the respective departments are justified by law; whether the claims from time to time satisfied and discharged by the respective departments are supported by sufficient vouchers, establishing their justness both as to their character and amount; whether such claims have been discharged out of funds appropriated therefor, and whether all moneys have been disbursed in conformity with appropriation laws; whether any, and what, provisions are necessary to be adopted to provide more perfectly for the proper application of the public moneys and to secure the Government from demands unjust in their character or extravagant in their amount; whether any, and what, retrenchment can be made in the expenditures of the several departments, without detriment to the public service; whether any, and what, abuses at any time exist in the failure to enforce the payment of moneys which may be due to the United States from public defaulters or others; and to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the several departments and the accountability of their officers; whether any offices belonging to the branches or departments, respectively, concerning whose expenditures it is their duty to inquire, have become useless or unnecessary; and to report, from time to time, on the expediency of modifying or abolishing the same; also to examine into the pay and emoluments of all offices under the laws of the United States; and to report, from time to time, such a reduction or increase thereof as a just economy and the

public service may require. And for the purpose of enabling the several committees to fully comprehend the workings of the various branches or departments of Government, respectively, the investigations of said committees may cover such period in the past as each of said committees may deem necessary for its own guidance or information, or for the protection of the public interests, in the exposing of frauds or abuses of any kind in said departments; and said committees are authorized to send for persons and papers, and may report by bill or otherwise.

*"Resolved further,* That the Committee on Public Expenditures be instructed to investigate and inquire into the matters set forth in the foregoing resolution in the legislative department of the Government, except in so far as the Senate is exclusively concerned, and particularly in reference to the public printing and binding, and shall have the same authority as is conferred upon the other committees aforesaid."

This action is regarded as the entering wedge of investigation that knows no end, and will entail on the Treasury an extra expense of uncertain limit with results wholly inadequate to the pains employed.

#### UNION SOLDIERS.

Mr. Cason submitted the following, which was finally adopted:

"Whereas the people of the United States have lately passed through an internecine war in which one section of the country has been arrayed against the other, brother against brother, and father against son; and whereas we owe the preservation of the Union, the establishment of peace, and the enforcement of law and order to the bravery and patriotic devotion of the loyal soldiers to the Union and its cause: Therefore,

*Be it resolved by the House of Representatives,* That we recognize the brave and gallant services rendered by the loyal soldier to his country in the time of its greatest need and peril, and that we do earnestly recommend to the people of our common country the utmost care and watchfulness over the rights and interests of these brave men, securing to each one in need employment, and to such and their families the necessities and common comforts of life; and in all cases of public employment and in the bestowment of the emoluments of office, that, all other things being equal, the soldier should have the preference over the civilian, and, as one branch of the legislative department of this Government, we are in favor of laws being enacted by Congress giving liberal pensions to the deceased and crippled soldiers, and to the widows and children and dependent

fathers and mothers of those who have died of wounds or diseases contracted while in the service of the Union army, and to each living soldier, and to the widows and heirs of those dead, such bounties and homesteads as a generous Government can afford to those who have won and preserved to the nation its unity and Constitution."

In pursuance of the above Mr. Fort submitted the following, which was referred to the Centennial Committee:

*"Resolved,* That the doctrine just announced by the House in the resolution of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Cason) is so wise and just, that in the judgment of this House it should be followed by officers of the House in filling subordinate places under their authority, and that in all such cases they are hereby instructed to give to well qualified Union soldiers preference over soldiers of the late Confederate army."

Mr. Cox styled it "a big thing."

Mr. Wood spoke of "buncombe resolutions." So it was buried in the Centennial Committee room.

#### CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Mr. Hopkins reported a bill appropriating \$1,500,000 for completing the Centennial buildings, and other preparations for the Centennial anniversary, which was ordered to lie on the table.

#### FRATERNAL FEELING.

Mr. New submitted the following resolution:

*"Resolved,* That the fraternal feeling and good-will now existing in all sections of the United States, and the manifest disposition and purpose of the men who battled against each other in the late civil war to join hands as one people in the future is a most auspicious ushering in of the Centennial year; and while the people are thus making an honest effort to live together in peace and uphold the same flag for an undivided country, their representatives in Congress should do no act which will unnecessarily disturb the patriotic concord now existing and increasing, or wantonly revive the bitter memories of the past."

Which was unanimously adopted—whereupon Mr. Fort submitted the following resolution:

*"Resolved,* That in consideration of the existence of the auspicious harmony expressed in the resolution of the gentleman from Indiana, just passed, wounded Union soldiers ought not to be removed from positions in this House which they may be qualified to fill."

Which the chair decided out of order.



## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BONDS.

Mr. Slemmons offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"Whereas an act of Congress approved June 20, 1874, authorizing the sinking fund commission of the District of Columbia to issue bonds of the District payable in fifty years from date, bearing interest at the rate of 3.65 per cent. per annum, for the payment of which, interest and principal, the faith of the nation is pledged, does not limit the amount of said issue: Therefore,

*"Be it resolved,* That the House Committee on the District of Columbia be, and they are hereby, instructed to report as early as practicable what legislation is necessary to the protection of the United States and the District of Columbia against loss on account of the unlimited power of said sinking fund commission in the premises."

Mr. Durand submitted a resolution looking to legislation which shall prohibit assessments or demands on Government employees for political purposes, which was adopted without debate or discussion.

## DIFFICULTIES ON THE MEXICAN BORDER.

Mr. Schleicher offered the following:

*"Resolved,* That the portion of the President's message which refers to the inroads, robberies, and murders along the Mexican border in Texas be referred to a special committee of five members, with instructions to inquire into the cause and the nature and extent of those depredations, and the measures that might prevent their continuance, and to report at as early a day as practicable."

Which, after considerable debate, was adopted.

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Mr. Oliver offered the following, which was ordered to be printed in the Record:

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States so as to elect the President and Vice President thereof by a direct vote of the people thereof.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of each House concurring therein,)* That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, to wit:

## ARTICLE.—

After the year 1876 the President and Vice President of the United States shall be elected by a direct vote of the people of the sev-

eral States, and the electors in each State shall have the same qualification as the electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

The person receiving the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, and the person receiving the greatest number of votes for Vice President shall be the Vice President; but if two or more persons shall each receive an equal and the greatest number of votes for President, then the House of Representatives shall from such persons immediately choose the President; and if two or more persons shall each receive an equal and the greatest number of votes for Vice President, then the Senate shall from such persons immediately choose the Vice President. In such elections each House shall vote *viva voce*, and each member shall have one vote, and the person receiving a majority of the votes cast shall be elected; and in case of a tie the presiding officer shall determine it.

The election for President and Vice President shall be held at the time now provided by law for choosing the electors of such officers, but Congress may prescribe a different time, which shall be the same in all the States; and Congress shall prescribe the manner of holding and conducting such elections and making the returns thereof; and in case of failure so to do, that duty shall devolve in the order named, first, on the President of the United States; second, on the Legislature of each State within that State; and, third, upon the chief executive of each State within that State.

The returns shall be canvassed at the time and in the manner now provided or which may be hereafter provided by the joint rules of the two Houses or by law, by and in the presence of both Houses of Congress, who shall be the judges (each House voting separately) of the returns and election; but in case the two Houses shall not agree, then the matter of disagreement shall be referred to the Supreme Court of the United States, which shall forthwith decide the same; and such decision shall be final.

Also the following in relation to the election of United States Senators:

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of each House concurring,)* That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution, to wit:

## ARTICLE.—

"The Senate of the United States shall be

composed of two members from each State, who shall hereafter be elected by a direct vote of the people for six years; and the electors in each State shall have the same qualifications as the electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; but the Congress may by law provide for conducting and holding the election and canvassing the vote.

#### AMNESTY.

Mr. Randall moved to suspend the rules in order to consider the amnesty bill which had been introduced by him.

The bill proposes (two-thirds of each House concurring) to remove all the disabilities imposed and remaining upon any person by virtue of the third section of the fourteenth amendment, and that whenever such person from whom such disabilities are removed by this act shall be elected or appointed to any post or office of honor or trust under the Government of the United States he shall take the oath prescribed by section 1757 of title 19 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, or such other official oath as may be hereafter prescribed in such cases by any future act of Congress.

As soon as the bill was read, Mr. Blaine indicated a desire to offer an amendment as a substitute. Then lively skirmishing commenced on the Democratic side to prevent any amendment and to restrict debate. The Democrats attempted to pass the bill under the operation of the previous question. They failed in this by a vote of 175 to 97, 18 not voting, whereupon Mr. Blaine, as a privileged question, moved to reconsider this vote, and gave notice that upon the motion to reconsider being agreed to he would move the following amendment, and would debate the question:

*"Be it enacted, etc.,* That all persons now under the disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, with the exception of Jefferson Davis, late president of the so-called Confederate States, shall be relieved of such disabilities upon their appearing before any judge of a United States court and taking and subscribing in open court the following oath, to be duly attested and recorded, namely: I, A. B., do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the

same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of a citizen of the United States."

He proceeded to give the legislative history of amnesty from the passage of the fourteenth amendment, which at the time of its becoming a part of the Constitution, included about 18,000 men in the South. In a time when the Republicans had a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress, they began to remit the disability imposed. The very first bill relieved some 1,578 citizens. The next bill set free 3,526 gentlemen. Many of the gentlemen on this floor to-day, said Mr. Blaine, were relieved by these two bills. The next step was a general law passed May 22, 1872, since which time no one has been refused who petitioned for amnesty, with one single exception, and in no instance of amnesty granted has there been any other than a unanimous vote. This clemency has been going on under Republican legislation till the number remaining under disability in the South is not more than 750 persons. As nearly as can be ascertained of those who were educated at West Point, were officers in the Army and went into the rebellion, there are 325, those in the Navy about 295; those under other heads, Senators, Representatives, officers in the judiciary service, heads of Departments and Foreign Ministers, make up a still smaller number.

Mr. Blaine continued, observing that with one exception he saw no reason why these gentlemen should not all receive amnesty, as it had been granted to others of the same class. But he argued that if they were to be clothed with citizenship they should at least ask for it and take an oath that they would be good citizens. He cited Robert Toombs, of Georgia, as having spoken contemptuously both in this country and Europe of asking for American citizenship, and declared that if Mr. Toombs could not ask for citizenship he could stay out, and that the people of the country could stand it.

But while he excepted Jefferson Davis, it was not on the ground of his being President of the rebel government, nor of any special

damage done to the Union by him above others, nor of any personal or special consequence attaching to him, but because he was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville. He declared that the atrocities in this rebel prison transcended anything to be found in history.

Mr. Robbins, of North Carolina. That is an infamous slander!

Mr. Blaine continued, holding up the report of a committee of Congress, alleging that the facts could not be disputed or gainsaid. He supported this position by citing portions of the report and the evidence on which it is based. After showing that nobody proposed to punish Jefferson Davis, he concluded by saying that he should protest by his voice and his vote against crowning with the honors of American citizenship the man who organized that murder.

Mr. Cox obtained the floor and made a speech in opposition to Mr. Blaine's amendment, made up of poetical citations, passages of Scripture, and various odds and ends of sharp wit and saucy retort. His speech was withheld for revision before being published in the *Record*.

Mr. Kelley lifted up a cry for unqualified amnesty, coupled with an appeal for an appropriation for the Centennial celebration.

Mr. Hill, of Georgia, an ex-member of the rebel Senate, obtained the floor, pending which the House adjourned. The next day when the amnesty amendment of Mr. Blaine came up, Mr. Hill made a speech, which, like that of Mr. Cox, was withheld for revision. The points of his speech as revised and published in the *Record* are as follows:

1. That the whole evidence of the alleged cruelties at Andersonville and ascribing their authorship to Jefferson Davis is *ex parte*, taken in fury and rage and mutilated at that. To prove this statement he introduced the testimony of Dr. Jones, a Confederate surgeon who was sent to Andersonville to investigate the alleged cruelties—as though the testimony of Dr. Jones was not also *ex parte*. He likewise referred to the trial of Wirz, the keeper of Andersonville prison, and adduced the testimony of one Lewis Schade, who was counsel for Wirz, and a man of such char-

acter that it is surprising he should be taken into consideration for a single moment. He then undertook to insinuate motives on the part of Mr. Blaine by connecting with the discussion General Grant and the whiskey frauds, the Credit Mobilier, the Sanborn contracts, and the Board of Public Works in the District of Columbia.

2. His next point was an attempt to show that the Confederate government did all they could to ameliorate the condition of the prisoners at Andersonville, by providing a healthy locality, pure water and shade trees, by permitting the prisoners to purchase vegetables. They could not furnish them clothing or medicine, for they had them not. The stockade at Andersonville inclosed twenty-seven acres permeated by a stream of water. He attempted to prove that the rebel prisoners at Elmira were worse treated than the Union prisoners at Andersonville, by citing the fact that in round numbers the rebel prisoners in Union hands were 220,000, out of whom over 26,000 died, while the Union prisoners in rebel hands were 270,000, out of whom 22,000 died.

3. His next question was—Who is responsible for this state of things? And he undertook to show that the whole responsibility was on the Union Government in refusing an exchange of prisoners, or listening to any arrangement by which they might be returned.

Mr. Hill was permitted to exceed his hour, and as he was about to continue his speech, Mr. Blaine read an extract from the records of the Confederate congress showing that Mr. Hill as a Senator in that congress had introduced resolutions to the effect that if any person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States shall be captured on Confederate soil he shall be presumed to have entered Confederate territory to incite insurrection and abet murder, and shall suffer death, and asked Mr. Hill if he was the author of that resolution. Mr. Hill did not recollect. His memory was evidently at fault. He continued, citing the testimony of General Grant and some statements of the prisoners themselves, and a letter from a Mr. Brown, a contributor to *Harper's Monthly*, to prove that the only man respon-



sible for all these horrors was Edwin M. Stanton, the Union Secretary of War!

In the conclusion of his speech, he threw down the glove to the Republican party—that great party that saved the Union and gave him leave to speak so freely in that forum—in these terms, “But to you gentlemen who seek still to continue strife, to you we make no concessions. Martyrs owe no apologies to tyrants!” and with this flourish of rhetorical insult he sat down.

The next day General Garfield replied in a speech of great calmness and force, and with tremendous effect, because it was the utterance of truth.

He began by expressing regret for the necessity of recalling the horrible details of the past. He spoke of the importance of the question, and of the purpose of the Democratic majority to put through their measure for amnesty without permitting an adequate discussion, or anything in the shape of amendment. Two points had been suggested for the improvement of the bill. The Republicans were now anxious to close this matter of amnesty in good faith, and in a manner befitting the gravity of the occasion. They wished to imitate the mercy of God which, though free, had still to be implored. That was the first point. The second was to make one only exception—that of Jefferson Davis. The Democratic proposition was affirmative, and should be supported by affirmative reasons. If the Republicans objected, they should have been met soberly. But how have their objections been treated? The speech of Mr. Cox was like joking at a funeral. The speech of Mr. Hill was an arraignment, not only of the Republican party, but of the whole twenty-five millions of Union people in the country. The war not only abolished slavery and set free four millions of bondmen, but it decided the conflict between the Republican and Democratic theories of allegiance. He then discussed the question under the figure of an issue at law when, during the progress of the trial, some of the members of the bar and parties to the contest had been disbarred. He said, using this illustration, there are 750 persons now disbarred before the Constitution, and we are

all agreed as to the full restoration of all these persons with one exception.

The reason assigned for this exception is that Jefferson Davis did so violate the laws of war as to make it unfit to restore him to his former privileges as a citizen, and he might have added that there was in the camp of Christ one man so traitorous to God and humanity that there was for him no forgiveness in heaven, earth, or hell.

But how, said he, has this argument been met? They have met it by denying the atrocities at Andersonville. They called the committee of Congress which made the report proving these atrocities “a humbug committee,” an “*ex parte* committee that made its report in fury and rage.”

He then recited from public documents the history of the report, and of the evidence taken upon the trial of Wirz. He showed the infamous character of Winder, the tool of Jefferson Davis, sent expressly by him to do whatever the malignity of his nature prompted him to do. He adduced the protest of the Confederate Inspector General Chandler against the continuance of these atrocities. Winder was left, however, to go on with his cruelties till he had caused the death of 12,644 Union soldiers in his horrible prison-pen at Andersonville—nearly as large a number of men as fell in the English army in the ten great European battles, commencing with Talavera and ending with the Crimea.

The next answer of the Democrats is that the Union prisons exhibited greater atrocities than the rebel prisons. In reply to this, Mr. Garfield appealed to the Democratic members on the floor from those localities where the Union prisons were to know if they would indorse such a statement. It was indignantly denied by those gentlemen. He produced other incontestible proof of the utter falsity of the allegation, till Mr. Hill was compelled to explain that he meant only to say that the rebel prisoners in Union prisons were subjected only to such hardships as are always incident to war.

Mr. Garfield then showed how the thirty or forty maimed Union soldiers who had been employed about the Capitol have just been

turned out to make places for rebel soldiers. This statement called forth an interruption from Mr. Reagan, who said that in the last Congress 18 Federal soldiers had been appointed by the Doorkeeper of the House, while 24 had been appointed by the Doorkeeper of this House.

Mr. Garfield explained that he hoped it was so, but that in the post office of the House a statement just placed in his hands showed that while 9 Union soldiers were on the roll in the last Congress, they have all been removed in this Congress, and 13 rebel soldiers have been placed upon the roll. He was willing the two statements should go together.

He then referred to the number of prisoners taken on either side during the war. He held a statement which showed that the Union forces had taken 476,169 rebel prisoners, while the rebel forces had taken 188,145 Union prisoners, and he gave cogent reasons why the rebel prisoners were not, as a body of men, as strong and capable of endurance as the Union soldiers, and that this was one of the causes of their greater mortality.

He then discussed the question of exchange of prisoners during the war, and showed the reasons which controlled the policy of the Union Government in this matter, and which clearly proved that it was owing to the Confederate hatred and inhumanity toward the blacks, and that the loyal people chose to abide by the laws of war among all civilized nations, at whatever cost, rather than desert the bondmen for whose cause the war was maintained.

He then appealed to the ex-rebels on the floor, and said, "Do you wish easier terms for others than those on which you yourselves came back?" This led to a colloquy, in which Messrs. Hill and Tucker engaged with some pertinacity—the ex-rebel Tucker remarking that he did not speak "to excuse himself, but to excuse some of the noblest men he had ever known, and of whom the gentleman might be proud to claim to be a peer." Of this bravado Mr. Garfield took no notice.

He then replied to the charge of Mr. Hill that all the wrongs of the South were charge-

able to Northern fanaticism, and he did this with a dignity and power which should have caused the faces of men with the least sensibility to tingle with the blush of shame, and he concluded one of the most effective and exhaustive speeches that have been delivered in Congress in many years by saying, "I join you all in every aspiration that you may express to stay in the Union, to heal its wounds, to increase its glory, and to forget the evils and bitterness of the past. But do not, for the sake of the 300,000 heroic men, who, maimed and bruised, drag out their weary lives, carrying in their hearts the memory of what they suffered in the prison-pen—do not ask us to vote to put back into power that man who was the cause of their suffering—that man still unshrived, unforgiven, and undefended."

After this a running minor debate followed between Messrs. Seelye, Randall, Frye, Banks, Hill, Blaine, Reagan, Atkins, and Jones.

Mr. Blaine contended that he had the right of reply under the rules. It was finally agreed that Mr. Blaine should have the right of reply for one hour, and then move the previous question, upon which the House adjourned.

The next day the subject was resumed, and Mr. Knott, from the Judiciary Committee, reported the amnesty bill with an amendment requiring an oath to be taken by the person amnestied. No debate, no suggestion, not even from the minority members on the committee was permitted, and the Democrats attempted to put the bill through by a direct vote, which stood 182 to 97; two-thirds not concurring, the motion was lost.

Mr. Blaine then took the floor and moved to reconsider the vote. Attempts were made to obstruct his purpose, but they were foiled on every side. He then read a letter from ex-Governor Holden, of North Carolina, dated January 12, 1876, directed to himself, in which Mr. Holden shows that he has been impeached and disfranchised in that State, and that there is no proposition for amnesty towards him. Mr. Blaine said "gentlemen of the South must come here with clean hands before they asked for amnesty for Jefferson Davis. Do not come here with that request

while you are persecuting men in the South for no crime but simply being Republicans !' This was a telling shot. He then asked unanimous consent to offer his bill, and would yield to any gentleman on the other side to strike out the clause excepting Jefferson Davis. Mr. Randall objected. Mr. Blaine made other efforts for unanimous consent, which being persistently rejected he said he would end the matter right here, and withdrawing his motion to reconsider he resumed his seat.

Mr. Randall appealed to him not to withdraw his motion, but the only response was a call for the regular order, and so amnesty was killed in the house of its friends !

This great debate will develop to the country the feelings and purposes of both the political parties as represented in Congress. Republicans have nothing to fear from such an agitation. It is only the apathy of the country and the siren song of fraternity while the designs of the Southern leaders and their plastic allies in the North are being carried forward that the true patriot and loyal citizen has to fear and guard against.

### Our Best Men for the Convention.

The Republican Convention that is to meet for the selection of our standard bearers in the Presidential campaign should be a model one in every respect. The people should send to it none but first-class men, men whose character is above reproach, and whose patriotism is beyond question. The Convention will be one of the most, if not the most, important ever held in this country. On its deliberations will depend, in a great degree, the future weal or woe of the Republic. Therefore the most sagacious and reliable men in the Republican ranks must be selected to represent the loyal masses in whose name they are to act. To secure such men the delegates who appoint them must be chosen by the people with especial reference to their high character as citizens and their fitness for the duty which devolves upon them. Republicans everywhere should see to it that no personal ambition nor groundless prejudice should be allowed to trammel the freedom of those who are to meet in

National Convention to make choice of the best man for the highest office in the gift of the people. On the choice made the success or failure of the Union cause and the party pledged to its maintenance largely depends. No human sagacity can foretell the direful consequences which would follow in the track of Democratic ascendancy. Our national credit would be imperiled, our rights of citizenship destroyed, our public treasury plundered in the name of law, and those forces of social and political anarchy which were defeated on the battle-field would triumphantly assert their sway over a people that could no longer resist their encroachments.

The safety of the Republic lies in the wisdom of the Convention that is to name the man who is to bear the banner of Republicanism in the approaching struggle. Therefore we plead with the people to send to the Convention the best men of the nation, whose patriotism and judgment can be relied upon, and whose decision will command, not only the respect, but the confidence of the American people.

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STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER.—When the halls of Congress are converted into a forum for the defense and justification of the late rebellion, and the acts of a loyal people in conducting a great war for the preservation of the Union are criticised and denounced by men who owe their lives to the magnanimity of the loyal masses, is it not about time for the friends of the Union to stand shoulder to shoulder in guarding the nation against renewed attacks of the once defeated enemies of the Government?

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GRATITUDE OF REPUBLICS.—Faith in the gratitude of Republics would have been sadly shaken if the victims of deliberate starvation at Andersonville could have looked beyond their misery and beheld the authors and abettors of their sufferings standing on the floors of Congress, defending the cruelties practiced, and holding up to the loyal people of America that arch traitor, Jefferson Davis—whose life has been spared through the magnanimity of a Republic he endeavored to destroy—as a model of patriotism and public virtue.



## SOME PHASES OF ENGLISH LAND TENURE, AND PLANS OF LAND TENURE REFORM.

The relations subsisting between English tenant farmers and their landlords were some time since illustrated in connection with a disagreement that arose between the Earl of Darnley and a certain Mr. Lake, who, besides being the tenant of one of Lord Darnley's farms, is Mayor of Gravesend, and therefore a person of some social importance. It seems that Mr. Lake has a son in the West Kent Yeomanry Cavalry, the Colonelcy of which was some time ago resigned by Lord Darnley in consequence of a quarrel with the captain of one of his companies. A majority of the members of that company—most of them being tenants, or the sons of tenants, on the Darnley estate—took sides with his Lordship, and followed his example in leaving the service. This course, however, was not pursued by the son of Mr. Lake, although he was a member of the same company. At this Lord Darnley felt aggrieved, and appealed to the elder Lake to use his influence with his son to induce him to leave the troop. Mr. Lake replied that he "could not think the relations between a loyal subject and his Queen should in any way be interfered with by those between a landlord and his tenant." In short, Mr. Lake refused to interfere, and as a return for his contumacy was served with a notice to quit the farm.

But the point which most interests us is the theory of English land-tenure laid down by the Earl in the course of his correspondence with Mr. Lake on the subject of their differences. It seems that for some years past his Lordship has observed on the part of Mr. Lake a neglect of some of those marks of deference which he regarded as appropriate to the position of a tenant. He complains, for instance, that since 1871 Mr. Lake had not honored him with his company at the annual dinner given to the tenants on his estate, and, indeed, at the last five dinners had been present only once. He then goes on to say: "Now what I wish to suggest for your consideration is how far any person has a right thus to maintain a position of isolation under such circumstances. It is the charac-

teristic of the tenantry on the large estates of this country that they are not mere rent-payers or customers for the commodity called land; but on the contrary retain just so much of feudal tradition as, without compromising their due independence, serves to establish some kind of sympathy of sentiment, and identity of interest between themselves and their landlord." In a subsequent note he says: "If I were willing to have tenants upon such terms as yours, I might as well put up my farms to public competition; indeed, it would be foolish not to do so, as I should get higher rents than I do."

If Mr. Lake had been an average English farmer, we presume he would have recognized the feudal traditions attaching to his tenancy, and anticipated his landlord's wishes, in which case the world at large would not have been reminded, as it has been, that those feudal traditions still exist upon English estates. An English paper, in commenting upon this affair, expressed its sense of obligation to Lord Darnley for so distinctly formulating the feudal theory as to the tenure of land, but suggested that it might be fair to have it clearly stated when a farm is let "whether the transaction is commercial or feudal; whether the tenant is to hold that he has done his duty when he has paid his rent and cultivated his land in scientific fashion; or whether he is still bound to perform the feudal 'incidents' of voting with his landlord, of sharing the patronizing hospitality of tenants' dinners, and of compelling his sons to follow the landlord's flag when he happens to quarrel with the service of his Queen." \* \* "Of course it is understood," continues the same journal in a sarcastic vein, "that he is not to make use of the nefarious machinery of the ballot to conceal his vote. He will be required to share his landlord's religious as well as his political creed; and though all his sympathies may be with the robust Protestantism of the Baptist Chapel, he will have to worship amid the Ritualistic aids to devotion which please the esthetic piety of his bet-

ters. He must not grumble when the county hunt treads his springing corn into the ground. \* \* He must echo the squire and the parson at the Board of Guardians, and he must vote stoutly against a school board."

These, it seems, are some of the incidents of feudal tenure. At the same time, it must be admitted that not all English landlords are like the Earl of Darnley; and it is a fact, which any one who visits England may ascertain for himself, that either through the force of "feudal tradition," or for some other reason, a considerable portion of the land comprised in the great estates of the nobility is really rented a good deal below its strict commercial value. It must be observed, however, that this is only another way of saying that the men who have monopolized the soil do not push their advantage to the extreme limit; or, in other words, that they do not exact for its use quite as much as the density of population, and the consequent keenness of competition, would enable them to obtain. The London correspondent of the *Liverpool Journal*, in commenting upon this point, says:

"A kinsman of mine is a Scotch land-surveyor, valuer, and agent. Not long ago I walked with him over a farm of six hundred acres, the property of a great Duke. The land is good, though not of the first-class. The rent is 30 shillings an acre. My friend, when he heard this, exclaimed with astonishment: Thirty shillings! Why I have let thousands of acres of land no better than this at \$4 per acre! Some time afterwards I ascertained that all the land on this estate—an estate in one of the best farming counties in England—fetched on an average 25s. 6d. an acre. Its market value, said a gentleman to the proprietor, 'is about 50 shillings per acre.' The answer was, 'I know it.' This is not a singular case in that county. The adjoining estate comprises, on the whole, better land—some of it, indeed, is very excellent land—but the average rent is only 27 shillings an acre. The proprietor of this estate told me that his farms have not been valued for seventy years."

During a recent visit to England the writer of this article became cognizant of cases quite similar to those just mentioned. A mechanic occupying a comfortable brick cottage with about two acres of good land attached to it paid a rent of £5 10s. per

annum. The cottage, which was built about two years ago, contains six rooms, which have a height of from 8 feet 6 inches to 9 feet from floor to ceiling, and is situated on a good turnpike road within four miles of a market town, within less than two miles of a railway station, and but a few hundred yards distant from a local post office and a national school. This is on the estate of Lord Hanmer, near Whitchurch, Shropshire. While some of the great proprietors are allowing their cottages to fall into decay, and merging the small plots of land attached to them into the adjoining farms, this nobleman is taking here and there a few acres from his farms and erecting thereon comfortable cottages for the laborers and mechanics of the neighborhood. And while he lets these tenements at very moderate rates, he does not appear, like the Earl of Darnley, to expect in return the privilege of treating his tenants as feudal dependents. In religious matters he is especially liberal, and the only thing towards which he appears to be downright intolerant is the vice of intemperance.

Within a few miles of Lord Hanmer's estate is one which was purchased, about twenty-five years ago, by the son of a wealthy manufacturer. Its purchaser having been brought up in a commercial atmosphere, naturally expects to get for it its full commercial value, and does obtain higher rents than most other landholders in the same part of the country. Although more ready than some of these other landholders to invest capital in the improvement of his farms, he is far from being a favorite among the people in his neighborhood, who regard him as a keen, close trader, always ready to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market.

What has been said will help to explain the position of the different parties of land-tenure reformers in England. Justly disgusted with assumptions of feudal prerogatives, such as that to which the Earl of Darnley has given an indiscreet publicity, and holding that the monopoly of the soil by a small privileged class is contrary at once to public policy and the laws of nature, leading members of the Liberal party, such as

Mr. Bright, are seeking to break up the great estates by removing all obstacles to the transfer of land and making it as easy to sell a piece of real estate as it now is—to use Mr. Bright's own language—to sell a ship. Believing with their whole hearts in the doctrine of free-trade, reformers of this class think that the application of this principle to land would result in dividing it up into comparatively small properties and establishing the very best system of land-tenure which is attainable.

From this view the more radical land reformers wholly dissent. They know that in a country so densely peopled as Great Britain, and one in which wealth is so abundant, yet so unequally divided, free trade in land might, indeed, result in a large increase in the number of landed proprietors, but could not possibly result in a wide distribution of land among the people and the creation of a freeholding peasantry such as now exists in France and Belgium. They know, too, by observation and experience that the large landholder who has inherited his estate from remote ancestors, and whose income even from a moderate scale of rates is usually very large, is apt to make an easier landlord than the proprietor who has purchased land out of the profits gained in trade or manufactures, and whose property may be barely sufficient, even when let to the best advantage, to yield him an income adequate to his real or imagined needs. Hence, if they were reduced to a choice between the adoption of the Bright programme and letting things remain as they are they would probably decide for the latter, on the ground that the mass of the people, whose poverty would still keep them in the position of tenants, are better off under a few comparatively easy landlords than they would be under a large number of more exacting ones.

They do not propose, however, to let things remain as they are, for they do not believe themselves restricted to the alternative just mentioned. Like Lord Darnley, they recognize the "feudal traditions" which cling to the estates of the English nobility, but unlike him they recognize in those traditions a sword with two edges, of which by far the keener one is turned towards the nobility

themselves. Nor do they especially mourn on account of the one which is turned towards the farmer, the object of their solicitude being the working people. In short, they propose the adoption of a policy based upon the fact that under the feudal system—the system under which the great estates were established—the nobles were only tenants *in capite*, holding their lands from the Crown, to which they owed in return homage and service, just as the inferior tenants owed the same to them. In course of time the Crown ceased to exercise its prerogatives, and, as the nobles were left to do about as they pleased in their relations with their tenants, their estates came to be practically the same as if they were their own property. Nevertheless, in the eye of English law the land has never ceased to be the property of the Crown; and under the present constitutional form of Government, the Crown means the nation. Consequently the English estates are legally public land. But although this may be accepted as legal theory, the proposition to reduce it to practice by ejecting the present holders without compensation would shock the English legal and judicial mind quite as much as if no such theory existed. Even the Radicals, however—at least the more prominent and influential of their number—do not propose so much as this. They do propose, however, to take advantage of the nation's legal right so far as to rescue for the masses of the people at least a share of those original rights in the soil of which they have been despoiled.

The plan proposed by the late John Stuart Mill was that of reviving the dormant right of the State so far as regards the future increase in the value of land, except when such increase is due to labor or expenditure on the part of the landholder. This plan would leave the landholder in possession of whatever revenue he now derives from his land, and would only deprive him of his prospective profits from an unearned increase in the price of land or its rental value. In its adoption the nation would virtually say to the landholders: "The land you hold is mine, but I have been negligent in the assertion of my rights and have given you cause to suppose that I never should assert them. In this belief, or perhaps even in ignorance



of my legal position, many of you have purchased your land at the prevailing high prices of the present time, and all of you have formed expectations based upon the present value of your holdings. This value, therefore, I am disposed to leave undisturbed in your possession; but I shall not permit you to enhance it still further by taking advantage of the growing necessities of the people. I give you notice, then, that for every shilling of additional tribute which you levy upon the people in the form of increased rents, I shall take as much from you in the shape of taxes, to be used for the benefit of the people in the maintenance of free schools and other useful institutions, or in the reduction of the taxes now paid by other portions of the community."

Those who advocate this policy point out that the population of Great Britain has more than doubled since the beginning of the present century; that the average rental value of land has increased in more than the same proportion, while the increase in its selling price has been still greater; that this increase, whether in rental value or in selling price, has not been due, save in a very small degree, to labor or expenditure on the part of the landholders, but simply to the fact that increased competition for land and its products has enabled them to ask and obtain increased prices, they having the monopoly of an article, the supply of which remains absolutely fixed in quantity, however great may become the increase of demand through increase of population. They might also justly argue that if there are a very few estates like that above mentioned, the rent-roll of which has not been revised for seventy years, there are many others like that of the Duke of Westminster, which being cut up into city lots and built upon, has made the family rich beyond computation. This increase of population, they say, is still going on, though somewhat less rapidly than formerly, and may be expected to go on for a considerable period in the future; and if the Government does not interfere, rents will rise still higher, the landlords grow still richer, and the masses sink deeper and deeper into helpless and hopeless poverty.

The latest proposition on this subject

emanates from no less distinguished a personage than Professor Newman, who some months ago, it will be remembered, organized a new national union of agricultural laborers with a view to the adoption of political methods, instead of strikes, as a means of advancing their cause. In a letter to Mr. Walter, M. P. — better known as chief proprietor of the London *Times*—Professor Newman proposes that existing estates be carved into small farms, and let at a fixed rent, with a guaranty that this rent shall never be raised on individuals separately, but only by a national act adding to the rents existing at the time of its passage such uniform percentage as may be deemed proper. This statement, which is taken from a short paragraph on the subject in an English paper, probably fails to give a precise idea of Professor Newman's scheme, but it serves to show how the idea of putting into exercise those national rights over the land which have so long been held in abeyance is gaining ground among English thinkers, and being disseminated among the people.

Such ideas will probably strike most people, even among republican Americans, as decidedly revolutionary in their character; but desperate evils require desperate remedies, and considerations affecting the very existence of the nation may ere long force the British Government to repair the wrong by which the masses of the people have been robbed of their interest in the soil.

There is a suspicion abroad that British power has entered upon a period of decay, and if that be true, it is high time to do something calculated to infuse new spirit among the masses of the British people. When Russia found herself beaten in the Crimean war her most sagacious statesmen perceived that the emancipation of her peasants was necessary to the development of her full strength. A few years later the new Emperor issued the ukase giving freedom to the serfs, and that was accompanied by measures designed to raise those serfs to the position of freeholders. When Prussia, like all the rest of continental Europe, lay trembling at the feet of the first Napoleon, her great statesman, Baron von Stein, whose monument has recently been dedicated at

Berlin amid the acclamations of a grateful people, saw plainly enough what was necessary to restore her strength. "To lift a people up," said he, "it is necessary to give liberty, independence, and property to its oppressed classes, and extend the protection of the law to all alike. Let us emancipate the peasant, for free labor alone sustains a nation effectually. Restore to the peasant the possession of the land he tills, for the independent proprietor alone is brave in defense of hearth and home."

In former times English armies were largely made up of the yeoman class. "And you, good yeomen," cries Henry V. at Harfleur, "whose limbs were made in England, show us here the mettle of your pasture." In Shakespeare's time the yeoman class still formed a considerable part of the population, and Nasse points out that "in the beginning of the seventeenth century Coke could say in a well-known judgment that the third part of England consisted of copyhold." But copyholds and common lands have alike been swallowed up in the great estates, and the agricultural population of the England of to-day consists of tenant farmers, few of whom enjoy any real independence, and wage-laborers, who pass through life with the possibility of ending it in the poor-house ever before their eyes.

To devise and carry out a practical reform which shall not merely create a yeoman class, but turn to the highest advantage of the entire people those rights in the soil which, in belonging to the nation, belong in part to each one of its citizens; to establish a system which, so far as is possible, will preserve these rights against new encroachments, and transmit them unimpaired through successive generations—to do this with the requisite boldness, and yet without unnecessary harshness, will require statesmanship of the very highest order. Until such statesmanship is developed it is to be hoped that things may be allowed to remain as they are, or, at least, that the principle of "free-trade in land," advocated by Mr. Bright and others, may not be embodied in legislation. Such a measure would be a formidable obstacle to any thorough and radical reform at a future day, for it would

involve a practical surrender of the reserved rights of the Crown, and after thus depriving the people of that share in the soil which already belongs to them, it would offer them a privilege of which not one in fifty would ever have the means to avail himself—that of *buying* land with somewhat less of legal impediment than now attends its purchase.

### On the Other Limb

It is a homely but apt proverb which illustrates the change men feel when the boot that pinches is on their own leg, or their own ox, not a neighbor's, is being gored. The Democratic and "Liberal" newspapers and politicians are just now writhing under such a pressure—mildly applied, it is true. The day of the silent men in public affairs seems to be upon us. What an amount of wit and printers' ink has been spilled over the Republican party during the last few years, owing to the reluctance far more than inability of President Grant to make speeches. The poetasters and humorists, the satirists and logicians, have all alike united in affirming his unfitness because of this fact for the high administrative duties of a position which requires only that its incumbent should *write*, not verbally deliver, his views and recommendations. Most American Presidents have been polished talkers, but no one of them was elected to that high position simply on account of his possessing such talent.

A change has come over the critical dream. Mr. Speaker Kerr has appointed as "leader of the House" a man who having served for four years in that body without opening his lips, either in colloquial debate or set speech, must of necessity be presumed to be especially well qualified for a post which is commonly supposed requires in a pre-eminent degree the capacity to think on one's feet, and to speak readily and clearly at all times and to the point. Mr. Kerr is praised for doing this by the same pens and tongues that have heretofore found no vocabulary copious enough to abuse the Republican President, who has never pretended to be a speech-maker. There is a distinction with a difference—don't you see? Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the Ways and Means, ought to be able to speak, and either can't or won't, while the President is not required to, and having neither taste nor inclination therefor, simply avails himself of his privilege and refrains.



## DEMOCRATIC PROMISES VS. PERFORMANCES.

In his speech of December 4, as Chairman of the Democratic Caucus that nominated a candidate for Speaker, Mr. Lamar, of Mississippi, announced the programme of Democracy on their temporary return to the control of the House of Representatives.

Two paragraphs of his speech are suggestive on account of the subject-matter, and also because we have already had an illustration of the old truth that performance does not always keep pace with the high sounding proclamation which precedes it.

Speaking of the needed reform in the "Civil Service," Mr. Lamar said:

"There has been for some time in the public mind a conviction, profound and all-pervading, that the civil service of the country has not been directed from considerations of public good, but from those of party profit, and for corrupt, selfish, and unpatriotic designs. The people demand at our hands a sweeping and thorough reform, which shall be conducted in a spirit that will secure the appointment to places of trust and responsibility of the honest, the experienced, and the capable."

How has this patriotic and unpartisan declaration been followed out during the thirty days of subsequent performance? If change is reform, then the reform has been "sweeping and thorough."

Indeed, it may almost be said that the Democracy of the whole country came to Washington for the sole purpose of making it "sweeping"—and to fill the subordinate positions in the south wing of the Capitol with "experienced and capable" persons.

Two of the four subordinate officers nominated by Mr. Lamar's caucus took the modified oath. One of them, the Postmaster, late a captain in the rebel army, has appointed nearly all of his employees from Alexandria, Virginia. He has fourteen subordinates, and nine of them could not take the oath that they had never borne arms against the United States.

The Doorkeeper of the House, nominated at Mr. Lamar's caucus, had proved his "experience and capability," by serving as Sergeant-at-Arms of the rebel House of Representatives. In fact, it is becoming apparent that experience in attempting to destroy the

Union is a much better passport to position under this new civil service reform than service in the army of the Union.

For several years past thirteen disabled soldiers have been employed as assistant doorkeepers, and though seriously disabled by wounds received in defending the Union, they have performed for the House the same service which able-bodied men would have done.

On Tuesday, December 13th, a resolution was offered in the House declaring that in filling such places the preference should be given to disabled soldiers who were able to do the needed work, but it was voted down by the solid vote of the Democratic members—with the honorable exception of Mr. Holman, of Indiana.

But Mr. Lamar discussed another topic of far greater importance when he indicated the Democratic policy in reference to the Southern States. He said:

"On the part of those who have been invested with the political power and destiny of our country during the last 10 or 15 years, it has been a frequent remark that the era of constitutional politics had closed, that questions of constitutional limitations and restrictions were no longer to hinder or delay the legislation of the Government in its dealings with financial, economical, or social subjects which were, it was assumed, now the only matters worthy of public attention. And yet, amid their grand boastings, the Forty-third Congress found themselves faced with the gravest questions of constitutional law, reaching down to the fundamental principles of the system, and involving, not only the relations of the State in the Federal Government, but that of the people to their own home Government. The grandest inspiration of the Democratic party is, and its crowning glory will be, to restore the Constitution to its primitive strength and authority, and to make it the protector of every section, and of every State in the Union, and of every human being, of every race, color, and condition in the land."

This paragraph begins with a bold misrepresentation of the doctrine of the Republican party. When has Mr. Lamar heard the Republican party declare its purpose to break down the "barrier of constitutional limitations" in order to deal with "financial, economical, or social subjects?" Can



he be so reckless as to deny the right of Congress to regulate the finance and economy of the nation? If his charge means anything, his meaning is covered by the words "social subjects." It will not be forgotten that the term "social institutions" was the old Democratic euphemism for slavery and all its horrors. He makes his charge more specific by referring to the action of the Forty-third Congress—meaning, of course, the legislation in regard to the Louisiana troubles. This comes with an ill grace from Mr. Lamar, who is known to have been extremely anxious for the adoption of the Wheeler compromise, which saved that distracted State from the greatest and most dangerous complications. His meaning was clearly illustrated by the first act of his party after the election of Mr. Kerr—when he and they attempted to reopen the wounds of Louisiana by disregarding the fundamental condition of the Wheeler compromise. It was fortunate for the peace of the country that a few members of his own party were willing to unite with the Republicans to prevent the consummation of the outrage upon plighted faith. The people will not soon forget that first day's work of the Democratic House. It leaves us in no doubt of Mr. Lamar's meaning, when he says that "the grandest inspiration of the Democratic party is, and its crowning glory will be, to restore the Constitution to its *primitive* strength and authority."

Its "*primitive* strength and authority" were used by the Democracy to deny all the rights of manhood to the negro race. Mr. Lamar's declaration is brim-full of ultra State sovereignty—of disregard to the recent amendments of the Constitution which the Democracy have again and again denounced—and which they do not intend to enforce.

The protection to "every human being, of every race, color, and condition" Mr. Lamar proposes to give may be best illustrated by the protection recently given to the colored voters in his own State. A statement of the vote there in 1873 and that in 1875 will show its character. In the first named year the Republican State Treasurer received 70,462 votes; the Democratic candidate, 47,486—a Republican majority of 22,976. In 1872 the vote for President was: Republican, 82,175;

Democrat, 52,857—a Republican majority of 29,318. In 1875, when the polls and the preliminary canvass was overshadowed by the protection Mr. Lamar promises so lavishly, the vote stood as follows: Democratic candidate for State Treasurer, 97,922; Republican candidate for State Treasurer, 67,000—Democratic majority, 30,922. This shows a change of votes to the extent of more than 40,000; and an increase of 46,974 in the total vote over that of 1873.

Mr. Lamar will not assert that such a result has been achieved by honest and honorable means, and that, too, in a State where the colored population exceeds the white persons, (census 1870,) by 61,305, and the normal excess of voters of that class is at least 15,000. How the change was brought about is well understood. An extract made from a private letter, written in Monroe county, will show the methods employed by the Democracy to secure in Mr. Lamar's own State the equal protection to "every human being, of every race, color, and condition," he so grandiloquently promises:

"Several days prior to the 2d of November the Democrats began to parade with guns and artillery. They kept up a brisk cannonade all over the country in order to frighten and overawe the black voters. They pretended that a large number of colored men intended to vote the Democratic ticket, but it was discovered on election day that not one hundred of such volunteer Democrats lived in the county. Then they resorted to force and intimidation. They took guns and pistols and carried their cannon to the courthouse where the voting was to take place, and told the blacks that they must either vote the Democratic ticket or not vote at all. In about half an hour the news spread all over the precinct. A large number of colored men were coming to vote, but turned back to save themselves. Some were knocked down when they were in the act of voting. Now, I have only this to say, that every species of effectual intimidation was used, and a large number of the largest landholders in the county have refused to rent or lease to blacks who took a leading part in the election. If something is not done to protect us, I can assure you that not a vote will be cast by the black Republicans in this county for President, &c., in 1876."

This illustrates the Lamar code—the mode of protecting all rights and all men (who don't vote their ticket) when it is to be pursued under the Democratic rule. Munroe

county had, in 1870, a population of 22,631, of whom 14,000 were colored. In 1873 it cast 3,844 votes, of whom 2,007 were Republican, making a majority of 170. In 1875 the vote was 4,165, divided into Democrats, 2,619, and Republicans, 1,546—a Democratic majority of 1,073. According to the last Federal census, the number of male citizens in Munroe county was 4,336—only 171 more than the total of the last poll. The ratio to the whole population is somewhat more than one voter to every five persons, and would give to the colored population about 2,800, or a majority of more than 1,200. These figures are quite sufficient to verify the statement made in the letter already quoted.

One other instance will be sufficient. Yazoo county, with a total voting population in 1870 (U. S. census) of 3,398, gave in 1873 a Republican vote of 2,427, and a Democratic poll of 411—a Republican majority of 2,016. At the last election, when the Democracy *protected* the polls, *the Republican vote was seven* (7) and the Democratic 4,044, or a total increase of 653 votes since 1870, indicating an

addition to the population of the county of at least 3,265. Mr. Singleton, one of Mr. Lamar's colleagues, owes his election to this Yazoo county vote. This is a simple absurdity, refuted by its own statement. An influential citizen thus writes from Mississippi:

"As matters now stand, the Democrats will carry the next election as they choose, because the negroes must either vote the Democratic ticket or stay at home. I know the leading Republicans of the State are to some extent to blame, but the Democrats are armed with Winchester rifles. \$4,000 was spent in \* \* I am told, for guns and ammunition. You must not make public this statement, because it would make it unsafe for me here. Northern men here must do hereafter one of these things: 1st. *Leave the State.* 2d. *Vote the Democratic ticket.* 3d. *Be still at home and not vote at all.*"

Mississippi answers Mr. Lamar. The forty thousand oppressed citizens who have either been debarred from exercising the franchise, or compelled under duress to cast their ballots contrary to their wishes, are the witnesses of Mr. Lamar's false pretenses.

## PAYMENT OF REBEL DEBTS.

The Congressional Record of December 16 contained the following significant item:

"Mr. Vance, of North Carolina, introduced a bill (H. R. No. 228) to repeal a joint resolution of March 2, 1867, and the act of February 4, 1862, prohibiting payment to any person not known to be opposed to the rebellion; which was read a first and second time."

The bill offered by Mr. Vance repeals the joint resolution of March 2, 1867, which a loyal Congress enacted for the protection of the United States Treasury. Under this joint resolution no claim for damages done, or property used during the rebellion, would be entertained or paid by the United States, unless the loyalty of the claimant was clearly established. It has proven a safeguard; and has excluded a class of unjust claims amounting in the aggregate to several hundred millions of dollars. The act of February 4, 1862, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to strike from the pension-roll the names of such persons as had taken up arms against the Government.

Other laws of a similar nature have been passed from time to time, having for their object the exclusion of war claims presented by those who were engaged in the rebellion.

Mr. Vance, in the first flush of Democratic ascendancy, opens a direct fire upon these loyal barriers, and has at his back a powerful influence in the House of Representatives. Of course this infamous proposition, the effect of which, if legalized, would be to double our national debt, cannot become a law. A Republican Senate and a loyal President stand in the way of its enactment. Still, the animus of Democracy is seen in this proposition of the North Carolina member. His bill reflects the views of every Southern Democrat, and at least a majority of those coming from the North.

It is safe to say that the control of the nation by the Democracy would cost the Government not less than \$1,000,000,000 within the next four years. Among the claims awaiting the restoration of the Democratic party are the following:

Payment for all slave property ; for damages done to private property by military operations ; for supplies taken by or furnished to the army ; refunding the cotton tax ; payment for property, contraband of war, seized and confiscated. These are among the leading claims held in reserve for the restoration of Democracy to power. These are among the claims that would be pressed for settlement if the bill offered by Mr. Vance should ever become a law.

It is well for the loyal element that still controls the Government to note the drift of Democracy, and to take such action as patriotism indicates to prevent the humiliating and disastrous surrender which the Democrats are building their hopes upon. The action of Mr. Vance in the House in proposing to break down the barriers which a loyal Congress had erected for the protection of the nation ; the rejection by a strict party vote of Mr. Fort's just resolution, giving preference to disabled Union soldiers in appointments made by the House ; the wholesale dismissal of wounded heroes from positions they had long occupied with credit, and the substitution of ex-Confederate officials, are such startling indications of the revolutionary policy to be pursued by the Democratic party that its encouragement and support by the American people will be little short of a crime against the Republic.

We call upon the true friends of the nation to organize for its defense. Let Republican clubs be started everywhere to keep the people thoroughly posted on the condition of affairs, and to arouse them to a sense of duty during the Presidential campaign. The common enemy is vigilant and our friends must meet it with equal vigilance. Local prejudices must be laid aside until the great question of national safety is decided. Good men must band together for the common defense. Personal ambition must bend to the public good. The skies are bright for a glorious Republican victory in 1876. But victory depends upon activity, hard work, and upon that laudable spirit of self-sacrifice that prompts each patriot to forget self in his devotion to the country he loves.

We call upon the Republican press of the

nation to renew its efforts in behalf of the noble party whose overthrow would be a death blow to the Union. Plain words must be spoken ; the truth must be presented ; the mask must be torn from Democracy, and the dangers following its restoration so clearly shown that no patriot of average intelligence need err in forming a correct judgment as to his duty in the Presidential campaign. Republican journals throughout the country have struck grand blows for liberty and justice in the past, but grander work is still before them. The Centennial year will be one of inspiration to patriotism ; let all who love the Republic labor to make it one of victory.

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TURNING wounded Union soldiers out of office to make room for ex-Confederates may be fully up to the "true reform" promised by Democracy, but it will fall far short of the reform that will satisfy the country. It is bad enough to appoint ex-Confederate soldiers and leading rebels to office while tens of thousands of brave fellows can be found who served the nation in its hour of peril, and who stand in need of some employment that will yield them fair pay for honest services, but it is far worse to turn out one-legged and one-armed heroes from positions conferred by a grateful country to make room for the former enemies of the Republic. If this is the policy of Democracy, the people will effectually squelch it when it presents itself at the ballot-box at the next election.

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WHEN the rebellion broke out a Captain of Police at the Capitol building deserted his post and went South to fight in the ranks of treason. He was a native of Virginia, and appointed from that State.

The Democratic control of the House of Representatives brings this valiant official into the public service again. The ex-Confederate Doorkeeper appoints him to a responsible position. Now he hails from California, having removed to that State soon after the surrender of the Confederacy. After this appointment who will doubt the love of Democracy for those who tried to destroy the Union.



## THE WEAKNESS OF DEMOCRACY.

The Democratic party having been for fifteen years a party of promise has at last assumed a new position, and for a month has been endeavoring to show to the country precisely what it can do as a party of performance.

Standing aloof from responsibility in the enactment of laws and in the execution of them, with nothing to do but criticise and protest and denounce all the proceedings and propositions, and principles, and appointments of the Republicans, the managers of Democracy have had the advantage which a party out of power always enjoys, of not being held accountable for anything done. By opposing everything, they were sure to be on the record against all unpopular measures, and opposition to popular schemes is always immediately forgotten when the schemes are carried, and hence at the end of a long period of minority, the outs have obtained by immunity from responsibility a reputation for honesty, discernment, capacity and usefulness, which this country has thought worthy to have tested, and this has resulted in giving them an ample working majority in the House of Representatives, and imposing upon them the duty of showing what they can do.

The standards by which the Democratic party must inevitably be judged are two; both clearly beyond question. The work of the majority is to be contrasted with the ideals set up when the party was out of power, and with the performances of the party which has been in power. There can be no dispute on either of these points. The trial is now going on before the country, and a full month has passed since its commencement. This month has developed a state of things by no means flattering to the management which has assumed control. It has taken a whole month to organize the House and select the committees. This has never happened before since the foundation of the Government, and the circumstance at once puts at rest the claim set up that in business capacity, comprehension of the wants and duties of the hour, and a determination to

do the needful things whatever they may be, the Democratic party is superior to its opponent, but the contrary is shown. The boasted statesmanship of which we heard so much did not show itself as predicted. The beautiful material which was supposed to be lying around loose in the Democratic ranks, all fitted and planed and polished for immediate use in legislation, was not on hand at the commencement of the session ready to be worked into the new and improved political temple. In looking for a Colfax or a Blaine to occupy the Chair no such presiding genius could be found, and the nearest approach in the person of Sam. J. Randall, could not be elected—two circumstances very significant and equally unfortunate. Not to have the men out of which to make a Speaker equal to the past signifies a lowering of the standard of ability in the House, and consequently of the power to perform the promises given to the country of improved legislation. A weak legislature always fails, and invariably incurs the contempt of its constituency, and the reasons are so obvious they need not be stated. Not to be able to elect the most fit man as Speaker argues division, incoherency of purposes, and internal weakness, corresponding to the weakness in leadership. And when the new Speaker was installed and his opponents Randall and Cox acquiesced in the arrangement, and the difficulty was supposed to have been mainly surmounted, to their dismay it was found wholly unsolved and more formidable than ever. Not only was there a lack of material for the Speakership, but a greater lack of material for leadership, and for chairmanship of committees, to cope with Blaine, Garfield, Wheeler, Hear, Hale, Kasson, and the other experienced statesmen of the minority. Cox claimed to be as good as Wood, who was an older soldier, and Wood thought himself the very father of the happy family, while Morrison, an unknown man who had sat in two Congresses undiscovered, comes up and is pronounced the superior of both. The leadership falls to the unknown, and the principal chairmanships are scattered among Kentuck-

ians, Virginians, and Missourians, whose names never before reached much beyond the confines of their native counties, and in most instances not even to that extent; while New England and the great States of New York and Pennsylvania are shoved unmercifully aside, with the great Northwest also out in the cold. Were this necessary on account of the superiority of talent of the Democratic members from Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, however painful the fact might be, it could be borne and readily acquiesced in, but there being no such superiority, and the preponderance of experience being the other way, only one conclusion can be reached, and that is, that the Democratic party has not been able to take a broad view of the nature of its position, nor act in a way to command the confidence even of its own members. The failure is the most conspicuous one in history: so felt and confessed. Moreover there is no recovery from it.

The fact of superior ability and higher legislative capacity of the Republicans is one that cannot be remedied by them. The men are there for two years, and nature can add not a whit to the capacity of the Democratic elect. They will abide in all their mediocrity, and the contrasts will grow more striking as from time to time the responsibilities become more fully developed.

Failure was inevitable from the start. The Democratic party has a more vital deficiency than lack of ability and lack of cohesiveness: it is barren of ideas that constitute true nationality and national greatness. It is a party of negations, save that one of its factions is badly infected with ideas positive for mischief. It doesn't believe in doing anything to develop resources, and for the immense mass of ignorance that prevails in the inferior races and degraded masses it not only has no remedy, but it has no appreciation of the dangers which are the inseparable concomitants of ignorance and lawlessness. The make-up of the committees clearly indicates its negative position. The composition of the Democratic party makes this so necessarily. The power of Democracy is in the Southern States, and there is where their majorities are to come from in the next election. This

fact accounts for the arrangement of committees by Speaker Kerr; the South has got the preponderance, and the rebel element is predominant in the Democratic House in numbers and far more in influence and in talent: so the Southern ideas of statesmanship are sure to prevail. The key-note of this faction which is to control was sounded by Lamar in his speech to the caucus, when he said, "*we want a government which we can love.*" That is it exactly. The Republican party has preserved the national unity, destroyed rebellion and slavery and secession, the three grand enemies of nationality; has proclaimed equal rights to all races, colors, and conditions of men; has done what it could to promote the education of the poor and the ignorant; has encouraged the industrial interests of the South by affording all the protection in its power to immigrants, and preserving order when interrupted by mob law and violence; has pardoned the crime of rebellion, and restored to the men lately in arms against the Government all the rights which citizens who were always true enjoy, and has asked nothing in return save the one simple condition, that the rights of the freedmen gained by the war and the Constitutional amendments shall be accorded them in good faith and according to the spirit of the amended charter. And the Government which has preserved the Union, made freedom and equal rights sacred, and forgiven the traitors who attempted the destruction of all, they cannot love; and they can be pacified only by having a government which they *can* love. What kind of a government that may be is not doubtful. It must be a government of different ideas from the one which has maintained the Union and fought disunion. That the rebels cannot love a Union government is proof that they have not in their hearts accepted the results of the war. If they believed in union and freedom, and the political equality of the races, they would be Republicans, because the Republican party is the instrumentality by which these have been secured, and is the only party that is committed by a living faith to the maintenance of these grand ideas. It was not to be expected of rebels that they should love the ideas against

which they fought, and they don't, and Lamar frankly confesses that they don't. They love the opposite ideas. Not a soul of them will acknowledge that they were in the wrong. They believe and say they were right, and though crushed to earth, like truth, they hope to rise again. They believe in the Democratic party as it was, and hold with James Buchanan that a State cannot be coerced. They believe in the resolution of the State Democratic Convention of Mississippi, where Lamar is a shining light, that it is the design of the Republican party to place white men under the control of their late slaves and "degrade the Caucasian race as inferiors of the African negro, which needs only to be mentioned to be scorned by all intelligent minds." They believe with the Democratic legislature of New Jersey, which repudiated the fourteenth amendment after it had been adopted, and declared "that the origin and objects of said amendment were unseemly and unjust; that the necessary result of its adoption must be the disturbance of the harmony if not the destruction of our system of government," and in a word they believe in the old State sovereignty theories, out of which came the heresy of secession and the

iniquity and horrors of rebellion and civil war. Because they thus believe they love the Democratic party. They have been whipped, but not so whipped that they question their original right to commit treason. Their political faith is the same as before the fight, and all they want is to have the suitable opportunity to carry it out. They are not to blame for this; it is human nature. The blame is on the part of the people in trusting them with power before they have utterly outgrown and renounced their old heresies and purposes. These heresies are destructive of all government and all nationality, and no party which holds them or tolerates them can stand. This is the weakness of Democracy; this is what elected Kerr and prompted him in fixing his committees, and he readily cottoned to the rebel element and gave it the lion's share. The Northern Democracy must take back seats and play second fiddle to the men who lately stood as rebel pickets and shot down the defenders of the Constitution and the flag of the Union, and it holds the power in the House on this condition and no other. Probably it begins to see it.

## THE REPRESENTATION OF CONFEDERATE TREASON.

The transaction under the apple tree at Appomattox swept out of existence the thing that was called the Confederate power; and the disbanding of the armies of the Rebellion and the relegation of the men and officers to their States and to the pursuit of their vocations, without harming a hair of their heads, swept out of existence the last vestige of the Confederate States. The rebel officers returned to their homes with mingled feelings, in which doubt of the future predominated; and while they were uncertain as to their fate, they were anxious and ready to concede anything to remove the burden, or furnish any proof of good-will that would be received. Indeed, the disloyal element in the South was whipped and cowed. Jefferson Davis fled from arrest in the guise of an old woman, valiant with a slop-bucket, yet asking the respect due to petticoats which encased the legs of the rebel President; while many generals left the country, too

timid to face what they feared. It is an historic fact that the leaders and more prominent rebels realized their position, and that was, that if they had their deserts, their punishment would be severe. The spirits of these men were low and their prospects bleak; for it was known that few conquered rebels taken with arms in their hands had hitherto escaped, and if the old world custom had been adopted by the North in its hour of victory none could have complained; and it is probable that the condemnation of some of the most notorious and the publication of an account of how they demeaned themselves would have served as the warning of the age against the crime of treason.

If the South had been oppressed by unjust legislation—if it had a real cause of complaint—its rebellion would have had some ground of excuse. But the South had no excuse; and the treason of the Slave States stands forth as a crime of barbarous black-



ness, of gratuitous infamy; and for the following reasons:—The North was free and the South was slave, both of their own volition. Both had willed it so, and both were well aware of the distinctive character of the social structure in each, and what it involved. The North, yearning for progress, stretched out its hands to all who could help, and to the adoption of every appliance that could advance its material prosperity. It had railroads and canals; and ships and manufacturing; it had public institutions of learning, and it loved knowledge. That its citizens might receive all the advantages of such a disposition, the multiplication of school-houses kept pace with the growth of population; and the result was that the men of the North became imbued with a civilization superior to that of Europe; a sturdy love of liberty penetrated their hearts; and they added what is not found in Europe—the control by the people of their own affairs. The South, with perhaps greater advantages of soil and climate, secluded itself from improvement, and stood aloof from enterprise—although upon the Nation's highway. It built up a Chinese wall against progress, and devoted itself to casting the mind of its citizens in one mould; and that mould was Slavery. A man was appreciated—he rose in esteem—as he proved himself sound on that question. A doubt, however, upon the right of the white man to enslave the black was absolute ruin. In thus protecting the peculiar institution, Southern society was deprived of the civilizing influences of education, of association with men of art and science, of the cultivation of a generous literature which elevates the mind and draws out the noble instincts of our nature. Instead of this political and social power were seized by the hands of the slave-owning aristocracy, leaving the masses still further debased by the creation in their midst of a new class of paupers—the poor whites—who could neither read nor write, who would not work, who lived on charity—and in the brutalizing presence of a race toiling in hopeless bondage. To keep up this unnatural condition of life—this civilization of debasement—it was necessary to rear a class of braggarts who, when outside of the limits of Slave

States, should boast of the beauties of slavery, their own chivalry, and what blessings the people enjoyed; and when intending to be particularly impressive with professors of religion, though in many cases the children of the masters by slave mothers were at work as slaves on the plantation or sold to traders to work elsewhere, they boldly asked: How are the heathen blacks to be Christianized except through slavery in the religious South? Southern Senators and Members of the House were selected for the distinctive purpose of putting forth the claims of slavery; and preposterous as they were, they succeeded in allying themselves with the Democratic party, who seemed to be overawed at their condescension; and with profound servility it sympathized with the South, defended its assumption at the expense of every manly sentiment, and rendered it all the aid and comfort it was pleased to demand. The Democratic party was therefore cognizant of the aims and intentions of the South; of the character of the threats Southerners uttered and which Democrats repeated; and of the preparations being made for rebellion. And looking back upon the past it is to be observed that some of the loudest clamor was made by Northern Democrats with Southern proclivities; and some of the most offensive prophesies of the defeat of the armies of the North if they should be found fighting to preserve the Union came from the lips of the Democratic party.

The unnatural condition of the South, unknown to people generally because of the personal danger which attended the visit of men who did not hold with slavery, had borne the only fruit possible in a country where the majority of citizens were free. In spite of the threats and boastings of Southern Senators and Representatives on the floors of Congress and of Northern Democrats slavery was hemmed in; and when the leaders of the rebellion became convinced that it could not spread, they, with the sanction of the Democratic party, precipitated the war and brought upon the country the sorrow and death which followed, and the heavy war debt which is still to be paid.

The principles and customs which prevail

in the old world on the occasion of social turmoil and convulsion always have some reason for their existence. A rebellion in Europe is a calamity as dreadful as was our own, which entailed incalculable suffering and woe. But there its authors would be sure to receive their deserts. And this even when the despotism of a dynasty might be urged in mitigation. No such plea, however, could be presented here. The rebellion of the slave States was a wicked and deliberate act in the interest of slavery, in the vain hope of prolonging the existence of a social condition which God had denounced and which freemen abhorred. Freemen put down the rebellion on behalf of freedom and order; but their action towards its authors was the reverse of that if the old world. The leaders of the rebellion were sent home; and Republican statesmen introduced laws, which a Republican Congress passed, to reconstruct the ruin which had been wrought in the South. Directly the magnanimity of the Republican party was realized, the attitude of the rebel leaders changed to defiance. They spurned the flag of the Union and belittled the Federal Government. Northern men who had not been concerned in the rebellion were employed under the reconstruction laws, only to be assailed as carpet-baggers and mudsills. And treason has been rampant in the South though years have passed since the war ended. As the disabilities of rebels were removed and the franchise was restored to them, the grounds on which such restoration was made were forgotten. The same Constitution, Federal or State, under which the franchise was exercised by the newly rehabilitated Southern white conferred the right on the colored citizen. But from the day the rebel whites made the discovery that it was a mistake to have tried to destroy the Nation, and that they could get the control they wanted in the Union, they entered into a conspiracy to prevent the colored man from exercising the franchise and to secure for themselves the pretense of an election. They knew the colored majority were against them. What of that? They could do without a majority by obtaining the appearance of one by the aid of their friends. States that have a Republican majority are there-

fore in the hands of Democrats. The colored voter has been kept away from the polls by being brutally assaulted or shot down in cold blood by men who shot loyal soldiers or who skulked in the woods and are reserved for this work. The result is that a reign of terror prevails, of which the Confederate officers in the House have taken advantage.

In almost all of the late rebel States under Democratic control arrangements are being carried out to make the destiny of the blacks worse than slavery. Democrats complain of the ignorance of negroes; but what have the Democracy done to remove it? Who ever heard of the Democratic party being in favor of education? A great crime has been perpetrated on colored men in this respect. They have as far as possible been persistently shut out from instruction, with a view to the extinction of their vote. That was the object labored for, and the Southern Democracy have to a certain extent achieved it. Two very grave questions arise here in view of the condition of colored citizens: First—What is the duty of Congress in the case of States which have refused to provide sufficient educational facilities for the blacks and who have been practically deprived of the franchise? Second—Are the elections legal where the colored vote has been excluded, or enforced? Are the Confederate officers now sitting in the House of Representatives from those States entitled to their seats, which they reached in defiance of the colored majority, and by stuffing the ballot-boxes to such an excess that the ballots exceed the voters in numbers? And who do those Confederate officers represent? A Republican cotemporary says:

“The existence of Confederate sentiment in each of the slave States of the Union is a fact beyond dispute. No one should be surprised at the existence of this sentiment. It is the outgrowth of fifty years of political treachery and political agitation. The late civil war added the seal of blood to this sentiment, and thus enshrined it as the controlling political affection in the hearts of the Southern whites. It was natural that this sentiment should select its cherished leaders as its representatives, both in the State and National Legislature. This Confederate sentiment thus represented in the Government is now a fixed, permanent, and formidable



power. It will control 128 votes in the Electoral College, a vote which requires only fifty-six additional votes to make it *the Government*."

The Confederate officers in the House represent nothing more than the disloyal white vote of the late rebel army and the rebel sympathizers. This is a danger that was not looked for and had not been provided against. It is all the more alarming because it shows that the spirit of the rebellion still lives. The war is still being fought, not with arms, indeed, but with what is far worse—with a public sentiment which in time, if allowed to continue, will rear a race of rebels from their infancy; and the strength of the Republic will be sapped by holding the dry-rot of disloyalty within the Union, which cannot be sloughed off. In the early days of the Republic purity of election was considered as guaranteed to citizens by the Constitution. The fathers never could have conceived of such a departure from the true principle of representation as the appearance on the floor of the Capitol of eighty-six Confederate officers, whose treason having been pardoned, now stand forth to revive that treason in their persons and to represent it in the presence of the loyal people by whom they had been forgiven. Before the nation is a hundred years old, nay, in the hundredth year of its age, it is forced to behold the evidence that the seeds of its dissolution are sown in its bosom, unless the people come forward and pluck them up by the roots. Let them inquire whether the elections in the South, which issued in sending these Confederates to Congress, were held in accordance with the Constitution. Were they free? Did a majority or minority of the citizens vote? And which do the Confederates represent—the minority of white rebels or the majority of white and colored citizens who were loyal to the Union and the flag? If they represent the rebel minority what right have they in the National Legislature?

A class of dangerous Representatives have thus procured access to the House, apparently unchallenged, to swell the vote of the Democracy to a Congressional majority, when the nation is Republican and the Democratic

party a minority. The strange spectacle exists of a House of Representatives which does not represent the majority of the people who are supposed to have sent them there. And the most monstrous grievance of the day is the existence of the class of "Dangerous Representatives" alluded to. A Republican cotemporary asks:

"How is this dangerous power to be checked? What is to prevent the Confederate South from becoming again resectionalized, with negro serfdom as its cornerstone, as a determining balance of power in national politics? These are the questions of immediate interest in American politics. There can be but two ways of meeting this danger. One is by remanding the late Confederate States to a territorial condition, to be governed as Territories until Southern society frees itself from those elements which have always made it a danger to the Republic. The other process consists in building up the negro power at the South as a Union power side by side with this Confederate power as its counterpoise.

"The day has passed for such a policy. The Confederate is 'in' the Government and must remain in for weal or for woe. The only remaining alternative must now be embraced. The negro power must be built up by political protection and educational culture until it shall be strong enough to resectionalize the South. This policy will effectually 'break' the Confederate power and force its absorption into the Republican body politic of the nation, and it is the only policy that will or can accomplish this result."

The remedy here proposed may possibly be resorted to, but it surely cannot be the only remedy for such a state of affairs. Writers on Constitutional law involving popular and parliamentary powers say, it is ridiculous to imagine that the same law which provides a remedy for every private wrong should provide none for those public wrongs which have thrust eighty-eight spurious Representatives into a body of men dignified with the title of Representatives of the nation, and that nation having put down in blood the rebellion the eighty-six Southerners represent. If an effective remedy is not applied, and that speedily, these Confederate officers may perpetuate themselves by the same fraud and violence, or assist other rebel officers to succeed them in order to keep up the representation of disloyalty, while the candidate of the popular choice, if



all citizens had been allowed to vote according to law, is kept out, and will always be so.

The reconstruction measures of the Republican party have enriched the South, and put it on the path to progressive prosperity. The Republican party also redeemed the South from isolation, and opened to it all the appliances which are the groundwork of national greatness. Had the South accepted the situation, and settled down in good faith to the work of recovery, there is no part of the Union which it might not by this time have surpassed in material growth. But the South seems to be destined to be the abode of political turmoil and cruel chicanery. If it is chivalry to intimidate a negro and prevent his voting, and yet pretend to have been sent to Congress by stuffing handfuls or negro votes into the ballot box which had never been cast, it is either a misapprehension of the word, or Southern chivalry must be as peculiar as its late institution—only a Southern production. At all events, Southern chivalry which shoots down a negro or purloins his vote with as much pleasure as a Knight of the Round Table would rescue a beautiful lady is not esteemed very highly by gentlemen of wealth at the great centers of trade. While such chivalry prevails in the South capital locks up its coffers. Capital makes no objection to an investment among a people of the highest moral tone and honor in their dealings between man and man. But capital will not expose itself to the danger of encountering political broils and bloodshed. Capital is only safe where there is equality for all men before the law, and where there is an abiding sense of the necessity of a loyal and honorable obedience to that law, and it is apt to look a little askance on localities where indulgence in vote purloining is a frequent pastime.

The condition of the colored citizens in many parts of the South, especially where the Democracy have obtained the ascendancy, is deplorable. They are in greater danger to life and limb now that they are citizens of the United States, than when they were slaves. The Constitution affords them no protection in the exercise of their rights, while as slaves they had no rights which a

white man was bound to respect. Rebels have usurped the elective offices in the same manner as the eighty-six officers say they were sent to the House, namely, by blotting out the colored vote and stuffing the ballot-box. Formerly the South said it could not hold together without slaves, and it is free. Now, the South has colored citizens whose rights it estops, while white Southerners, like the Confederate officers who sit as Representatives, could not do without them, and have either used the rights of the colored men themselves, or by their friends, in order to be returned to Congress. If colored men complain and appeal to the State courts, the judges deny them justice. Laws are made by State Legislatures often aimed directly at the negro, and when they associate to gain strength to face a common foe, rebel emissaries murder or maltreat them in open daylight, and who, though known, are never arrested. Colored men are therefore like a rope of sand, without the power of cohesion; and being harried mercilessly through their counties are easily scattered and divided. This is not the condition the colored citizen desires, but it is the condition in which he is. He is anxious to act under the Constitution, and to send men to Congress whom the Constitution will recognize. To be violently cast aside, and to see their ballots cast by others, and their enemies said to be their representatives in consequence, colored men knew to be illegal; but they are too weak to resist the revolver, or the systematic ill-usage of the white element opposed to the freedom of their race.

The reconstruction measures of the Republican party were designed to restore and to build up, not only the material interests of the South, but to lay the foundation of social order and a reorganization of the elements of society, so that, as one of the issues of the war, all opposition should disappear beneath the healing influence of freedom. Had the participants in the rebellion gradually yielded in sentiment and effort, and entered heartily into the plans for social reorganization, the citizenship of the South would have joined with that of the North, and the dividing line between them would have been obliterated. All sectional strife

and differences would have been absorbed in the great question of how best to advance the welfare of the Union—in the accomplishment of which the South would have aided. Thoughtful and earnest men looked forward to the time when the heritage of the American citizen would have been the same in the South as in the North, when words of welcome and friendship would well up from the heart and evince the great change which had occurred. The change did not take place. The Republic is in danger.

Alas! the bitter spirit of sectionalism and rebellion could not be eradicated. It sprang up in growth like a rank weed on a favoring soil, and has overspread as with miasma the fairest portion of the land. Southerners alone are to blame for this. Injustice, rapine, and murder have stalked about the South, leaving a bloody track among the black men and such white Republicans as were held to be obnoxious. It is time for the country to cry, halt! It is hoped that the REPRESENTATION OF TREASON has for the last time made its appearance in the House of Representatives. We call upon the people to bestir themselves—to be no longer blind to so grievous a violation of the Constitution—to protest at once against so hideous a mockery—to cast their votes for men they can trust to enforce the law or to enact the law that shall prevent forever so shameless a spectacle as 86 rehabilitated rebels standing on the floor of Congress to proclaim that they are *there* through the disloyalty of the South, and as the REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TREASON for the destruction of which the war was fought and the sacrifices made by a nation never more in earnest for self-preservation.

We repeat that the Republic is in danger. The South, where the representatives of treason come from, is as disloyal as ever; and if, as Mr. Lincoln said, the Union could not exist half slave and half free, but must be all one or the other, with how much greater emphasis does it come home to the bosoms of a patriotic people that the defiant disloyalty of the South is a standing menace which must be dealt with by men who fought for their country, and who are not likely to permit the great object of the war to be de-

feated by the survivors of the rebellion whose lives they generously spared?

Remember, O my friends, the laws, the rights, The generous plan of freedom handed down From age to age by your renowned forefathers; So dearly bought, the price of so much blood.

THE OLD SUBSERVIENCY.—The sectional character of Mr. Speaker Kerr's committee distribution has been excused by "Liberal" apologists, on the ground that the Democratic party counts the largest proportion of its support and representation in and from the former slave States. How shallow is this apology may be seen from one fact. The section formerly slave-owning sends to Congress eighty-eight Democratic representatives. From the section always loyal and free there are eighty-nine, one more than in the South. Yet in the distribution of the committees the large majority of all the important positions are assigned to the representatives who stand for the former slave States. Fifteen of the old free States, (including five of the States that framed the Union,) are without a single chairmanship, yet they have one-fourth of the Democratic representation sent to the Capitol by the Northern States. It is the same policy that has always controlled the Democracy. The Northern Democrat has always been a Doughface. There are degrees of subserviency, and now, as in the past, the Western politician of that faith is the one most ready to make obeisances, frequent and lowly, to those whom they have always esteemed as political masters.

TOTAL estimated domestic production of the precious metals for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875 :

Arizona.....	\$1,000,000
California.....	17,000,000
Colorado.....	5,472,000
Idaho.....	2,500,000
Montana.....	4,119,852
Nevada.....	31,795,193
New Mexico.....	1,000,000
Oregon.....	1,665,000
Utah.....	6,844,570
Wyoming Territory.....	250,000
Washington Territory.....	300,000

Total.....\$71,946,615  
Of the above amount about \$40,000,000 was gold.

## THE DEMOCRATIC SPEAKER AND THE HOUSE COMMITTEES.

Parliamentary committees are presumed to represent the interests of a community, as well as the politics of the party dominant in the legislative body. This is especially true, or should be, of a great body like the American Congress. Parties have, of course, distinctive standpoints from which interests are to be regarded. In the distribution of the committees, to which in a body like the House of Representatives the preparatory and shaping legislative work is committed, a wise partisanship regards not only the party relations of those who are selected, but aims to secure in such subordinate bodies themselves a compendious knowledge of the subjects to be committed to them, as well as to distribute the memberships as to represent with some approach to fairness the vast diversity of interests, material, sectional, and commercial, which are so distinctive features of a continental country like our own. The statements that follow will make manifest how far short Speaker Kerr has fallen in the work entrusted to him by the majority of the House of Representatives. There is only a dreary waste of partisanship, and that, too, of the small-beer sort; an evident making-up of a slate for Presidential purposes; and worse than all, that bitter sectionalism which sacrifices the more sagacious necessities for the gratification of a microscopic pride.

Speaker Kerr served eight years before his present term in the House of Representatives. His service from 1865 to 1873 was during a period of intense interest, when the largest issues were being discussed. A man of comprehensive mind could not fail to take a broad, if extreme, view of the pending issues; nor should he have failed to obtain a clear insight into character and capacity. A narrow and prejudiced man could hardly help, on the other hand, being dwarfed into the merest partisanship by the bitterness of the strife and the very intensity of his opinions. Mr. Kerr is an apt illustration of this latter phase, and the manner in which he starts out, in the new and weighty dignity with which he is so evident-

ly overloaded, is a striking proof of the fact.

His make-up of the committees proves the truth of this criticism. He has followed the worse traditions of *ante bellum* Democratic management, when he has not been wholly controlled by Kerr-ish prejudices and antipathies. They are "fearfully and wonderfully made," as was to be expected, being in the main evolved from his own "inner consciousness." It is a profound abyss, into which only Southern and sectional rays seem to penetrate. The Republicans can look on without compunction, under the plea that it is not "their funeral," but even the most indifferent may be pardoned for having a lively apprehension of the "fitness of things." In the present case, however, there is little of that or any other congruous article.

But the opposition may be left to settle that at their leisure. Being comparatively free from responsibility, Republicans can find leisure to analyze the curious *olla podrida* by which the Democratic Speaker has completed the organization of the present House of Representatives.

The leading principle employed in the selection, if any were employed, appears to have been that of an entire new deal. The experience and acknowledged ability of the older members, so well understood in connection with important committees, and which a wise man would have endeavored to utilize in making such important selections, has been almost systematically ignored. There is to a large degree a failure to utilize the experience of those whose capacity is a "household word." But the distinctive feature of the slate is that of sectionalism. This is most glaring, and overtops all evidence of incapacity for properly utilizing the men who are to be found in Democratic ranks. Analysis of the sectional arrangement of the committees will best illustrate the force of this criticism.

The House of Representatives consists of 292 members. Of these, 106 are from the States formerly slave-owning. This embraces West Virginia. The remaining 186 are from



the States known before the civil war as non-slaveholding, or free. The States of Kansas, Nebraska, and Nevada have been admitted since the civil war begun. There are eighty-eight (88) Democrats from the section formerly slaveholding, and eighty-nine (89) from the other States. Of the Southern, or Confederate Democrats, fifty-six (56) are from the slave States that went into rebellion. The remaining thirty-two (32) are from Kentucky, (9,) Missouri, (13,) Maryland, (6,) West Virginia, (3,) and Delaware, (1.) Of Northern Democrats, sixty-eight (68) are from the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, and Indiana. Adding to the votes thus located those of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri—thirty-one, (31,) and there is a total Democratic vote of ninety-nine, (99,) a majority of twenty-one, (21,) in a belt of States where more recent elections show a large revival of Republican strength and a great falling off in Democratic victories.

The relative Democratic strength of the two sections can be appreciated from the foregoing analysis. Now let us turn to the committees :

In all there are forty-eight, (48,) including the Special Committee on the Centennial. Thirty-three of these committees are regarded as leading, but only a score are of real importance. There are 410 places, requiring therefore that at least 117 members shall serve on two committees. The Territorial delegates are allowed a member on the Committees on Territories and Mining.

Of the forty-eight chairmanships, the former slave States, (fifteen in number,) with less than two-fifths of the population, have twenty-four. These include all the important ones, after Ways and Means, Appropriations, and Banking and Currency. Their associates of the old free States are left to bask in the minor places.

In accordance with the old time policy of the sectional Democracy, nearly every Northern chairman of a committee is handicapped by a strong Southern Democrat as the second man on the committee. The section indicated has thirty of the second places, making in all fifty-four out of eighty-eight Democrats from the former slave States

who are put in leading positions. To analyze a little closer, the ex-rebel States have thirteen chairmanships, and seventeen of the second position. The most notable fact, however, is to be seen in the lion's share that is given to the Democratic delegations from Kentucky and Missouri. Two motives appear to have dictated the strange partiality displayed by Mr. Kerr. These seem to be the desire to reward his personal supporters, and to secure the most unmitigated Bourbons in distinctive positions without risking too large a degree of that odium which would have followed an exclusive selection from the Confederate politicians of the rebel South. Missouri presents an unbroken Democratic delegation of thirteen, and secures five chairmanships, with eight of the second important posts. The first are the District of Columbia, Post Offices and Post Roads, Manufactures, Expenditures of the Post Office Department, and Mines and Mining. Missouri Democrats are second on Military Affairs, Public Buildings and Grounds, Revolutionary Pensions, Private Land Claims, Public Expenditures, Railways and Canals, and Mississippi Levees. Eighteen appointees in all are made from that State. The nine Democrats from Kentucky have the chairmanships of four important committees and three of the second places, while the delegation serves on seventeen committees. The Speaker has solved the knottiest problem of the organization by placing a man known as a wit, but not as a lawyer of wide repute, at the head of the Judiciary Committee. Durham has the Committee on the Revision of the Laws. Public Expenditures and Railways and Canals also fall to this State. The Speaker has given nearly one-fifth of the committee chairmanships, including several of the most important, to two States, which returned only but one-ninth of the entire Democratic vote of the House. No one who knows the men will presume to say that such great favoritism has been shown because of the notable talents of those selected. Five out of the nine chairmen are parliamentary nonentities—one of them, Jones of Kentucky, not having previously served in Congress. The combination by which Mr. Kerr was elected Speaker

crops out all through the committees. Bargain and sale is everywhere apparent. Ohio and the inflation Democracy there are recognized with thirty-three appointments, of which five are chairmanships and four second places. The chairmanships are Printing, Territories, Military Affairs, Public Lands, and Militia. Illinois, which led the contest for Mr. Kerr, with the rallying cry of "hard money," received four chairmanships—one being that of Ways and Means. War Claims and the Committees on Expenditures of the State Department and of the Department of Justice constitute the others. It has thirty-three appointments, and one second place. It will be seen that the bulk of Mr. Kerr's support came from the moderate inflationists, and that they are amply repaid by his distribution of the powers of the majority.

The Northern States send 186 members, and have 292 places on committees. Their Democratic members number eighty-nine, and Mr. Kerr has distributed among them twenty-three chairmanships and fourteen of the second places.

Examining the distribution still further, and it will be found that the New England States, the Northwest, and the States west of the Mississippi are all left "out in the cold." It is believed for the first time in the history of the Union, not a single chairmanship has been assigned to the representatives from New England, embracing five out of the thirteen original States. An excellent beginning this is for the Centennial Congress. Two second positions, one on Elections and the other on Expenditures in the State Department, are assigned to Mr. Thompson, of Massachusetts. Mr. Chapin is given the sixth place on Ways and Means. The six New England States, with a membership of twenty-eight in the House, have thirty-seven positions assigned them, a majority being insignificant in character, while Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, and North Carolina, with twenty-four members, have forty-three positions, inclusive of five chairmanships, a large proportion being on prominent committees. It cannot be said, either, that the New England Democrats, nine in number, are without capacity or experience.

Certainly not, when that possessed by Mr. Kerr's sectional nominees is considered. Messrs. Thompson, Phelps, Warren, and Tarbox, at least, are regarded as able lawyers, while Barnum and Chapin, as business men, rank very high, yet Mr. Kerr finds in such legislative tyros as Jones, of Kentucky, Ellis, of Louisiana, Scales, of North Carolina, and in such confessedly "light weights" as Caldwell, of Alabama, Gunter, of Arkansas, Hunton, of Virginia, Bland and Stone, of Missouri, Milliken, of Kentucky, Hereford, of West Virginia, and Vance, of North Carolina, among others, the material out of which efficient chairmen for important committees are to be found. But the truth is that New England Democrats belong, as a rule, to a different school from that to which the Speaker is allied. This is certainly true of the four from Massachusetts, who were loyal supporters of the Union, and one of whom, at least, sustained it in the field as a soldier. Probably it is true of others. The return to Democratic associations of those named grew out of the reconstruction policy. Mr. Kerr greatly prefers for prominent positions those who wore the Confederate grey, and marched beneath the "Stars and Bars." Next to them come those whose sympathies, if not their acts, were with the Confederate cause. The round dozen of Confederate generals and colonels who figure with the ex-Vice President of the Confederacy as chairmen of influential committees offer a striking proof of Mr. Kerr's sympathies and relations. They balance admirably against the one ex-Union colonel from Ohio, who, with a bar sinister on his Democracy, as the last relic of the Greeley conjunction, finds himself stranded as a good-humored figure-head for the Military Committee.

Ancient Democrats like Heister Clymer, of Pennsylvania, or Smith Ely, jr., of New York, men tried in the coppery furnace of anti-war sympathies, must feel themselves greatly gratified at the systematic ignoring they receive from the Speaker they have elected. The Northern Democrats receive the chairmanships of the following large committees: Ways and Means, Appropriations, Banking and Currency, Public Lands,

Military Affairs, War Claims, Public Buildings, Invalid Pensions, Printing, Territories, with the Centennial Committee—ten in all. They are also at the head of Militia, Civil Service Reform, Accounts, and of eight of the minor Committees on Expenditures in the several Departments. These latter are usually esteemed as positions of no importance whatever.

The Southern Democrats receive Elections, Pacific Railroad, Judiciary, Revision of the Laws, Foreign and Naval Affairs, Commerce, Post Office and Post Roads, Claims, Patents, Education and Labor, District of Columbia, Indian Affairs, Public Expenditures, Manufactures, Agriculture, Weights and Measures, Mines and Mining, Private Land Claims, Railways and Canals, Mississippi Levees, Revolutionary Pensions, Expenditures in the Post Office Department, and Enrolled Bills—in all, twenty-four. The selection of Mr. Harris, of Virginia, as chairman of the Committee on Elections, seems to have been based on no reasonable grounds of fitness. There is, however, an important contest pending from that State, in which the right of the Republican contestant, Mr. Platt, would be unquestioned before any fair-minded committee, but the claims of the sitting member, Daniel Goode, jr., are championed by Judge Harris, hence the remarkable fairness displayed in putting him in as the presiding examiner of the case, on whose merits he has already declared and committed himself.

Of the nine (9) Committees on the Expenditures of the several Departments Mr. Kerr has given the chairmanships of eight to Northern Democrats. They will probably do no special service therein, and the selections he has made are not likely to try. So much was said after the list was announced on this last point that the friends of the Speaker, if not himself, have been compelled to credit him with making up these committees with the view of their doing the important work for which they were originally provided. That work is to be found in what the name indicates—an examination into and supervision over departmental expenditures. But it requires only a very cursory examination of the committees as au-

nounced to prove this claim to be a mere apologetic afterthought.

The following table, which shows the proportion of Democratic members from each section assigned to the larger committees also illustrates the ingenuity with which it is attempted to avoid the charge of sectional unfairness :

NAME OF COMMITTEES.	From former slave States.	From the old free States.
Elections .....	4*	3
Ways and Means .....	4	3*
Appropriations .....	4	3*
Banking and Currency .....	2	5*
Pacific Railroad .....	5*	2
Judiciary .....	3*	4
Public Lands .....	2	5*
Foreign Affairs .....	3*	4
Military Affairs .....	3	4*
Commerce .....	3*†	4
Post Offices and Post Roads .....	3*	4
Claims .....	4*	3
† War Claims .....	4	3*
Naval Affairs .....	4*	3
Revision of Laws .....	2*	5
Education and Labor .....	4*	3
District of Columbia .....	3*	4
Public Buildings .....	4	3*
Patents .....	4*	3
Invalid Pensions .....	3	4*
Revolutionary Pensions .....	4*	3
Weights and Measures .....	4*	3
Indian Affairs .....	5*	2
Territories .....	3	4*
Agriculture .....	4*	3
Private Land Claims .....	5*	3
Public Expenditures .....	4*	3
Railways and Canals .....	3*	4
Mississippi Levees .....	5*	1
Reform in the Civil Service .....	3	4*
Manufactures .....	4*	3
Militia .....	4	3*
Mines and Mining .....	3*	4
Printing .....	1	1*
Library .....	1	1
Centennial .....	1	6*
Mileage .....	1	1
Accounts .....	1	2*
Enrolled Bills .....	1*	1
Total .....	126	124

The asterisk (\*) indicates the *locale* of the chairmen. There are twenty-three (23) from the Southern and sixteen (16) from the Northern division, the small committees not being included.

† The Chairman is from West Virginia.

‡ There are four Southern members whose constituents are interested in the business that goes before them on this committee.

To return to our analysis. The annexed tabular divisions are of value in this connection. They present the reason for their arrangement in themselves: First in order comes those States on which the Bourbon Democracy most largely depend, and with whose associations and principles politi-



cally, the Speaker is most closely allied.

As a contrast thereto, in either of their divisions, the New England States are presented. Then follow the other North Atlantic and Central Western States in two groups; the balance naturally arraying themselves as they are tabulated :

#### I.—*Ex-Rebel States (Slave.)*

STATES.	No. of Democ- rats.	No. of Repub- licans.	Places on Com- mittee.	Chairman- ships.	Pop. U. S. Cen- sus, 1870.
			<i>D.</i>	<i>R.</i>	
Alabama .....	6	2	6	2	996,992
Arkansas .....	4	2	5	1	484,471
Florida .....	2	2	2	2	187,748
Georgia .....	9	13	13	2	1,184,109
Louisiana .....	3	3	6	5	726,915
Mississippi .....	4	2	7	2	827,922
North Carolina .....	7	1	11	1	1,071,361
South Carolina .....	5	5	7	7	705,606
Tennessee .....	9	1	14	1	1,258,520
Texas .....	6	9	9	2	818,579
Virginia .....	8	1	12	3	1,225,163
Total .....	56	17	83	22	9,287,386

#### II.—*Border States (formerly slave-owning.)*

Delaware .....	1	...	1	...	125,015
Kentucky .....	9	1	15	1	1,321,011
Maryland .....	6	...	8	...	780,894
Missouri .....	13	21	...	5	1,721,295
West Virginia .....	3	5	...	1	442,014
Total .....	32	1	50	1	4,390,229

#### III.—*New England States.*

Maine .....	...	5	...	9	...	626,915
New Hampshire .....	2	1	3	1	...	318,300
Vermont .....	...	3	...	4	...	330,551
Massachusetts .....	5*	6†	13	9	...	1,457,351
Rhode Island .....	...	2	...	3	...	217,353
Connecticut .....	3	1	5	2	...	537,454
Total .....	10	18	21	28	...	3,487,924

\* Gen. Banks is included among the Democrats.

† Prof. Seelye is classed with the Republicans. The positions assigned each seem to justify this.

#### IV.—*Central Atlantic States.*

New York .....	16	17*	25	22	5	4,382,759
New Jersey .....	5	2	7	3	...	906,096
Pennsylvania .....	17	10	24	18	7	3,521,951
Total .....	38	29	56	43	12	8,810,806

\* Mr. Chittenden, of King's Co., is classed with the Republicans.

#### V.—*Central Western States.*

STATES.	No. of Democ- rats.	No. of Repub- licans.	Places on Com- mittees.		Chairman ships.	Pop. U. S. Cen- sus, 1870.
Ohio .....	13	7	D. 19	R. 14	5	2,665,260
Indiana.....	8	5	9	4	2	1,680,637
Illinois.....	12*	7	21	13	4	2,539,891
Total .....	33	19	49	31	11	6,885,788

\* The three Independents are classified with the Democrats.

#### VI.—*Northwestern States.*

Michigan .....	3	6	5	9	...	1,184,059
Wisconsin .....	3	5	5	8	...	1,054,670
Minnesota .....	...	3	...	4	...	439,706
Total .....	6	14	10	21	...	2,678,435

#### VII.—*Trans-Mississippi Western States.*

Iowa .....	1	8	2	12	...	1,194,020
Kansas .....	1	2	2	2	...	364,399
Nebraska .....	...	1	...	2	...	122,993
Total .....	2	11	4	16	...	1,681,412

#### VIII.—*Pacific Coast States.*

California .....	3	1	4	1	...	560,247
Nevada .....	...	1	...	1	...	42,491
Oregon .....	1	...	2	...	...	90,923
Total .....	4	2	6	2	...	693,661

A summary of the totals presented by the foregoing tables will still indicate the inconsequential character of Mr. Kerr's appointments :

Ex-Rebel States ..	56	17	84	22	13	9,287,386
Border (ex-slave) ..	32	1	50	1	11	4,390,229
N. E. States .....	10	18	21	28	...	3,487,924
Central Atlantic ..	30	29	56	43	12	8,810,806
Central Western ..	38	19	49	31	11	6,885,788
Northwestern .....	6	14	10	21	...	2,678,435
Trans-Miss. W. Sts	2	11	4	16	...	1,681,412
Pacific Coast Sta's	4	2	6	2	...	693,661

It is possible to present the case even more forcibly by grouping together the sections without representation at the head of committees, as well as the number of places thereon, and the total population. They present the following summary :

The New England States, 6; the Northwestern, 3; the Trans-Mississippi West, 3; the

Pacific Coast, 3—in all 15, having a population (in 1870) of 7,541,432 persons, with a representation of sixty-seven (67) members, of whom twenty-two are Democrats, have no chairmanships assigned to them, and but 108 committee places, of which not over a score are of any importance. The minority (embracing many of the ablest members) of the House from these sections are as a rule well placed at the foot of prominent committees, but the Democrats therefrom are pushed aside to make room for men of less calibre, who either served in the Confederate army or are known as extreme sympathizers with those who defended the "Lost Cause" that sought to found itself on the quicksand of slavery.

The contrasts thus presented are of a striking character, which could be greatly intensified if the valuation of property was added to the statement of population. It would be clearly seen that as far as practicable the policy of the Missouri Democracy—that of overriding population, wealth, and intelligence by territorial representation—is thus indirectly engrafted on our national legislative management. To illustrate: the Border States (formerly slave) with a population of 4,390,229 are given fifty-one places, chiefly on the leading committees, eleven of which are chairmanships, while the Northwest, Trans-Mississippi west, and the Pacific Coast States, with which the Committees on Indian Affairs, Territories, Mining, Public Lands, Railways and Canals, at least, are largely concerned, having a vast area, and a population of 5,053,508 persons, have fifty-nine (59) committee places and no chairmanship. A majority of the positions, too, are of no importance. The ex-rebel States and the Central Atlantic groups almost balance in population, but when the assignments are examined, it is to be observed that the Southern Democrats are given by far the largest number of leading places. The difference in population is small, being in favor of the eleven Southern States over the three Northern ones embraced, but in the variety of interests to be affected by legislation the balance is largely on the side of the latter. There are seventy-three (73) Representatives from the Southern group, and sixty-seven (67)

from the other. To the first thirteen chairmanships are assigned; to the latter twelve. There are 106 positions (generally on important committees) assigned to the Southern group, and ninety-nine (99) to the Northern one.

Take the chairmanships assigned to these two groups: all of those given to Democrats from the ex-rebel States are considered desirable; most of them are regarded as leading places. The other group have, New York, one leading committee, with four others of no importance. Pennsylvania has four important committees, while New Jersey has none. Yet there are sixteen Democrats in the Empire State delegation and five in the New Jersey, against seventeen in Pennsylvania. It looks very much as if there was Presidential intrigue in this. How would "Tilden and Kerr" do for a Democratic nomination? The Governor takes care of his own State, while Mr. Kerr looks out for Pennsylvania, the State of his nativity. New England's possible choice of Gaston is snubbed by the ignoring of all claims from that section.

It is intimated that there is a deep game in this curious distribution. The leading Republicans who have been in Congress before are tolerably well placed. At any rate *they* do not complain as a minority. Their criticism is that "sections" and "interests" are deliberately sacrificed in the interests of a narrow Bourbonism, though there are well qualified Democrats who ought to have been assigned to more representative posts. The Speaker, it is suggested, proposed to place these latter at the head of the scavenger committees which are to be set at the work of investigation. It is claimed that it is a sharp policy, which enables him to place able Democrats in charge of investigating committees, and leaves the temporary minority, who are to be charged with such responsibility as may arise, to be represented therein by its more inexperienced members. The Republican party, however, can face even such discordant music.

Mr. Kerr and his advisers will find it difficult to reply to the adverse criticisms to which he and they are justly liable, for the flagrant unfairness exhibited in the arrange-

ment of the House committees. At any rate, their whole construction indicates the difficulty which must be encountered by a Northern Democrat who bows before the Southern Baal. He is not allowed even to defer to those prejudices which Lord Bacon said a statesman was bound to consider. But then no one ever accused Mr. Kerr of statesman-

ship, and this last piece of work proves that no injustice is done thereby. But even if he were, it would be impossible to exercise it fairly with such a pressure as he endures. No one can doubt but that he yielded, and to all appearance with that alacrity which has always been so marked a feature of Northern and Western Democracy.

## RECORD OF THE DEMOCRATIC SPEAKER.

### THE MORAL OF IT.

The election of the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, as Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-fourth Congress is an event of more than ordinary political significance. So much has been said of the acceptance of "the situation" by the Southern Democracy, that on the principle that constant iteration produces belief, there has come to be a widespread, though vague, acceptance of the truth of this statement. Perhaps no better evidence of the fallacy concealed therein could be found than the conduct of the Democratic majority that now controls the present House of Representatives. The election of Speaker speaks to the point. The three candidates—Kerr, Randall, Cox—were all from the North. This fact was strategic, and would be sufficient, it was supposed, by the ex-Confederate leaders who virtually rule to mask their real meaning. Messrs. Randall and Cox were Democrats of the most pronounced type. But there were to them two insuperable objections: both were from States whose interests are necessarily national, and not sectional; while they themselves had proven the force of associations and sentiment in voting for all the supplies necessary to sustain the military and naval forces by whose aid the slaveholders' rebellion was suppressed. Mr. Cox also voted to abolish slavery. To have sustained the Union army and emancipated the slave was altogether too much for the Democratic associates who resisted both. Mr. Kerr was chosen over their head, though it is generally conceded that he is no more able as a public man, and not as competent for the post to which he is called as either of his competitors. Of Mr. Randall it is generally conceded that he would have been so

worthy a successor of Blaine, Colfax, and Banks as a presiding officer that the present majority would have had no cause to dread such party disasters as those that will follow the leadership they have chosen.

But an examination of Mr. Kerr's previous Congressional career offers abundant reasons for the preference shown him by the ex-Confederate Democrats and their allies of the West. Mr. Kerr entered public life with the Thirty-ninth Congress—a body which contained many of the ablest men that have served the American Republic, and was charged with the most momentous task that could have fallen to the hands of a great legislative body. In many respects that task was greater even than that which greeted the Thirty-seventh Congress when it convened in special session during the early war-summer of 1861.

The Thirty-ninth Congress was called to the duty of binding up the nation's wounds, and of not only restoring the Union, but of reconstructing it on a definite and pronounced Republican basis. The President who had led the country through the Red Sea of civil war had fallen by the bullet of a Democratic assassin. His chair was occupied by one who made haste to show that in the difficult task before the Government the sympathies of the Executive were sectional, and not national. It was evident, also, that Andrew Johnson was bound to enlarge the function of his office to the utmost. He set up a policy of his own, and aimed, as it was termed, to secure a "restoration" of the Southern States.

Under the Executive initiative the machinery of Government in the rebel States was attempted to be set in motion. Those who were called upon to do this work proved beyond peradventure that they at least had



no sympathy with the massive results that have been a consequence of the slaveholders' rebellion, its progress and final defeat. The emancipation of the slave was to be nullified by every means that could then be made available. When the surrender of Lee, Johnston, and Kirby Smith completed the disbandment of the rebel Democracy, the general feeling throughout the South was one of surprised satisfaction at being allowed to return unmolested to their homes—devastated perhaps, but unavoidably so by the war themselves and their leaders had created. Mr. Johnson's course soon evoked and re-aroused the ancient spirit, and there grew up the feeling expressed by an able ex-rebel colonel of West Tennessee, who said to a Federal army officer within six months after Lee's surrender: "In two years, major, you (meaning the loyal States) will be in rebellion, and we (meaning the Southern or rebel States with their sympathizers North) will be the Government."

It was upon this stage, then, Mr. Kerr entered, representing an Indiana district, known only for its virulent rebel sympathies. He had no history behind him other than that of being a man of personal integrity, a good lawyer, and a bitter partisan. In the hope so distinctly formulated by the rebel colonel referred to, Mr. Kerr became one of the most vigorous of workers, as the annexed record of his Congressional career will prove beyond question. The man himself is of no great importance, but as he possessed the courage both of his convictions and his partisanship he early assumed a prominent place. Because thereof he has now become a representative public man in the most marked sense of the term. What he has said and how he has voted are therefore of grave consequence. Let the records show.

Mr. Kerr entered Congress December 4, 1865, and at once took rank as an advocate of extreme Southern State rights opinions, and as an able, alert, and unscrupulous opponent of the reconstruction and other measures of the Republican majority.

#### REBEL REPRESENTATION.

His first recorded vote (December 4, 1865,) in Congress after the election of Speaker was given against the proposition introduced by

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, providing for a committee to inquire into the condition of the so-called Confederate States, and whether any of them were entitled to representation in Congress, pending the report of which committee no member should be received from such States. This was the first initial step in reconstruction legislation—a vote against which was a vote in favor of the immediate admission of the ex-rebel representatives.

December 11, 1865, he voted in favor of giving representatives from the late rebel States, claiming seats in Congress, the privileges of the floor. On the following day, December 12, 1865, Mr. Kerr voted *against* admitting the loyal representatives from Tennessee, who had been elected under a Republican Constitution, to the privileges of the floor, and also against their admission to seats.

#### AID AND COMFORT TO THE ENEMY.

December 19, 1865, he voted against a proposition looking to the expulsion of Representative Benjamin G. Harris, of Maryland,\* who had been convicted by a court-martial for giving aid and comfort to the public enemy, and for expressing his regret that the assassination of President Lincoln had "came too late to be of any use to the rebels."

January 10, 1866, he voted in favor of a resolution allowing the late rebel States to "resume their position and functions in the Union without delay"—i. e., without reconstruction, pledges, or conditions.

January 16, 1866, he voted against authorizing the Committee on the Condition of the Southern States to take testimony.

January 8, 1866, he voted in favor of withdrawing the military forces from the late rebel States, but on January 21, 1867, he voted against a resolution inquiring into the use of the army by Andrew Johnson to enable disfranchised rebels to vote in Maryland.

June 11, 1866, Mr. Kerr voted against a resolution directing the trial of Jefferson Davis for treason.

\* This is the person who was recently candidate for Sergeant-at-Arms on the ground of his avowed sympathy with the rebel South.

## REBEL CLAIMS.

Mr. Kerr's first resolution, offered December 11, 1865, looked to making provision for the payment of claims in the rebel States for supplies alleged to have been taken by United States troops, and his first bill, presented December 21, 1865, was for the "relief" of owners of personal property which had been forfeited for criminal acts connected with the rebellion.

He was conspicuous throughout his Congressional career in the presentation and advocacy of all "Southern claims" designed to draw money from the Treasury for the benefit of that section. As Speaker, he has again shown his active animus in this direction by such an organization of the House Committee "on War Claims" as to insure favorable consideration for the class of claims committed to that body, and which he has always so consistently supported. Leaving out "compensation for slaves," at least of non-combatants, and there is a demand on the Treasury for not less than two or three hundred million dollars.

## THE COTTON TAX.

In harmony with his general course in respect to favoring the late rebel States and the former slaveholding citizens at the expense of the people of the whole country, Mr. Kerr was an ardent advocate of that stupendous fraud—the attempted refunding of the cotton tax.

Mr. Kerr's last elaborate speech in Congress, February 18, 1873, was made in favor of this measure, which calls for at least SIXTY-EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS FROM THE NATIONAL TREASURY. His consistency is shown by the fact that on May 14, 1867, he voted against the proposition to prohibit the Southern States from repudiating debts due to loyal citizens.

## REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES—TEST OATH.

During Mr. Kerr's former service in Congress he introduced a large number of bills removing the disabilities of persons who had been engaged in the rebellion, and was conspicuous in these efforts to restore to the Democratic party its voting and fighting strength. He was also the especial champion of the repeal of the test oath.

One of his earliest votes, December 18,

1865, was in favor of dispensing with this requirement.

January 15, 1866, he voted in favor of allowing attorneys in the rebel States to practice without taking the test oath. January 12, 1870, he introduced a bill repealing the test oath for jurors in United States courts. January 22, 1867, he made a heated speech against the test oath, which will be referred to hereafter.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Mr. Kerr's first speech in the House of Representatives was made January 22, 1866, in opposition to the fourteenth amendment, which he opposed as "not justified by the circumstances of the country." He fiercely assailed both its principles and its scope, declaring that it would make Congress "supreme over the States," and that under the power claimed, "Congress can go into South Carolina and take suffrage from the lately disloyal whites and give it to the negroes." "We have indeed," continued Mr. Kerr, "fallen upon evil times."

His speech was an elaborate argument against the power of Congress to regulate suffrage in the States, and was a complete reproduction and reassertion of all the ultra Southern State sovereignty theories of the *ante-bellum* period.

Throughout the struggles in which the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were finally the dearly-won results of our great national conflict, Mr. Kerr assumed a leading part in opposition to their passage, and actively participated in all the dilatory measures and other parliamentary expedients of resistance, recording his vote against the amendments in any form in which they were presented, and at every stage of their progress. It is important to remember, too, that no word of Mr. Kerr's appears upon record by which he stands committed himself, or commits his party, to an acknowledgment of the validity of either of these amendments since their incorporation into the Constitution; nor can it be denied that, with the single exception of the Baltimore platform of 1872, there is not a single authoritative act of the Democratic party which looks in that direction, while there are many of a contrary character.

On the 30th of March, 1868, Mr. Kerr voted against returning to that body the resolutions of the Democratic Legislature of New Jersey, purporting to withdraw the assent of that State to the fourteenth amendment. It will be remembered that a distinct effort was made, of which the New Jersey episode was one, to secure from several States in which the Democracy had obtained control of the Legislative branch of the government thereof a repudiation of the ratification previously voted.

Mr. Kerr made numerous speeches, which will be referred to, in opposition to measures designed to secure the rights guaranteed by the aforesaid amendments.

#### IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

December 13, 1865, Mr. Kerr voted against a resolution introduced by Mr. Farnsworth favoring "equal rights and privileges to all citizens irrespective of color."

December 18, he voted in favor of "referring the question of suffrage to the several States, and denying the right of Congress to extend the elective franchise."

On the same day he also voted against a resolution offered by Mr. Baker denouncing class rule and aristocratic principles of Government, and favoring the largest attainable liberty to the whole people of the Republic, irrespective of class or race. On the 18th of January, 1866, he voted against the passage of the bill extending suffrage in the District of Columbia.

#### STATE RIGHTS.

The theories upon which the institution of slavery had been maintained within the Federal Union, and upon which secession was justified and the war of the rebellion defended, were also the theories upon which the former slaveholders of the South attempted to regain possession of the Government they had failed to destroy. Among the Northern Democratic allies of the Southern faction which sought thus to reverse the judgment of the war none were more bold, defiant, and audacious than Mr. Kerr, who is still their consistent advocate.

The mantle of Calhoun would seem to have fallen upon his shoulders. On every available question he asserted the doctrine of State inviolability as the basis and backbone

of his argument. This dreary waste of State sovereignty logic was usually enlivened by rhetorical scintillations denunciatory of the "Radical party," calumniating Republican leaders, and especially villifying the negro, as well as all Southern Republicans of native or Northern origin. His consistency will be seen by his votes.

#### RECONSTRUCTION.

January 9, 1866, he voted in favor of resolutions indorsing the "restoration" policy of Andrew Johnson.

In a speech upon reconstruction delivered January 21, 1868, Mr. Kerr argued that the rebel States had forfeited no rights under the Constitution—that they never were out of the Union. He alleged that "the war was but a mighty display of the police power of the Government in aid of the civil authorities in the States," and charged that the policy of the Republican party was "a confession of insincerity, of hypocrisy, and a covert purpose of revolution." He sustained all the acts of Andrew Johnson—opposed any attempt to enforce the provision of the Constitution requiring Congress to guarantee to the several States a republican form of government, and characterized all such attempts as "an insult to a free people's will;" as "a most mischievous purpose;" as "attempts to subordinate all government in the States to the partisan purposes of the 'fierce will of the majority,'" and stigmatized the expressions "American nationality," "the nation," "the people's will," and "the life of the Republic," as "*transcendental terms and phrases*, all intended to operate upon the people as a sort of political *mirage*, to inspire them with false hopes and lead them into political chaos or despotism."

He denounced the whole scope of Republican legislation as "a monstrous policy" and as "most extraordinary assumptions of power and most revolutionary threats against the integrity of the Constitution."

January 15, 1868, on the motion to censure Fernando Wood for using the words (in reference to the reconstruction bill) "a monstrosity, a measure the most infamous of the many infamous acts of this most infamous Congress"—Mr. Kerr voted "No."

January 16, 1868, in a speech against the



reconstruction acts, Mr. Kerr defended the pro-slavery, State rights decisions of Judge Taney, and declared that "It is the sole duty of Congress to go into those" (the rebel) "States, and to vindicate the *pre-existing* governments." He styled Republican measures "the vandal tread of radicalism and absolutism," called the loyal Constitutional Conventions which had been held in the South, "revolutionary negro Conventions," and declared that he indorsed the language for which Fernando Wood had been the day before censured at the bar of the House.

December 19, 1868, he voted against a proposition to require the Southern States to repay to the Treasury a portion of the expenses incurred in carrying the reconstruction acts into effect.

#### ADMISSION OF RECONSTRUCTED STATES.

As Mr. Kerr was one of the most persistent advocates of recognizing the unreconstructed States with their Confederate Democratic Governments, so he was one of the most persistent opponents of the admission of those States under Republican Constitutions.

March 28, 1868, in a speech upon the admission of Alabama, Mr. Kerr said: "The first speech I had the honor to make in this House was against this wicked, this revolutionary heresy now so rapidly being adopted by the Radical party of this country—that Congress may regulate suffrage in all the States of this Union."

He styled the enfranchisement of the colored race a refusal of the "radical party" to "remit these negroes to the control of the natural law and the law of God," and declaimed against appropriations for educational purposes in the South.

The Republican Constitution of Alabama was disposed of by Mr. Kerr in language of which the following is a specimen:

"The radical party of Alabama sacrificed their manhood; they surrendered their God-given right of self government and got down upon their miserable knees to the Radical party in making this Constitution, and in its presentation to Congress and asking it to be forced upon the people of Alabama."

He described the acts of Congress as "the dictation of such terms as Congress pleases to the tools of Congress in Alabama."

The efforts to make Congressional legislation acceptable to the opposition he styled as "inducements to white men to stultify themselves, surrender their judgments and become allies of the Republican party in its efforts to force a hateful, odious, and anti-republican Constitution on all the people." Any attempt to prescribe terms upon which those who had participated in the rebellion might resume the prerogatives of citizenship he characterized as "usurpation," and the presence of troops in the South for the protection of loyal men he habitually designated as "continuing your military despotism in full force." He was especially severe in his animadversions upon the clause in the new constitutions providing that they should not be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen, or class of citizens, of the right to vote who were by those constitutions entitled to vote. These provisions were, in Mr. Kerr's language, "shackles upon the limbs of States," "irrepealable brands of degradation and inferiority." Such provisions established "a hateful union of unequal members," constituted "a most dangerous innovation," and would "erect a most vicious precedent in our history." A Republican government in the South he defined to be "a government that the people despise, that they loathe, that they reject in every way that is left to them by military despotism to express their feelings." The conditions of admission, as to the future non-exclusion of citizens from the right to vote, he affirmed to be "degrading conditions precedent."

Reconstruction in Alabama he termed "a shameful and disgraceful spectacle," and the soldiers of the Union army and other Northern citizens who had settled in that State were, in Mr. Kerr's vocabulary, "political adventurers and vultures."

The test oath was "only fit to mark and disgrace the sway of an oppressor." The doctrine of the civil and political equality of all men Mr. Kerr proclaimed as "*existing only in the imaginations of political utopians or demagogues.*" Nobody but "purblind fanatics" would take an oath not to restrict negro suffrage. The right to "deprive any person or persons, on account of race, color, or previous condition, of any political or civil right, privilege, or immunity enjoyed by

any other class of men, Mr. Kerr held to be "one of the rights of a free American citizen." The exacting of a pledge not to do this Mr. Kerr affirmed as "disclosing a purpose not only to control the actions, but also to debase, demoralize, and enslave the judgments and consciences of men."

Speaking incidentally of the fourteenth amendment he said, "I pray God it shall never be adopted, and if it ever is it will be against the will and judgment of the white people of this country. It will be done under the lash of military power." The provision in the Constitution of Alabama exempting small homesteads from sale or execution he denounced as "a bid for negro votes, a bid for the control of a debased, demoralized, corruptible population." The provision for the maintenance of a public school system in Alabama he styled provisions "for the levying of most onerous taxes." "Who," said Mr. Kerr "will enjoy the benefit of that" (the school) "fund?—Negroes alone, not white men." Its purpose was "to further burden the white people of Alabama." He whined about the crippled resources and diminished prosperity of Alabama, but did not attribute this to its secession and the waste of the war of the rebellion. No, it was all owing to Radical "agitation"—to the "horrible oppression of the whites" under "an unholy and infamous government." In conclusion, Mr. Kerr maintained that "this State should be admitted at once to representation under *her own*" (Johnson) "constitution, not this mongrel and bastard instrument, because *she was never out of the Union, and never lost or forfeited her rights*, and is now simply the victim of superior brute force."

December 21, 1869, Mr. Kerr made a violent speech against the bill for the admission of Georgia, which imposed fundamental conditions, prohibiting secession, repudiation, and disfranchisement. He declared this bill "cruel and infamous," an "attack" upon the State, "precipitated with indecent haste and zeal." He vilified the Republicans of Georgia and repeated the whole vocabulary of rebel slanders against the Union men of that State who were aiding in the process of reconstruction. They were "dishonest and

corrupt, defaulters, speculators, and robbers." No epithets were strong enough to express Mr. Kerr's abhorrence of Republicans who presumed to live in the State of Georgia, no words too suave with which to caress the unreconstructed rebels and the brutal murderers of loyal citizens in that State. "These fundamental conditions were a monstrous wrong," he said, "and ought to be rejected with emphasis and indignation."

The bill for the admission of Georgia was again opposed March 5, 1870, by Mr. Kerr in a speech especially directed against those clauses which provided that the State of Georgia should never deprive any citizen of the right to vote or hold office, except as a punishment for crime. This he declared to be "an initial step in the infamous system of congressional legislation," "a fundamental outrage on free institutions," "an abominable measure," which "had no precedent in the hitherto unparalleled legislation of Congress." He was "prepared to believe that we are now upon the threshold of a new career of aggressive, reckless, and abominable legislation which may lead this country God knows where," such bills as these would reduce the States "to the condition of abject, miserable, and most pitiable dependence upon a great central Republican despotism, having its seat in this capital, and from here with the strong hand of power destroying every franchise, every guaranty, every limitation upon power hitherto held absolutely inviolable and sacred."

#### STATE GOVERNMENTS REPUBLICAN IN FORM.

March 18, 1868, Mr. Kerr made a bitter speech against the bill "to guaranty to the several States of the Union a republican form of government." He said the title ought to be changed so as to read "a bill to corrupt the blood, demoralize the lives, and undermine the foundations of all constitutional government, and the civil liberties of the people of this country, and perpetuate the ascendancy of the Radical party," such was "the deliberate policy of Radicalism." Denouncing as cowards "those white men who marshaled themselves under the leadership of the Radical party, and seek to skulk and intrench themselves behind the power and influence and aid of a negro population, he described the colored men of the country as of

"the most inferior and ignorant and corruptible races of the earth." The Republican measures of enfranchisement were described as "a revolutionary and corrupting policy." The Democratic party was "compelled to meet the ignorance, and barbarism, and stupidity, and vice of the country controlled by the political party in power," and it (the Democratic party) "trembled for the welfare of the country." "The Democratic party is to-day, and has been throughout the whole history of this country, the truest and best friend of the negro; and always will be." But "the negro should have no political power. The government should remain in the hands of the white race." This bill proposed "to corrupt that ruling race," and to "appeal to that ignorant and inferior race to help the party in power to retain the political control of the country."

Mr. Kerr voted against the joint resolution "excluding from the electoral college votes of the States lately in rebellion which had not then been recognized," and in favor of sustaining Andrew Johnson's vetoes of that and other Republican measures. Of course he voted against the tenure of office bill and against every other measure calculated to resist Executive usurpations.

#### IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

March 30, 1868, Mr. Kerr voted in favor of restricting the power of the impeachment managers to obtain necessary testimony, and throughout the impeachment proceedings he assumed a leading part in the Democratic defense of Mr. Johnson.

The following paragraph from one of his assaults upon Secretary Stanton, (February 25, 1868,) illustrated the animosity, perversion, and falsehood which characterized his frequent utterances:

"Mr. Chairman, why do the majority here and Mr. Stanton himself resort to such extraordinary measures, such questionable expedients, to keep him in office? Why does he, with their assistance, cling with such selfish trembling and indecent tenacity to this office? Does he fear to expose the secret and unpublished record of that Department to the eye of any successor, to the knowledge of the people? It seems so. It may be that the frauds, the concealments, the oppressions, the crimes of that Department during his administration are such as to lead him to shrink from their exposure. The viola-

tion of law, the invasions of the rights of persons and property, the outrages upon personal liberty, the contempt of the Constitution, and the scandalous prostitution of his office to the base purposes of his party may well deter him from any voluntary exposure of his official conduct during the last seven years. \* \* \* He ought to have been removed years ago."

This was Mr. Kerr's tribute to the man who, probably, more than any other one person contributed to carrying the nation safely through the rebellion. It was because of the loyal devotion of Edwin M. Stanton to his country and to his official duty that Mr. Kerr's abuse was showered upon him.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS.

March 8, 1866, Mr. Kerr made an elaborate speech in opposition to the original civil rights bill. The first section of that bill declared "all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power—excluding Indians not taxed—to be citizens of the United States without distinction of color." This declaration Mr. Kerr averred to be "utterly vain." "Congress had no right to declare who should be citizens." This was "an invasion of the rights of the States." The bill was "inherently vicious." He argued in favor of the right of States to make discriminating laws against "inferior races," and defended State laws which excluded colored children from the public schools.

#### THE ENFORCEMENT ACT.

The bill to enforce the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution providing for the protection of citizens as voters and as witnesses when summoned before the courts, offered May 27, 1870, Mr. Kerr opposed in a similar vein to that which marked his opposition to all Republican measures.

In another set speech against the bill to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, delivered March 28, 1871, Mr. Kerr emphatically denied that "citizenship" carried with it the suffrage as a necessary right. The qualifications for suffrage were to be prescribed only by "States," and could "as perfectly exist without as with citizenship." Mr. Kerr, himself, emphasized the following sentence of his speech by causing it to be printed in italics: "*No person ever did exercise the right of suffrage in virtue of the naked unassisted fact of citizen-*



ship." "But," he continued, "in every instance the right depends, and the franchise of suffrage is exercised, upon some additional fact and cumulative qualification prescribed by the laws of the State, *which may as perfectly exist without as with citizenship.*" "The word citizenship has not in any of its elements or meanings under the Federal Constitution, nor have the words 'privileges' and 'immunities,' in any of their just interpretations, anything to do with or any power to set aside or disregard any of the *distinctions, requirements, or rights* based upon domicile or residence in the respective States."

## SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

In the debate (April 12, 1870, *et. seq.*) upon the Louisiana credential cases Mr. Kerr eulogized as "men of integrity and honor," and as gentlemen of "culture," the leaders of the "White Camelia" and "Sicilian Innocents" who had led the murderous attacks upon the Republican members of the Legislature of that State, had participated in the slaughter of hundreds of fleeing negroes, and who, in accordance with the rebel sense of "integrity" and "honor," had, as witnesses before the Congressional committee, denied under oath not only their participation in those outrages, but even the fact that any outrages had been committed. With a like inversion of truth and justice, Mr. Kerr at the same time stigmatized as "bad, unscrupulous, corrupt," as "covered all over with crime," as "vile, low, mean, and unprincipled"—who? the banditti, who with revolvers and bludgeons had invaded the hall of Representatives and had made the streets of New Orleans literally run with blood? It was not these men to whom Mr. Kerr applied such epithets. It was against the Republicans of Louisiana, whose offense was that they supported the National Government, and believed in the equal rights of all citizens, black as well as white.

Throughout this debate, which continued for several days, Mr. Kerr denied every conclusively proven fact respecting the condition of affairs in Louisiana, and indorsed, commended, and eulogized as true every proven perjury of the Ku-Klux leaders and their instruments.

The officially corroborated record he styled

"a common stock of slanders; baseless and foolish cries." He strenuously fought for every point on the floor of the House favoring the admission of the Democratic claimants who had attempted by violence and fraud to prevent the polling of Republican votes, and resisted by every device of parliamentary strategy the seating of Republicans returned as properly elected.

## ELECTIONS.

On the 8th of January, 1868, in a speech upon the contested Kentucky election case of *McKee vs. Young*, Mr. Kerr declared that "suffrage is not a natural or absolutely indefeasible right," that it might be alienated or destroyed on other grounds than as a penalty for crime, and that the States had a right to disfranchise negroes or other classes of persons.

In a later speech (February 3, 1868,) upon the same contested election case, Mr. Kerr argued that Congress had no right to require persons who had been engaged in the rebellion to take a test oath, and defended John Young Brown upon proven charges of active and persistent disloyalty as doing only "what he deemed to be his duty as a man and a citizen of Kentucky." He repeated these views June 20, 1868, in a speech favoring Brown's admission.

In every case of contest for seats in the House of Representatives Mr. Kerr advocated and voted for the admission of the rebel claimants, and against the loyal claimants, without exception.

So in all other contests between Democratic and Republican contestants Mr. Kerr invariably opposed and voted against the Republican contestant, no matter how indisputable the right of such Republican, and in like manner urged and voted for the admission of the Democrat, no matter how clearly baseless or illegal his claim.

In reply to an accusation of this character made on the floor of the House, Mr. Kerr declared that he had on more than one occasion voted for the admission of Republicans, and against Democrats. The explanation of this statement is that one or two Republicans were included in the delegations from the unreconstructed States which Mr. Kerr had voted to admit, and likewise that the dele-

gates elected under the reconstruction acts, against the admission of whom Mr. Kerr steadily voted, also embraced some Democratic members.

#### FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

February 2, 1866, Mr. Kerr made one of his usual set speeches in advocacy of State Rights doctrines, holding that Congress had no power over the late rebel States—that those States had never been out of the Union, and that therefore they were entitled to recognition without condition. This speech was delivered in opposition to the bill to establish the Freedmen's Bureau. Upon the question of slavery he claimed that it was a "domestic relation" and not a "public relation." All efforts to preserve the freedom which had been secured by the thirteenth amendment he denounced as "unconstitutional"—as "uncalled for," and as constituting a "centralization of power." He bitterly opposed the bill, and declared that such legislation "condemns to merited reproach those who favor it." The measures proposed in Congress looking to the protection of the negro were, he affirmed, "radically and wickedly wrong." He especially opposed the educational feature of the Freedmen's Bureau bill, sneeringly asking "what is a 'common school education,' and who long will it take some negroes to acquire it?"

On the 19th of March, 1863, he voted against continuing the educational features of the Freedmen's Bureau.

#### AID TO EDUCATION.

On the 14th of December, 1865, Mr. Kerr voted against a resolution introduced by Mr. Donnelly, of Minnesota, for the establishment of a bureau of education as a permanent part of any system of reconstruction.

The bill to establish an educational fund and to apply the proceeds of the public lands to the education of the people, proposed February, 1872, was also opposed by Mr. Kerr, who, with more truth than usually characterized his utterances, avowed that it was "precisely out of the line of the Democratic policy, and of the conduct of the Democratic party in the past, and precisely in the line of the present and past policy of the Republican party."

That provision of the bill that no State should partake of its advantages which did not provide for the free education of all its children between the ages of six and sixteen years was especially abhorrent to Mr. Kerr. He wanted the "States" to use their respective shares of the proposed Congressional appropriation as they saw fit, without imposing upon them such "unjust conditions."

The proposition to establish a system of national education met, as a matter of course, with uniform hostility from the Democracy. In a speech made February 17, 1871, against this measure Mr. Kerr made a more than usual violent and defamatory State rights and negro hostility speech, arraigning the Republican party as being guilty of nearly all the crimes in the calendar, which, in Mr. Kerr's view, seemed synonymous with any measure of justice towards the freedmen of the South or with any effort to promote education and civilization among the ignorant whites of that or other sections. "On the overthrow of the South," Mr. Kerr affirmed, "the revolution had been continued in the Capitol by the leaders of the Republican party." "They," (the Republican leaders,) "proceeded from one aggression to another." Their shibboleth was "centralization of power." "State rights to them are hateful." \* \* "This proposition to establish a system of national education was a New England idea and policy," and its provisions indicated "the animus, the peculiar statesmanship, and the cruel sectarianism attempted to be concealed by New England in this measure." It would impose upon "the South" most "unequal, unjust, and oppressive burdens." To enforce taxation for the support of public schools, especially in "the South," "violated every principle of just government." The bill he said "seeks under cover of a false pretense to accomplish a great outrage upon the people of some sections of our country, and to override and defy the original and necessary jurisdiction of the States." To compel those who had been so long supported by negro labor to aid in providing for the education of the children of such negroes, was, in Mr. Kerr's view,

a "great outrage" upon "the people" of "the South."

The whole scope and purpose of such persistent parading of State sovereignty dogmas on all occasions, opportune or otherwise, by the Democratic leaders, orators, and press, is clearly seen to be the justification of the rebellion, to maintain the former pretexts for future action, excuse the violation of reconstruction conditions, prepare the way for a repeal of the Constitutional amendments, and to reduce the freed people to the condition of civic serfs, if not chattels personal—after pay for the slaves emancipated through the war shall have been demanded and received. Mr. Kerr is the boldest and most representative defender, among Northern Democrats, of the theories, arguments, and logic on which all these policies and possibilities are to be sought and defended. His election as Speaker is their indorsement.

#### PAYMENT FOR SLAVES.

July 16, 1866, Mr. Kerr, with his Democratic colleagues in the House, on a strict party division, voted *against laying on the table* a resolution favoring payment for slaves taken for military purposes.

#### MISCELLANEOUS BOURBONISM.

March 10, 1868, on a like party division, Mr. Kerr voted against the sale of the Government lands in the Sea Islands to the freedmen.

June 7, 1868, he voted in favor of selling the iron-clads. He also voted to exempt cotton from the internal revenue tax; to reduce the tax on State banks; against paying pensions to provost marshals; and on June 13, 1868, against a bill requiring concurrence of two-thirds of the Justices of the Supreme Court to declare acts of Congress *inva id*. He also voted against the bill providing for the retirement of Judges of the Supreme Court after attaining the age of 70 years, and against the provision that no Judge should sit in the Supreme Court upon the hearing of an appeal from his own decision. The object of these votes was to continue, if possible, the conditions supposed to exist in that high tribunal owing to the age and past associations of some of the members thereof. With consistent Democratic hostility to all humanitarian meas-

ures, as well as with a due regard to the pecuniary interests of the Democratic contractors who have always constituted the *de facto* "Indian Ring," Mr. Kerr opposed and voted against the bill providing for the appointment of the Indian Peace Commission.

July 23, 1866, Mr. Kerr is recorded as "not voting" on a proposition to amend the Constitution so as to limit the Presidential office to one term.

#### A BLOW AT POPULAR REPRESENTATION.

Mr. Kerr in a speech made upon the apportionment bill, December 13, 1871, argued in favor of a restricted, as against an increased popular representation in Congress. This position, taken by an acknowledged and conspicuous party leader, is in the direct line of the aristocratic and unrepugnant idea of small representative bodies and extended terms of office; while it derives additional significance from the concurrent facts of almost daily observation showing the Democratic disposition to discredit suffrage, and generally to condemn the processes of a popular administration of the Government.

#### COMMERCE AMONG THE STATES—RELATED MEASURES.

On June 16, 1866, Mr. Kerr made another of his familiar State Right speeches against the exercise of the Constitutional power of Congress to "regulate commerce among the several States," arguing against its right even to protect the Treasury from the grasping demands of private State corporations, the transportation of the mails and of Government supplies, and reiterating the whole schedule of fallacies and assumptions which distinguish the Calhoun school.

On February 4, 1866, the same speech was repeated, the same array of exploded "opinions."

April 11, 1872, Mr. Kerr opposed the bill for the prevention of cruelty to animals while in transit on railroads, upon the alleged ground that "it invades the jurisdiction of States." According to the Democratic party the "Constitutional rights of the States" are always in the way of national protection against outrages, whether upon men or animals. The "Constitution" as it was, or was claimed to be under Democratic interpretation, is ever invoked as a shield to



oppression and cruelty. The Constitution, as it was in fact, and as it now is, must be held insufficient in its plainest provisions to guarantee justice or protection. This is plainly the theory of the Democratic party as explained by Mr. Speaker Kerr, whose fidelity to the past constructions, and whose hostility to the Constitution as amended, has been approved by his election to the position he now holds.

#### COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO THE CONDITION OF LABOR.

December 13, 1872, the Committee on Education and Labor reported a bill providing for a commission "to inquire into the condition of the laboring classes, and how the same are affected by existing laws regulating commerce, finance, and currency."

This wise and thoughtful measure in the interests of the working men and women of the country was, of course, at once opposed by the Democratic party, and Mr. Kerr subsequently made a prepared speech against the bill, in which he correctly defined his first opposition as "simply instinctive." But mature deliberation brought to Mr. Kerr's mind no more enlightened views. Mr. Kerr affirmed that there was "no need of this bill." He further styled it a "partisan measure," (*i. e.*, Republican,) and asserted that all "good Democrats" should "oppose and reject it."

#### THE TARIFF.

Mr. Kerr's decided free trade record is well known. His speeches upon this topic were numerous, and often forcible. His action, however, as Speaker, in appointing a Committee upon Ways and Means which fails to represent either his own or his party's expressed views of national policy, shows with what facility a Democratic leader can ignore all past assertions, and how easily the Democratic party can subordinate economic questions or other incidental issues to its one great purpose—the re-establishment of sectional Democratic supremacy.

#### THE CURRENCY.

Mr. Kerr's first speech in Congress upon the currency question was a direct "hard money" argument, and comprised an explicit and peremptory demand for an immediate "contraction of the currency," and a "speedy

resumption of specie payments." Necessarily hostile to the financial measures which had carried the country through the rebellion, he stigmatized the national currency as "rags," and with an equally patriotic desire to hamper the Government in its efforts to fund the national debt, and also to interrupt the processes of reconstruction through financial embarrassments, he wanted contraction and resumption precisely at the time when the results mentioned must inevitably have followed such an attempt.

But at a later period, when, reconstruction accomplished and the national debt secured, the Democratic party sought to devise new means to lure Republicans from their political fealty, Mr. Kerr's tone upon the financial question became sensibly altered.

In a speech made January 22, 1870, he was "willing" that specie payments should be resumed. He would "not delay resumption a month beyond the period when it shall have become practicable without a dangerous and injurious shock to the prosperity and business of the country." But there was no "royal road to resumption." It could not be accomplished by any mere act or device of legislation. "It can only result from a general condition of the country."

He advocated the absolute and complete separation of banks and financial institutions from the business of currency-making. The decision of the Supreme Court that Congress had the power to issue a credit, as well as a coin currency, "did not meet his approval," but "if it would lead to a separation of all financial institutions from all control or influence over the making of currency, and aid the more speedy resumption of specie payments," he should "rejoice that it was made." "Let whatever currency the country possesses, whether good or bad, belong to all the people."

He demanded that the Government "call in and cancel every dollar of currency issued to the national banks."

He declared that the principal of the bonds deposited by the national banks for the security of their circulation was "payable in the currency of the country, not in gold, \* \* until gold becomes a part of that currency." He demanded the taxation of Government

bonds by the United States, and the repeal of the provision exempting them from State and municipal taxation. He protested against "immediate resumption," declaring that its attempt would work "infinite injury."

He opposed contraction, and favored "the redemption, not the purchase of bonds," and held that they should be redeemed at par "in the common currency of the country," i. e., Treasury notes.

It was at this time that the House instructed the Committee on Banking and Currency to report a bill increasing the currency to the amount of at least \$50,000,000. A bill was reported providing for a further issue of \$95,000,000 in national bank notes, and the retirement of \$15,000,000 in three per cent. certificates. Mr. Kerr's speech June 8th, 1870, shows that he opposed this bill because it failed to carry out the order of the House. "This order," he said, "is clear and definite in terms, and, in my judgment, means an increase of \$50,000,000 in the greenback currency of the country, not in national bank currency." He opposed it, in the second place, because it offered "no relief to the country." "It offers," he said, "no better currency than we have. The best credit currency we now have is the greenback; but this bill reduces the amount of that by \$40,000,000. It offers the expansion of the worst currency we have, the national bank paper. To that it would add \$95,000,000." He opposed it, in the third place, because it proposed "to add directly and most effectively to the power of the system of national banks in this country." "Such a system," he said, "such a fearful agency for monetary and political control, is dangerous in the extreme in any country, but supremely so in a republic." He opposed it in the fourth place, because it would "lead to a contraction of the currency." "The country" he said, "now demands an increase of the currency. If the system should be changed at all, it should be by an increase of the currency, and not by contraction." He believed that, besides the retirement of the treasury notes and the three per centum certificates, there would be in practice a retirement of "\$9,000,000 in the increased amount of reserves required by the national bank law, making an aggregate contraction of \$104,000,000." Deducting from this \$95,-

000,000 increase of national bank notes, and there would be left "a net contraction of \$9,000,000." He opposed it, in the fifth place, because it did not provide in good faith for "a redistribution of the currency." "It discriminates," he said, "against the West and the South, and in favor of the States that now have such a great excess of the currency of the country." He opposed it, in the sixth place, because it proposed to redeem \$40,000,000 of the existing greenback currency of the country by the issue and sale of gold-bearing bonds. Among other things Mr. Kerr said:

"I would, therefore, retire every farthing of the national bank currency and issue such an amount of greenbacks in redemption of bonds at par, dollar for dollar, as would make the aggregate amount of greenbacks equivalent in the uses of the country to the amount we now have, and more.

"Issue more greenbacks and redeem bonds, thus giving more currency and also reducing the annual interest on the public debt, giving the country more money and less taxes."

#### OFFICIAL UNFAIRNESS.

As a member of the Committee on Elections in the Fortieth, Forty-first, and Forty-second Congresses, Mr. Kerr assumed the especial championship of the Democratic party, and was the recognized leader of all aggressive movements in that committee and upon the floor of the House for seating unreconstructed Southern rebels and fraudulently elected Northern Democrats. He was more than once reproved in debate by Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, Mr. Stevenson, of Ohio, and others, for attempting to override the rules of the House, for violating the proprieties enjoined by the committee, for ignoring all equities in his treatment of contested election questions, and for his frequent defiance of fact in his statements of evidence presented.

His habitual unfairness and utterly unscrupulous partisanship were especially shown in his conduct in the investigations ordered by Congress in the case of the New York election frauds, and in the contested election cases in Louisiana.

The Democratic party naturally being deemed as on trial, whether the charges under inquiry related to repeating and ballot-box stuffing in New York, or to intimidation, outrage, and murder in the South, Mr.

Kerr, as a member of committees charged with these investigations, took upon himself the role of counsel, substituting for his official duty of investigation a strictly partisan defense.

More than this, he notoriously sought to thwart the investigations he had been directed to assist in making, and his efforts to this end were marked by all the audacity of Democratic hardihood. The conduct of these investigations exhibited upon the Democratic side the customary policy of overloading testimony with irrelevant matter in cross-examination, the concealment of proper evidence, the bold denial of established facts, and the constant introduction of false rebutting testimony, and Mr. Kerr personally participated in the attempted intimidation of witnesses before the committee of which he was a member through the instrumentality of illegal processes and the encouragement of ruffianly force.

On this head Mr. Kerr may speak for himself. The journal of the select committee in the New York election frauds contains the following paragraph :

NEW YORK, *January 8, 1869.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment.

Present : The chairman, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Kerr, and Mr. Ross.

\* \* \* \* \*

*The proceedings of the committee were interrupted by the arrest of several witnesses, as reported to the committee by the sergeant-at-arms, as follows:*

"MR. CHAIRMAN : I have a report to make upon which I desire the instructions of the committee. Several of the witnesses summoned before this committee, including some who have been examined and were directed to remain for further examination, and others who have not yet been called, have just been arrested in the hall of this building by the sheriff of this county and his deputies. *I have reason to believe that these arrests were made without warrant or other lawful authority, and for some ulterior purpose connected with this investigation.* I desire to be informed if I have any power, or this committee has any power, to protect from arrest the witnesses summoned before it."

*Mr. Kerr stated that the arrests were made at his instance, and that he would take the responsibility of the act.*—Lawrence's Report, Journal, page 165.

The facts in this case, which can be established by living witnesses, and which, as to

Mr. Kerr's complicity, the foregoing extract confirms, are understood to be that during the investigation in New York Mr. Sheriff O'Brien, with the concurrence of the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, a Democratic member of the Congressional committee, caused the United States court-house in which the sessions of the committee were being held to be invaded by a body of more than seventy special deputy sheriffs, recruited from among the prize-fighting and shoulder-hitting elements of the Democratic party of that city, for the recognized purpose of terrifying witnesses called before the committee, who, having been employed in "repeating" under the immediate direction of the Democratic officials of New York, were in possession of conclusive evidence of these frauds.

The arrangement was that all such witnesses should be arrested as soon as they left the committee-room, and for this purpose they were to be pointed out by the Democratic members of the committee. Then perjured testimony was to be manufactured in rebuttal, ( the evidence necessary to be thus refuted being communicated by the Democratic members to a volunteer Democratic committee composed of William M. Tweed, Sheriff O'Brien, and A. Oakey Hall, ) and when the original witnesses should be sought to be recalled they would not be found. In pursuance of this arrangement the arrests reported to the committee were made, Mr. Kerr, as stated by eye-witnesses, leaving the committee-room and passing down the hall in company with the Sheriff, pointed out the persons whose testimony had been deemed especially damaging, who were then and there summarily seized and removed from the building.

In the inquiry thereupon instituted by the committee, Robert Murray, United States Marshal, testified in answer to question 5512, and in presence of Mr. Kerr, as follows:

"I was standing in the hall, looking for one of my men to go on some errand. Mr. Kerr was out in the hall at the time pointing out certain parties to the sheriff. The sheriff ordered the arrest of some of these."

Sheriff O'Brien being called admitted ( testimony, page 517, ) that the arrests were made without warrant and at Mr. Kerr's instance.



Upon another occasion three deputy sheriffs had in like manner been stationed at the door of the committee-room, which indignity was reported to the committee by the sergeant-at-arms as follows :

"MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to report that I find three of the deputies of the sheriff of this county stationed at the door of this room. I respectfully ask to be informed if these officers are so stationed by the direction of this committee. And I desire further to state that I have already experienced great difficulty in retaining the witnesses summoned before this committee, on account of the intimidation exercised by the presence in this building of sheriff's officers and other persons who watch, follow, attempt to manipulate, and, in some instances, maltreat them.—*Journal*, page 165.

For this outrage Mr. Kerr was also responsible. These are some of the acts for which he stands condemned upon the record. Yet, in Democratic language, he is "an honorable man." And it was for his services to the Democratic party in thus attempting to crush this investigation that the New York Democracy then pledged to him their future support—a pledge they have since fulfilled.

#### IN CONCLUSION.

These facts, drawn from the record, and in which naught is "set down in malice," prove conclusively how thoroughly Mr. Kerr represents the most positive and logical opinions—those which under Southern Democratic leaders kept the Union in a turmoil from 1820 to 1861, with the aggressions of the slave power, and then having failed to rule, attempted to destroy, by plunging into civil war and seeking the destruction of the Union. Mr. Kerr is in hearty accord with this sectional philosophy; he is an ingrained belittler of the national life; one who, like Calhoun, constructs a shapely pyramid and then attempts to make it stand on its apex. No man north of Mason and Dixon's line could now be found in public life so ready to do the behests of the Southern or Confederate Democracy. He is, as has been shown, a daring partisan, ready to sacrifice even the comity of gentlemanly intercourse to accomplish a purpose. His election as Speaker is the most significant event in the present partial resumption of Democratic power.

#### SECRETARY BRISTOW AND THE WHISKY RING.

—A desperate attempt is being made by the kings of the whisky ring to break the force of the prosecution against them by publishing throughout the country base rumors against the President and Secretary Bristow. Column after column has been devoted to pure fiction, in the vain hope that the public would demand immunity for the revenue thieves while considering the charges against their prosecutors. Money has been freely used to start a counter current, and the ring could supply millions more if success were possible. But every effort to escape has thus far failed. The hand of the law has been laid upon these wrong-doers, and its grasp will not be released until justice is satisfied. The President has said, "Let no guilty man escape," and Secretary Bristow is determined, so far as human foresight and courage can avail, to carry out this order both in spirit and in letter. The Secretary of the Treasury need fear nothing from his enemies. He has already entrenched himself in the confidence of the people, and they will sustain him in enforcing the laws, and in prosecuting those who violate them. The administration of President Grant will take no steps backward in prosecuting those who have been defrauding the revenue. It is in downright earnest, and will punish the guilty whenever or wherever they are discovered, or whoever they may be.

THE Presidential campaign will be one of the most active in our history. Democracy will not relinquish its foothold upon the House of Representatives, much less its hopes of national control, without a desperate struggle. Every means available will be brought to bear to overthrow the Republican party. The stake is a grand one—no less than the nation itself—and to secure it Democracy will marshal, in battle array, every element and shade of opposition. Republicans must be wide awake to the nature and necessities of the conflict. Clubs must be organized; the local paper must be made a power for good; the people should be enlightened, and no stone should be left unturned to secure a glorious victory for the cause of Justice and Union. Republicanism saved the nation from overthrow; Republicanism can alone preserve it.

## THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

The Comptroller of the Currency in his late annual report to Congress gives a very full history of the national banking system, and of many of the financial measures proposed or adopted by the Government since the commencement of the war of 1812. He states that during that war the bank currency of the country, according to an estimate of Secretary Crawford, was increased in volume from \$29,000,000 in 1812 to \$99,000,000 in 1815; while at the same time treasury notes amounting to \$60,500,000 were authorized, of which \$36,680,000 were issued by the Government. The effect of this great increase of currency was that the bank notes became very greatly depreciated, and specie almost entirely disappeared from circulation. The treasury notes, although bearing interest at the rate of five and two-fifths per cent. per annum, or "one cent and one-half a cent per day," on each one hundred dollars, were also discredited, but instead of continuing as part of the circulation of the country they were mostly exchanged, under the law authorizing their issue, for funded six per cent. stock of the United States.

The policy of the State banks at that time seemed to be antagonistic to the Government, and to correct this antagonism various propositions were made with a view to identify the interests of the various monetary institutions with those of the United States. Fifty years later this was accomplished by the establishment of the national banking system. He also gives the information that as early as 1815 a plan was proposed by a magazine writer of that period which embodied the substantial principles of the present national banking system.

Under the head of "The discussion and passage of the national bank act," he states that in December, 1861, the Secretary of the Treasury proposed two methods for obtaining the necessary means for carrying on the war. His first proposition was to substitute demand notes, payable in coin, in place of the notes of private corporations. The sec-

ond was the gradual issue of national bank notes secured by the pledge of United States bonds to replace the existing bank notes authorized by the laws of the several States.

The report of the Secretary was prepared with the expectation, then prevalent, that the war would be of short duration; but soon the magnitude of the struggle became evident, and the large drafts upon the Treasury, caused by the expenditure of more than a million of dollars daily, made it plain that the urgent necessities of the Government could not be supplied through the associated action of the existing banks, nor depend wholly upon the sale of its bonds.

A national bank bill was introduced into Congress in 1861, by Mr. Spaulding, of New York, but was not then finally acted upon; and in December, 1862, the Secretary again called the attention of Congress to his second plan of the year previous. In February, 1863, the banking bill previously introduced was reported, with amendments, from the Senate committee by Mr. Sherman, and subsequently passed both houses of Congress. Prior to this the issue of \$300,000,000 of treasury notes had been authorized, which were fundable into a six per cent. Government bond; but on March 3, 1863, the right to exchange legal tender notes for six per cent. bonds was limited to July 1, 1863, and the act of June 30, 1864, provided that the total amount of United States notes issued, or to be issued, should not exceed \$400,000,000, and such additional sum, not exceeding \$50,000,000, as might be lawfully required for the redemption of temporary loans.

He quotes the report of the Secretary for 1865, in which the opinion is expressed that the legal-tender acts were war measures, and ought not to remain in force one day longer than should be necessary to enable the people to prepare for a return to the gold standard; and that the paper circulation of the country should be flexible, increasing and decreasing according to the requirements of legitimate business; while, if furnished by the Government, it would be quite likely to be governed by the necessi-

ties of the Treasury or the interests of parties rather than by the demands of commerce and trade. Besides, a permanent Government currency would be greatly in the way of public economy, and would give to the party in possession of the Government a power which it might be under strong temptations to use for other purposes than the public good—keeping the question of the currency constantly before the people as a political question, than which few things would be more injurious to business.

He also adduces the action of the House of Representatives during the same month in passing a resolution, by 144 yeas to 6 nays, cordially concurring in the views of the Secretary as to an early resumption of specie payments. In order to carry into effect this resolution, Congress, on March 12, 1866, authorized the funding of the legal-tender notes, and under that act more than \$72,000,000 were retired. In January, 1868—however, any further reduction was prohibited, the amount then outstanding being \$356,000,000. On March 18, 1869, an act was passed in which the United States “solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of United States notes in coin;” and the act of June 20, 1874, provides that “the amount of United States notes outstanding and to be used as a part of the circulating medium shall not exceed the sum of \$382,000,000.”

The Comptroller also states that a banking system similar to that now existing was again suggested in 1831 by Albert Gallatin; and it is said that a similar policy was proposed by Alexander Hamilton, before his appointment to the Secretaryship of the Treasury, when, on being asked by Washington, “What is to be done with our terrible debt?” he answered, “Bank on it; it is our only available capital, and the best in the world.”

He then briefly reviews the policy of the Government and of the banks from 1812 to 1863, and says that the Government currency won its honors and secured the confidence of the people at a time when no other form of currency then existing could command general circulation. It borrowed the war debt from the people, and at the same time

supplied them with the indispensable medium of exchange in all business transactions. The Government was then contracting debt day by day, and the people cheerfully received its promises to pay in exchange for their commodities and services. It purchased largely, and its creditors were content to wait until it should regain the ability to redeem its promises.

He says of the national bank act, that its success has more than fulfilled every expectation. The interest-bearing, convertible, and interchangeable treasury notes issued in the early days of the Government were withdrawn from circulation two years after the close of the war of 1812; and it is evident, from the reports of finance ministers, from the debates in Congress at the time of the passage of the legal-tender act, from the uniform legislation since that time, including the measures adopted by the last Congress, and, finally, by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, that it was intended that the national banking system should be permanent, the institutions organized under it being by the express terms of the law authorized to continue for a period of twenty years; and that the issue of treasury notes should not be increased in amount, but were to be withdrawn from circulation as rapidly as possible.

He adds that the United States notes have performed every service expected of them, and that the national bank issues have the same security; and he concludes this branch of the subject by saying that reason and experience alike teach us that we must either continue to adhere to the national banking system, or yield control of the issue and management of bank currency to the varying and conflicting legislation of forty or fifty different States and Territories, accompanied, as it surely will be, by all those evils and disasters which are the natural attendants upon the organization and perpetuation of State banking institutions.

In considering the objections to the national banking system, the Comptroller first notices the charge that it is a monopoly, and says that the system, so far from being a monopoly, has in fact uprooted the real banking monopoly, which has existed in this



country from the foundation of the Government down to a late day; and that it is the only national system not a monopoly in operation in any country.

A monopoly is a privilege; something so valuable that it commands a premium, and which its owner does not willingly surrender without a struggle. But the national banks have, since the passage of the act of June 20, 1874, voluntarily surrendered more than \$33,000,000 of their circulation; and forty-three banks, with a total capital of \$5,040,000, have since that date gone into liquidation, chiefly for the reason that the privilege of circulation is not a profitable one, and because the restrictions of the system are onerous in comparison with those imposed by State legislatures. If the national bank act contained no restrictions upon the banks, or imposed no taxes upon their circulation, and if currency were issued to them equal in amount to the value of bonds deposited, then the interest received by them upon the bonds would, it is granted, be in the nature of a gratuity. This condition of things was true in some of the States previous to the organization of the national banking system, but it has not at any time been true of the national banks.

He then proceeds to show that the idea commonly entertained that the national banks derive great profit from their circulation is an erroneous one, and adds that if specie payments should be reached within a few years, the premium paid by the national banks upon their bonds would be nearly if not entirely lost, while investments by private bankers and State banks of an equal amount of capital in loans on bond and mortgage would not suffer from any such depreciation.

On the subject of the dividends of national banks, which it is urged, as a second, objection, are greater than those of other moneyed corporations, he says that they do not, as a rule, exceed by more than two per cent. the current rates of interest authorized by law in the respective States; and that this additional amount of profit is surely not too great a compensation for the risks and expenses incident to the business of banking, and to which capital loaned directly on mortgage security is not subject. He fortifies these statements by

tables compiled from reports of the banks, showing that for the last six and a half years the average ratio to capital of the semi-annual dividends of the national banks has been but 5.1 per cent., while their ratio to capital and surplus has been but 4.1 per cent.

He also discusses the proposed issue of 3.65 treasury notes, and says that with such issue the experience of 1815 will be repeated; for though, unlike the issues of 1815, they are not of a standard sufficiently high for funding purposes, yet the principle of interchangeability will cause the non-interest bearing notes to be exchanged for them almost as soon as issued. He shows that the expedient will result in a loss to the Government instead of a gain, and adds that if the proposition now under consideration should be adopted many of the banks would go into liquidation, and their loans, to a great extent, be called in, for the purpose of distributing their present capital and surplus among their stockholders, who would, without doubt, generally organize under State systems and as private banks.

In discussing the subject of restrictions he says that the national banks have earned a good character, because, as a rule, they have conformed to such needful restrictions as have been fixed by legislation, and as are required for the safety of their creditors or dealers. That these restrictions have been generally observed by the national banks may be seen by reference to tables of reserve, and to the summaries of reports of various kinds frequently published by his office; and it may also be inferred from the few failures and the comparatively small losses to creditors which have occurred during the twelve years' continuance of the system.

Upon the subject of "Failures of national banks," he states that the losses to creditors from the failures of banks prior to 1863 cannot be even approximately estimated, the only accessible data having reference solely to losses upon circulation. He quotes from Elliot's "Funding System" to the effect that in 1841, alone, 55 banks failed in the United States, having an aggregate capital of over 67 millions, which was more than one-fifth of the entire banking capital of the country at that time; while since the organization of

the national banking system only thirty-eight national banks have failed, with a total capital of \$9,011,100, and with circulation amounting to \$5,874,893.

The experience of this country previous to the organization of the national system has shown that in twenty years an amount equal to its whole banking circulation was lost in the hands of the people—the loss by bills of broken banks alone being computed to have been at the rate of five per cent. per annum. There has been no loss whatever upon the circulation of the national banks, and no loss to the bill-holder can arise so long as the present laws remain in force.

The total amount of claims proved against insolvent national banks is \$14,672,106. Dividends amounting to \$8,292,877 have been paid upon these claims; and it is estimated that the total loss to their creditors since the organization of the system will not exceed \$3,985,000. There has already been paid upon the total amount of proved claims an average of fifty-six and one half per cent., and it is estimated that the proportion paid and to be paid upon such claims will be about seventy-three per cent.

Six banks in New York city and one in Brooklyn have failed, with an aggregate capital of \$3,000,000; and three of those in New York have paid their depositors in full. There have been no losses by failures of national banks in any of the other principal cities, except in Chicago, New Orleans, and Washington. One bank only has failed in the New England States, the total loss being but \$1,379. The loss in the Middle States is estimated at \$701,401, and in the Western States at \$841,729. The largest proportion of loss has been in the Southern States, where business has continued unsettled, the losses in those States being estimated at \$2,439,994 upon \$6,638,074 of liabilities.

In each of ten of the States there has been but a single failure, while in twenty-two States and Territories no failures have occurred. The number of mercantile failures in the United States since 1869 is estimated at 26,880, with liabilities of \$809,460,000, while the number of failures of national banks which have occurred in the United States

during the same period is but twenty-two, with liabilities amounting to \$3,952,878. Upon this sum dividends amounting to \$5,492,029 have already been paid, and it is thought that a large proportion of the remaining indebtedness will yet be liquidated.

Under the head of "Publicity" the Comptroller recites the difficulties experienced by the Government in former years in collecting statistics of the State banks of the country, and says that efforts have been made to induce the State legislatures to remedy the difficulty by appropriate legislation, but thus far without success; and he thinks it is not probable that, under the ever-changing statutes of forty-three different States and Territories, any reliable statistics as to the affairs of banking corporations chartered by them can ever be obtained. Under the national system frequent reports are required from all of the banks, and they must also be published in the local newspapers; in addition to which the banks are frequently examined by competent persons, who report the results of their examinations to the Comptroller. He further says that statistics so complete and accurate as those deduced from the reports of the national banks have never been made in any country under any previous system. Experience has shown that such statistics cannot be obtained except under a general law of Congress, requiring frequent and detailed reports from the banks to be made to one officer, and by him compiled for the use of the public.

The Comptroller reviews the subject of the funding of the national debt, and says that the monetary problems to be solved during the next few years are the consolidation of this debt into bonds bearing a low rate of interest, and the resumption of specie payments. The conversion of the present national debt into a bond bearing four and one-half per cent. interest would save to the Government nearly nineteen millions of dollars annually, while the reduction of interest resulting from the funding of the debt into a four per cent. bond would amount to twenty-seven and one-half millions annually; and there appears no good reason why, during the next ten years, the public debt should not be consolidated into a bond bearing interest at no

greater rate than four per cent. In order to accomplish this most desirable end it will be necessary to enlist in its support all the leading monetary institutions of the country.

He thinks that the national banking system should not be repealed, but should be so moulded as to become and continue both profitable to the people and advantageous to the Government. The interests of the national banks will be promoted by the reduction to a low rate of the interest upon the public debt; for such a reduction will carry with it a reduction of the present onerous taxation upon bank capital, circulation, and deposits. The funding of the national debt at a low rate of interest will also aid materially in bringing about the resumption of specie payments; for the return to specie payments depends to a great extent upon the credit of the Government.

The experience of the last twelve years, he says, has shown that the present is a safe and good system; but even were it much less perfect than it is the common prudence of ordinary business men would dictate the postponement of the discussion of the repeal and liquidation of a banking system whose resources amount to nineteen hundred million dollars, among which are included one thousand million of loans to the people, with more than four hundred millions to the Government, until the debt of the country shall be funded at a satisfactory rate of interest, and permanent arrangements be effected for the redemption of its demand obligations. When the purchasing power of the legal-tender notes shall be made equal to gold it will then be in order to discuss the policy of the establishment of a different banking system, and the issue of additional paper money by the Government.

He also reviews the operation of the acts of March 3, 1865, June 20, 1874, and January 14, 1875, as they have affected the issue and retirement of national bank circulation, giving copious tables showing the amount issued and retired under each act. He approves of the present system of redemption of the notes at the Treasury, and gives reasons why it should be continued. He suggests in this connection that the Government tax upon deposits—which was imposed as a war tax—

shall, like other similar war taxes, be repealed; or, if not repealed, that at least the expense of redemption, which is now borne by the banks, shall be paid out of the fund arising from that tax.

He considers at some length the subject of taxation of national banks, and gives tables compiled from the returns made by the banks to his office, showing for the years 1867, 1869, and 1874 the amount of United States and State taxes assessed upon them. From these tables it appears that New York paid the highest bank taxes of any of the Eastern or Middle States, the total taxation in the State named for the year 1867 being 6.1 per cent.; for 1869, 5.3 per cent.; and for 1874, 4.8 per cent. Taking all the States together, the average rates of bank taxation for the three years mentioned, were 3.5, 4.3, and 4.1 per cent.

He discusses the subject of the two-cent stamp tax upon bank checks, of which he says that the annoyance to the banks and to his office growing out of the strict enforcement of this provision of the law has been greater than that in reference to all the other restrictions of the national banking laws combined; and believing that the amount of revenue derived from this source does not counterbalance the evils arising from the surveillance to which all banks and bankers are necessarily subjected thereby, and being satisfied that, in almost every instance, the failure to comply strictly with this requirement is chargeable to the carelessness of transient depositors or to the insufficiency of the mucilage upon Government stamps, he urgently recommends the repeal of the provision requiring the affixing of the two-cent stamp upon bank checks.

Under the head of "Specie, paper currency, and bank checks," he gives a table exhibiting the transactions of the clearing-house in New York city for twenty-two years, showing that during that period but 61 millions of currency of all kinds were used by the banks of that city in making settlements amounting to more than 413,000 millions. Upon this point he says that the amount of the coin and paper currency of a great nation is small in comparison with that of bank checks, certificates, and bills of exchange



which are used as credit circulation. It has been said that they are simply the "small change;" and the table shows how inconsiderable is the aggregate of currency used in comparison with that of bank checks, and how small an amount is actually needed to settle the large daily transactions of business at the New York clearing-house. In this connection an estimate of the amount of specie in the country on June 30, 1874, and 1875, is given.

A table prepared by Mr. E. B. Elliott is presented, showing, for the period of thirteen years and nine months, from the close of the year 1861 to the 30th of September, 1875, the average greenback price of gold, and the average gold price of greenbacks, by months, quarter-years, half-years, and fiscal and calendar years, as derived from daily quotations of sales in open market in New York city. The diagram accompanying the table exhibits the average currency prices of gold and the average gold prices of currency, by quarter-years, for the same period.

He refers to the many exaggerated estimates of the proportion of lost or unredeemed treasury and bank notes which have been in actual circulation, and says that the amount of demand treasury notes not presented for redemption is less than one-eighth of one per cent. of the amount issued. In the absence of sufficient data no reliable statement of similar losses arising from the circulation of bank notes has ever been made, but from returns supplied to him through the courtesy of the Superintendent of the Bank Department of the State of New York it is found that, of the circulation of 286 State banks in that State, the proportion unredeemed is 2.83 per cent. only of the amount issued. The returns of 35 of these banks, which are still in operation in New York city, show the per centage of their unredeemed notes to be but 1.83 of the amount issued to them; and an examination of the returns of the State banks in Wisconsin, received from its State Comptroller, shows the per centage of their unredeemed notes to be 1.78 only of the amount issued.

The Comptroller cites the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *The Farmers and Mechanics' Na-*

*tional Bank of Buffalo vs Dearing* upon the subject of usury, and says that he is frequently solicited to bring suits, under the authority of section 5239 of the Revised Statutes, for the forfeiture of the rights, privileges, and franchises of national banks on account of usurious transactions; but that until Congress shall make it his duty to do so he does not feel called upon to institute such proceedings, when it is evident that the business of the association is legitimately and safely conducted in other respects.

He states that in counting and assorting in the Treasury an amount of national bank notes nearly equal to two-thirds of the total national bank circulation, only 520 counterfeits of all denominations have been discovered, the value represented by these counterfeits being \$3,840. A table is given showing the number and amount of counterfeit notes of the Bank of England presented to that bank during the last seventy years, by which it appears that from 1806 to 1830 the number was 255,837, and the amount \$1,700,001. Since 1830 the number of such notes presented has been 11,686, and their amount \$241,987—the average annual number for the last named period being 265, and the annual amount \$5,500. This table shows that the national banks do not compare unfavorably with the Bank of England in respect to their immunity from counterfeits.

Tables showing the amount of reserve held by the national banks for a series of years are also given, by which it appears that the national banks held on October 1, 1875, \$26,400,000 more of reserve than would have been required prior to the act of June 20, 1874, and \$82,400,000 more than is required under that act. The amount of cash-reserve held was \$148,500,000, which sum exceed by \$25,000,000 the amount required prior to June, 20, 1874, and is \$43,000,000 greater than that required under the present act.

A chapter of the report is given to the subject of the returns of the State and savings banks and trust companies obtained by the Comptroller during the present year, and which he is required to report to Congress. The returns received by him are meagre, the only satisfactory ones being from New England, New York, and New Jersey; but from the limited material ob-

tained, and from the returns made to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for purposes of taxation, a valuable comparative table has been prepared, giving much instructive information respecting the State and savings banks of the country. The Comptroller says that information in regard to these institutions approximating to accuracy and completeness can be obtained only through improved State legislation. And, in reference to the want of accessible data, he adds that it is a truth not universally recognized that concealment is not among the vested rights of chartered money corporations; but it is safe to say that the soundest of them regard publicity of their affairs to be a measure of safety to themselves and a duty to the public.

The report also contains a synopsis of all the decisions of the Supreme Court of the

United States relative to national banks; and an appendix is added containing a great number and variety of tables illustrative of the various topics discussed in the report. More than sixty of these tables are included in the text of the report and in the appendix, giving full information in reference to almost every branch of the subject. The historical portion of the report is particularly interesting, and the report itself may be said to be a text book of the national banking system for the use of legislators and statisticians. Comptroller Knox has a happy faculty of intermingling what might be considered dry statistics with interesting subjects which are the topics of the day, and in this pleasant way he has presented the most complete and useful bank report which has ever been submitted to Congress.

## OFFICIAL CORRUPTION COMPARED WITH THAT OF FORMER TIMES.

Expressions similar to the following are at present profusely heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

"The corruption among the officers of the several Governments in our country, from the constable in an obscure township up to the President of the United States, has assumed such alarming proportions that our whole Republican Government must inevitably be swallowed up by this whirlpool of vice, and our free institutions cannot be saved from being buried under such reckless satisfaction of the wild passions for rule and unclean gain, pursued by their pretended guardians, if the people do not make an end of such profligacy."

To join in the chorus of such sweeping accusations merely because others do so proves a deplorable lack of intellectual capacity and moral sense. No reasonable and honest person will join in the furious clamors for the blood or liberty of a fellow-citizen because a maddened mob is thus carried away by ungovernable passions. Reason and justice require an impartial weighing of all attainable evidence, not only against, but also in favor of the accused, before the verdict can be pronounced.

The same rule must be applied if we wish to arrive at a correct estimate of the moral value of a community, a people, or an age. The faithful historian therefore never omits to portray, as minutely as possible, all the moving factors that established the character of a certain people or age. Does it not, then, behoove every intellectual member of our enlightened nation to inquire into the real merits of the above-cited sweeping accusation, with the honest intention of arriving at the real truth, instead of repeating thoughtlessly and noisily such wholesale condemnations, with a view to a very cheap self-laudation?

Only an uninformed and ignorant person can make the ridiculous assertion that the human family is constantly and rapidly degenerating. Incontrovertible facts prove conclusively that the human family is progressing in every respect. Who can deny the rapid progress of science? Who can deny that the standard of morals is higher and more refined now than it was at any previous time? The preference all civilized nations demonstrate at present to adjust their differences by arbitration instead of doing so by the sword, the better treatment of criminals

in their punishment, the higher purity of the ballot-box, and other improvements and reforms too numerous to mention, show the moral improvements of the present age. Even statistics prove that the longitude of human life exceeds now considerably that of the past century. But that man improves his health and prolongs his life by a more strict conformity with the requirements of the organic law is beyond contradiction. Such a general improvement of the order of life can, however, only result from purer morals and a better government of human passions. And the general spirit of the age cannot be separated, nor can it be different, from the leading characters of individuals, because the former is created by the latter. And who of our American fellow-citizens can forget himself so far as to assert that the people of the United States do not keep pace with the rest of the progressing civilized nations merely for the purpose of gratifying party hatred?

But how can these arguments from indisputable facts be reconciled with the recent revelations of the gigantic frauds in official circles? Simply by comparing the present with former times.

The thoughtlessly repeated phrases conveying the idea that the Government under our forefathers was purer than it is at the present time are without foundation, and an evidence of ignorance.

Certain papers of the century now closed are full of the vilest defamations of our former Presidents. From the time of Washington—the Father of our Country, who was called a “debaucher” of the American nation, a “deceiver,” the “vilest of hypocrites,” &c.—down to President Grant, not a single one had a spark of honesty according to that part of the country’s press that represented the opposition at the time. So much is certain, however, that whenever we look back into the past, and see nothing but a halo of sanctity enveloping it, we may be assured that only a one-sided view of the whole situation has been obtained. The critic must further take into consideration that the electric wires, at the present day, bring every occurrence before it gets two or three days old, fresh within the reach of nearly every inhabitant of the civilized world, while it required months in former times for news to

travel the same distance. Before it was fairly distributed it became stale, losing vivacity and command of attention. Similar news, that comes now fresh to the notice of every one, had in former times no existence for nearly seventy-five per cent. of the whole population, for the reason just given.

In the same proportion, it must be acknowledged, in which our Government and its administration increased, becoming in the highest degree complicated, has the responsibility of its administration necessarily become greatly enlarged; so, also, have the temptations to improper official conduct increased in scope and intensity. Our forefathers could hardly have had a proper ideal conception of the magnitude in which the complicated machinery of our present Government presents itself to the view of the world. Since all the members of the entire human family cannot be transformed into faultless saints in the twinkling of an eye, how, then, could it be surprising to see corruption increase? The rapid growth of the nation necessitated such increase. But although corruption has increased in dimension, it has decreased in proportion. But the same causes that have multiplied temptations to dishonest acts have made better persons of those who preferred honesty to unjust gain. There is more moral heroism now than at any former period; because it requires at present more moral nerve and unwavering honesty to stand the test. If all the secret struggles in which honesty has prevailed were heralded as freely through the country as are slanders and vices many a dishonest defamer would then be put to shame.

Finally, it ought not to be overlooked that, if all official dishonesty were minutely compared with all the occurring frauds and dishonesty in private business life, official honesty would not only favorably compare with private honesty, but greatly outweigh it. Accurate statistics would prove this observation to be correct. What would become of our Government if the officers of it would not daily check the nearly innumerable fraudulent claims against the nation’s treasury and property, presented by persons who are known as “respectable gentlemen,” and who are generally the first to complain of “dishonest officials?”



It is not the intention of this article to excuse or defend official dishonesty. All our aims must be higher and purer than our present practice if we wish to preserve our independence. But we ought, at the same time, beware of falling into the same temptation in which many of our so-called reformers have fallen, by hurling their sweeping denun-

ciations at all Government affairs, without exception, and thus lower themselves to the level of common slanderers of their fellowmen and their nation. They need not to be envied for the cheap self-laudation they proclaim by such conduct, nor for the personal honor and respect they intend to establish by their unsupported indictments of fellow citizens.

## THE SLAVEHOLDERS' WAR AND THE PARIS COMMUNE.

The French Government has quite recently printed and distributed to the Assembly a document of most remarkable character. It is the report of General Appert, President of the Court-Martial General by which the Communist prisoners of Paris were tried. It is a document to make one shudder for the sake of our common humanity, and it will hereafter, if not at present, make Frenchmen of whatever shade of opinion thoroughly ashamed of what it reveals. This judgment has nothing whatever to do with the right or wrong-doing in the Paris Commune, its leaders and defenders. Only it must be remembered that, however mistaken the means, the leaders' object was not a blind striking at order, but rather, an effort to remove the causes of chronic disorder by restoring self-government and breaking down an autocratic centralization. Nor can it be truthfully declared that it was a reckless attempt to destroy wealth, as such, but on the contrary, an effort (unwise without doubt) to put into motion forces which would lead, it was hoped, to the abolition of Poverty rather than to the abolition of Property. It must also be borne in mind that from the date of the Commune outbreak in Paris in March, 1871, until McMahon's army entered it in May, no life was taken by the Commune otherwise than in battle. This is the statement of English writers who were in Paris and not friendly to the Communists. What was done in the way of destruction, either of life or property, was done after the army entered, when the defense of despair had begun, and the Government troops had announced and proven that no quarter would be given.

But to return to General Appert's report,

a brief summary of which is given, in order to point the moral of the false outcry continually made of the harsh treatment received by the rebel leaders and States in the American Republic.

General Appert states that 38,000 persons alone were arrested on personal denunciation. Of these, 1,090 were released almost immediately. No account is given of the summary executions and deaths, which the organs of the Government have often exultingly referred to as being at least 25,000. Not 5,000 of these occurred in actual combat. Nearly four thousand prisoners were taken in the fights around Paris, and about 28,000 in the final conflict within the unfortunate city. There were twenty-two courts-martial in session for nearly three years. The prisons were fearfully overcrowded—150 alone dying at Versailles in the first three months from that cause. In the hulks 1,600 were on the sick list at one time. During the first year, in four prisons 738 died. Among the prisoners were 850 women, of whom 623 were released; also 654 children not over sixteen years of age, 38 being boys between seven and thirteen. Of these 460 were released after a detention of many months. When the Government was satiated, and the courts-martial closed their sittings December 31, 1874, they had refused to prosecute 9,291 persons, discharged 25,023 prisoners, condemned 10,042, and acquitted 2,452. There were besides sentences pronounced against 3,751 persons, who, by exile or other means, had escaped the clutches of the authorities. This makes a total of 50,559 decisions, of which 16,245 were condemnations. This total does not include the transportation to New Caledonia, which at the present time has a population of about 60,000 of these Communist convicts.

Against all this long rage of bloodshed and cruelty, the civilized world tells with bated breath of the death of the Archbishop of Paris, and a small number of other priests and citizens, which act though wanton and wicked, was not done by any authorized authority, or indeed by any power but that of the assassins; of a vain attempt to change conditions that at least have evil in them as well as good; of an unflinching but unavailing resistance; of the pulling down of the Column Vendome, and the firing of the Tuileries and the Hotel de Ville—the latter done, too, in the wild frenzy of a despair so hopeless as to be almost heroic.

But granting that the Commune rebellion was as bad as that of the civil war started by our slaveholders—and to do so is an insult to the Paris Communists—let us compare with the above the treatment meted out to those who led in or fought for the Democratic rebellion. The latter was inaugurated to make slavery permanent, to insure the continuance of poverty as a social system and political fact; to prepare the way for the perpetuation of an oligarchy by the destruction of free government and the Union based thereon. It continued for nearly four years. It laid waste half a continent; it desolated a half million homes; it was marked all through by the destruction

of property, the creation of debt, deeds of cruelty, and the continued debasement of the rank and file who sustained it with their lives. When the end came—what followed? None have been punished for political reasons. One man was hung—Wirtz—for outraging the laws of war. A few assassins who conspired and aided to destroy the Chief Magistrate were tried, convicted, and executed. The rebel President was incarcerated for a brief period, and—that was all. The States themselves were restored to their places in the Union. The slaves were emancipated, enfranchised, and partially protected. This was all. Freedom went there to bless and stay, in spite of the sorry welcome she has received. Contrast all this with what has been stated of the French methods of treating those who resist the controlling government. We allow statues in honor of rebel generals to be erected. To propose amnesty at Versailles is almost to place the proposer's liberty in jeopardy. The city of Lyons sends M Ranc as a Deputy; the Government demands his life. In America we do these things better—the Southern rebels rule the House of Representatives in the National Congress and dismiss from petty places officials who served in the Union army.

## INVESTIGATIONS.

Few things have been more highly eulogized than an investigating mind. The man who "wanted to know, you know," in the circumlocution office, and whose enthusiasm was only blunted by encountering Timothy Barnacle, belonged to an unsophisticated class. The boy who cut up the bellows to discover the seat of the wind was the prototype of the Democratic party of to-day. The latter, having just discovered that they are unable to do anything themselves, have whittled down their work to a mere attempt to reform the Republicans. They have discovered that modern issues are a little too modern for them. That in their unhappy attempt to bring about the millenium they have been born "as one out of due season." Their only idea of reform is a reformatory

school, in which the elements shall be thin soup and multitudinous flaggelations.

The Democratic majority in the House has resolved itself into investigating committees, in the making of which there is no end. The one idea that seems to permeate the Democratic brain is to "send for persons and papers." The "economy" of the thing is not so obvious, as the contingent expenses of the House are likely to show, but it possesses another feature. The Democratic House is besieged by an army of Confederate office-seekers that no man can number. They besiege the doors of the House so that members cannot get in, and demonstrate the theory, of which there has hitherto been some doubt, that this is the "popular branch." If each of these investigating committees, general

and special, has two clerks, a couple of stenographers, and a few doorkeepers to frown down upon the wicked who come before them, these will be a means of indemnifying these patriots for the loss of that pension which the bigoted prejudice against the "Lost Cause" has denied them. The party that promised a reduction of "useless employees" is increasing them, and the expense created by them in the only branch of the Government over which they have the slightest control.

The Republicans have behaved very discreetly in the matter. They have seen the Committees of the House with the work of a great nation before them diverted from their legitimate business, and each converted into a bottle of "smelling salts." Occasionally there has been an expostulation against some wild Democratic vagary, but, knowing that opposition was, in the first place, hopeless, and would, in the second, be construed into a desire to shirk investigation, they have sat in dignified silence and permitted the Democratic majority to do their work without offering impotent or factious opposition. And this is right, for however the Democrats may turn their backs on genuine reform, and however they may poison the whole springs of public life by Confederate malignity, still the people sent them here, and it is well that they should show their hand. As the Chinaman said when he taught the American to make tea: "You see me do, then you know." Those who have had doubts as to what the party calling itself "Democracy" will do need have doubts but for a little season. The Confederate element, which constitutes the majority of the Democratic party, comes in with all the hopes and hates that made them seek to tear down the flag of the Union. The Democratic minority, respectable in numbers, if in nothing else, has become the victim of traditional flunkiness. Every would-be ambitious Northern Democrat puts "cotton" on his face and makes a bid to rebeldom. They have been educated in that school, and still spell negro with two g's. They shout themselves hoarse for "State Rights," and scan the "stars and bars" to see how many there were of them.

They prostitute the power given to them by the Union loving Democracy of the North, and play second fiddle to the men who have come back to the Union before they had learned to love it.

There is another picture on the Democratic easel, the outlines of which are but confronting the people. On January 7th, when a universal amnesty bill was being considered, Mr. Blaine desired to offer an amendment which gave amnesty to all but one, and which only required that the recipients of this national bounty should ask it, and go before a court and take the oath of allegiance to the Union. Mr. Randall would not even consent to have such an amendment voted on. What these men want is not amnesty, but justification. They wish to come back with all their power, asserting that rebellion is right. The one exception, the name of Jeff Davis, is hated as the name of Benedict Arnold is hated. His exclusion from political power is nothing, for his imbecility is greater than even his treachery, and yet that one exception is designed to show that treason shall not be deified, but is odious. The Democracy as the first of their "reforms" fight for its justification.

There is another side to the same picture. Only a few years ago the broken fragments of the Confederate army stood before the great Captain of the Union soldiers, not deserving and scarcely expecting their lives for the great crime against humanity and liberty of which they had been guilty. They were treated with a magnanimity unparalleled in history. Sherman, to some extent, fell under ban for his too liberal concessions, and Grant, while he held to essentials seemed to have but one purpose—

"To soften, soothe, and save  
The feelings of the conquered brave."

They come back, these men, come back fledged with the power granted them by a generous army and a generous people to show all the gall and bitterness of their side of the struggle, and to strive to sully the laurels of the great leaders of the Union army. The latter ask no favors. They need to ask none. Their record is spotless and stainless. If they had a fault it consisted in



being too magnanimous to an enemy incapable of appreciating it. They may suffer from the reckless assaults of a profligate press, and the hatred of Confederate malignity, but the people can look at this strange picture, and can remember.

If we were in condition to advise the Democracy it would be that the multiplicity of their investigations destroys their power. An investigation now and then, if there is real cause, will be tolerated, but this effort to convert every branch of government into an investigating mill, and every moment of its time into a hunt for scandal, will disgust all sensible people. There is something else and there is something better to do. The people expected something more of the party than that it would waste its time in needless investigations and adjournments.

But if the Democrats can only investigate, let them give us something that will give a

point to it. When the ex-Confederate Postmaster General rises to thunder on reform and honesty, let him tell us what became of the United States postal property stolen by the Confederates. When the Indian bureau is being investigated, let us find out what became of the Indian beads stolen from the Government safe by Jake Thompson and his confreres. Let all these forgiven Confederates inform us how much of the proceeds of all that wasted United States property is still clinging to their fingers. When Ben Hill defends Jefferson Davis, let him tell us of the adoption in the Confederate senate of orders to give no quarter to those who commanded colored soldiers, and of the open violations of the laws of civilized warfare which the Confederates, Davis leading, urged and acted upon. The Republican party has not demanded this, but if they are honest in their pretensions, here is a fine field open for them.

## CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS AND LEADERS IN THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

Public interest has been greatly aroused by the fact that a large number of rebel officers, as well as several of the most prominent Confederate leaders, have been returned to, and are now sitting in the present Congress. There cannot be the slightest doubt among those who have followed the movements of the Southern Democracy that a considerable number of these gentlemen hold their present positions by reason of the well-devised and organized system of terror, fraud, riot, and assassination which is a chief characteristic of their politics. In Georgia, for example, a fair and decently ordered canvass and election, in which Republicans could have worked and voted as the Democrats have the right and opportunity of doing in the Northern States, would have resulted at the last or in any future Congressional election in electing at least three out of the nine Congressmen from that State. According to the returns of elections and of polls for taxation given in the State Comptroller-General's report for 1874, the following tabular statement illustrates the truth of this assertion :

Congressional Districts.	No. of counties.	POLLS.		VOTES.		Scattering.
		White.	Colored.	Democrat.	Republican.	
First...	19	13,641	13,250	11,252	6,714	7
Second...	17	9,435	13,628	12,098	9,789	2
Third...	15	8,310	8,455	8,677	4,199	1
Fourth...	12	11,351	7,470	9,236	.....	16
Fifth....	12	13,023	9,268	12,450	6,273	3
Sixth....	12	10,687	10,711	10,007	7,251	2
Seventh..	14	16,807	3,733	15,091	197	1
Eighth..	16	11,764	11,405	6,822	12	63
Ninth...	19	19,648	6,300	7,885	2,318	12
		114,666	84,420	93,513	36,753	107

The total number of "polls" returned is 199,036; the total vote is 130,379, or 68,707 less than the number of citizens reported for taxable purposes. According to the United States census of 1870 the total number of male citizens was 234,919, or 35,833 more than the State Reports show. This total was divided between the races as follows : White voters, 129,665; colored, 107,962. Part of the Democratic machinery in Georgia

is an oppressive and unconstitutional mode of levying the capitation tax. The poll list is designedly kept as small as possible. It will be observed, however, that the small Republican vote is within 47,667 of the colored polls as given above. It will also be noted that the colored polls outnumber the white in the second and sixth districts, while in the first and eighth the two classes nearly balance each other. It will be observed, also, that by the above table there is one district having a colored "poll" of 7,470 without a single Republican vote. In another, the eighth, with twelve Republican votes, there were colored polls to the number of 11,405. In view of these and other facts, it may well be doubted if there are not three, at least, of the Georgia Confederate Congressmen who represent minorities of their constituents, and who are seated in the House by means of a process thoroughly oppressive, and designed to nullify indirectly the rights guaranteed to colored Americans, as well as to all others, under the amended Constitution. In Alabama there can be no doubt that the same processes have seated at least one-half of the present Democratic delegation in that State. So also with regard to at least two of the three rebel officers occupying seats from Louisiana. In Virginia, John Goode, Jr., is notoriously occupying a seat to which James H. Platt, Jr., was elected. In Tennessee and North Carolina the same protection to person and opinion, the same rights of free speech and canvassing, which the loyal States have always maintained, would give us from four to six, if not more, Republican members of Congress. Arkansas would add two to the list, and freedom in Texas would result in electing at least that number. Mississippi is the latest victim of this Democratic system. It is a reproduction of the spirit of slavery. Before the Southern Democracy went into rebellion the lives of inoffensive Northern citizens were always in peril in that region. To declare slavery a moral wrong, an economic injury, or a political evil, was to place one's life in peril of mob violence, or risk liberty from infamous laws, which in all the slave States forbade the teaching of colored persons, and

made free opinion, as in Texas, a penitentiary offense. Taking the case of Mississippi and its Democratic representatives, so-called, and the vote will show that the Georgia policy, even more intensified and vigorous, was pursued at the last election. The following comparative table will prove this :

Number of District.	Forty-third Congress.		Forty-fourth Congress.	
	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.
First District....	4,954	9,679	None.	18,412
Third District...	15,047	6,440	5,883	13,744
Fourth District...	15,795	6,870	9,914	19,790
Fifth District....	14,817	8,073	10,653	16,530
	50,613	31,062	26,450	68,476

Rep. maj. 19,551. Dem. maj. 42,026.

These districts are represented by Messrs. Lamar, Singleton, Money, and Hooker—Democrats. The change is indeed significant, and cannot be explained by any other process than that of oppression which the Confederate Democracy have been for eight years past engaged in perfecting. The total vote on members for the last Congress in the districts cited was 81,675; that for the present members is 94,926—a total increase of 13,251 votes. There is an increase shown of 37,414 Democratic, and a decrease of 24,163 Republican votes. There is nothing in the politics of Mississippi to justify so extraordinary a change by any of the normal agencies and influences. The only way in which it could be effected is that one in which the Confederate Democrats are so proficient; the organization of terror and violence.

The object of these references is to establish this point: that there are to-day in the House of Representatives certainly a score or more of ex-Confederate soldiers and politicians holding seats as Democrats whose districts are largely Republican in politics. The voters of the majority being in the main freedmen, defenseless and poor, have been overawed at the polls, driven away, or kept from appearing there in order to secure the minority the representation which belongs to the constitutional majority. In order to deceive the country, systematic vilification has been entered on, and no where to a larger extent than in the State of Mississippi, and

against the Republicans who have had control of affairs there since 1870.

In the following list will be found the names of those who served in the Confederate army. There are a few who from modesty, or perhaps with a dim perception of the fitness of things, do not parade their treason, but the younger men are quite ready to emblazon the act:

*Ex-Confederate Officers.*

NAMES.	States.	Rebel army.	Rank.
<b>SENATORS.</b>			
Goldthwaite .....	Ala. ....	1s	Adj't Gen.
Jones .....	Fla. ....	2	Brig. Gen.
Gordon .....	Ga. ....	3	Major Gen.
Alcorn, (Rep) .....	Miss. ....	4	Brig. Gen.
Cockrell .....	Mo. ....	5	Major Gen.
Ransom .....	N. C. ....	6	Major Gen.
Key .....	Tenn. ....	7	Lieut. Col.
Maxey† .....	Texas. ....	8	Major Gen.
Withers .....	Va. ....	9	Colonel.
<b>REPRESENTATIVES.</b>			
Williams .....	Ala. ....	10	Major.
Bradford .....	do. ....	11	Colonel.
Hays, (Rep) .....	do. ....	12	Brig. Gen.
Hewitt .....	do. ....	13	Colonel.
Forney .....	do. ....	14	Brig. Gen.
Lewis .....	do. ....	15	Colonel.
Gause .....	Ark. ....	16	Colonel.
Slemons .....	do. ....	17	Brig. Gen.
Gunter .....	do. ....	18	Colonel.
Smith .....	Ga. ....	19	Captain.
Hartridge .....	do. ....	20	Colonel.
Cook .....	do. ....	21	Brig. Gen.
Blackburn .....	Ky. ....	22	Lieut. Col.
Gibson .....	La. ....	23	Brig. Gen.
Ellis .....	do. ....	24	Captain.
Levy .....	do. ....	25	Colonel.
Lamar† .....	Miss. ....	26	Colonel.
Hooker .....	do. ....	27	Colonel.
Franklin .....	Mo. ....	28	Captain.
Clark .....	do. ....	29	Brig. Gen.
Yeates .....	N. C. ....	30	Major.
Waddell .....	do. ....	31	Lieut. Col.
Davis .....	do. ....	32	Captain.
Scales* .....	do. ....	33	Brig. Gen.
Robbins .....	do. ....	34	Colonel.
Vance .....	do. ....	35	Brig. Gen.
Dibrell .....	Tenn. ....	36	Brig. Gen.
Whitthorne .....	do. ....	37s	Colonel.
Atkins* .....	do. ....	38	Lieut. Col.
Young .....	do. ....	39	Colonel.
Culbertson .....	Tex. ....	40	Colonel.
Throckmorton .....	do. ....	41	Brig. Gen.
Douglas .....	Va. ....	42	Major.
Cabell .....	do. ....	43	Colonel.
Tucker .....	do. ....	44	Captain.
Hunton .....	do. ....	45	Brig. Gen.
Ferry .....	do. ....	46	Brig. Gen.
Faulkner*§ .....	W. Va. ....	47	Colonel.

\* The asterisk indicates that the person so marked was in the Federal Congress before the rebellion.

s indicates that those marked were State adjutant generals.

(Rep) indicates the party position of the persons named.

† Senator Maxey was also rebel Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

‡ Lamar was also in the rebel diplomatic service, having been sent to Russia by Davis.

§ Faulkner was also Minister to France under Buchanan.

The following tables are significant, and should be preserved for future reference:

*I.—Ex-Members of the Rebel Government and Congress.*

Present position.	Names.	State.	Position.	Senate.	House.
H. R.	Stephens .....	Ga. ....	V. Pres. ....	.....	.....
H. R.	Reagan .....	Texas. ....	P. M. Gen. ....	.....	1
H. R.	Hill .....	Ga. ....	.....	1	.....
Sen.	Caperton .....	W. Va. ....	.....	2	.....
H. R.	Ashe .....	N. C. ....	.....	3	.....
H. R.	House .....	Tenn. ....	.....	.....	2
H. R.	Goode .....	Va. ....	.....	.....	3
H. R.	Smith .....	Ga. ....	.....	.....	4
H. R.	Hatcher .....	Mo. ....	.....	.....	5
H. R.	Singleton .....	Miss. ....	.....	.....	6
					7

*II.—Members of Congress Before the Rebellion.*

Names.	State.	Body.	Last service.
Stephens .....	Ga. ....	House..	36th Cong.
Lamar .....	Miss. ....	House..	36th Cong.
Singleton .....	Miss. ....	House..	36th Cong.
Scales .....	N. C. ....	House..	35th Cong.
Atkins .....	Tenn. ....	House..	35th Cong.
Reagan .....	Texas. ....	House..	36th Cong.
Faulkner .....	W. Va. ....	House..	35th Cong.
Harris .....	Va. ....	House..	36th Cong.

*III.—State and Other Positions Held During the Rebellion.*

Names.	States.	Secession conventions.	State Legislatures.	Legal.
Caldwell .....	Ala. ....	.....	.....	Solicitor.
Norwood .....	Ga. ....	.....	1	.....
Candler .....	Ga. ....	.....	2	.....
Tucker .....	Va. ....	.....	3	Att'y Gen.
Culbertson .....	Texas. ....	.....	.....	.....
Reagan .....	Texas. ....	1	.....	.....
Stephens .....	Ga. ....	2	.....	.....
Harris .....	Ga. ....	3	4	.....
Candler .....	Ga. ....	4	.....	.....
Slemons .....	Ark. ....	5	.....	.....
Gunter .....	Ark. ....	6	.....	.....
Lamar .....	Miss. ....	7	.....	.....
Hatcher .....	Mo. ....	8*	.....	.....
Dibrell .....	Tenn. ....	9	.....	.....
Goode .....	Va. ....	10	.....	.....
Hunton .....	Va. ....	11	.....	.....
Harris .....	Va. ....	12	.....	.....

\* The Missouri rebels maintained the farce of a State Legislature, which met sometimes east and occasionally west of the Mississippi, but never in the State itself after the summer of 1861. The electors were the rebel soldiers from that State.

"The South is here and has come to stay," said "Ben" Hill, of Georgia, in his elaborate defense of Jefferson Davis, and equally as vigorous assault on the policy of



the Union. How far the first part of his boast is true the foregoing facts will prove. Whether the latter part of the same shall continue to be true, in the spirit that it now presents itself, depends wholly upon the loyal votes of the land. The South *will*

stay, because the American people will it. As a sectional force, it will be obliterated. As American citizens, its people will have the same rights and power as that which belongs to the East, North, and West—no more and no less.

## A WORD TO THOUGHTFUL MEN.

When Mr. Lamar informed the Democratic caucus that the people of his section could not love the Republican Administration, he but stated an apparent fact, yet it is one pregnant with meaning which all thoughtful men should consider. The reason why such love cannot exist is not difficult to find. There is so wide a difference between the ideas of government prevailing with the statesmen and people of the North and at the South that any other result than a lack of love could not be expected. The difference goes to the very basis and foundation of government, and concerns all that is vital or of real worth in the institutions under which we live. The founders of the Government of the United States held certain fundamental notions, which are held by the Republican party now, and are not held by the friends and allies of Mr. Lamar.

1. Patriotism or love of country. The Republicans hold that to have rights, industries, security, order, and stability, we must have a nation whose integrity is above all else, whose perpetuity is of the highest consideration.

The people of the South do not thus believe. They are brought up to believe in local sovereignty, that the higher allegiance is due to their State, and are taught to regard themselves as citizens of Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, and they so call themselves, and feel bound to "go with their State" when a controversy arises, though their State may be never so much in the wrong.

This feeling is almost universal, and how strong it is, how deeply ingrained into the very fiber of the Southern mind, was seen in the case of Robert E. Lee, who was educated and petted by the United States, and had a life support from the nation, who was not a

secessionist in principle or theory, but was swept into the heresy solely by this feeling of paramount fealty to his State. This feeling survives in all its power, and patriotism, in the sense of love of country in its broad national sense, does not exist with the leaders of the South to-day any more than it did on the 14th day of April, 1861. These men deny the doctrine that the General Government can do anything within the limits of a State except to collect the revenues needed to maintain it and defend it against foreign invasion. Practically this is where they would draw the line if they could, and leave everything else to local authority. They make the General Government secondary, the government of the State sovereign, and they do so because of the absence, the entire absence, of patriotism, or love for the country as a nation. Lacking patriotism they cannot love the party of patriotism, the party of rationality, the party which crushed secession, and established the sovereignty of the whole people as against the people of a section or a State.

They desire a national government unquestionably, but it must have little to do, and with an abundance of offices to give employment to that class of people in the States who have a large development of the office-holding faculty and no taste for business or labor. In this sense it will not do to deny their patriotism, and the exemplification is found in the way they grabbed the small modicum of spoils which were up for division on the organization of the House.

2. The Republican party, holding as it does to nationality as the grand first idea, fosters and encourages those measures which tend directly to build up the nation as a whole, and which will give to each section or part its full share of all the advantages to

be derived from education, good order, uniformity of laws, so far as possible, and internal improvements, while the Southern Democratic sectional party, in its local narrowness and jealousy, opposes all such measures.

That there is fair ground on single questions and schemes for a division of opinion we are not disposed to deny. The trans continental railway, for instance, could not be built without Government aid, and the benefits of it to New York and California must, in the nature of the case, be greater than to Maine and Florida. These latter States may raise, therefore, the objection of inequality, and if allowed, it would be fatal to the project, and the country must go without its great railroad. But the immense general good of such a work is so obvious that it becomes a public necessity, and the narrow States' rights doctrines are made to give way, the great achievement is realized, the Pacific States become bound to the Union by bands of iron, and the ideas of the Republican party wrench from the very fates a solid victory whose influence will be felt to the remotest history of the nation. We all realize the great good of that great work, in some small degree, but we are apt to forget that it was made possible by the Republican party, and would never have been constructed had the Virginia school of politics continued in the ascendancy. This particular work being accomplished has ceased to be vital, and we use it only as an illustration to show how one party would build up the nation and the other would keep it stationary; how the one stands for progress, and the other for conservatism. That railroad is a perpetual monument and landmark by which the observer may measure the worth of the separate ideas of the two schools of political science.

But this is not the whole of it. The idea of State sovereignty as held by Mr. Lamar and the men of his school goes not so much against the power of the General Government to do or cause to have done certain things as to the doing of the things by anybody. Looking at the New England States we find them substantially, unanimously Republican. There is absolutely no feeling of fear that the arm of the National Government rests

upon them oppressively, and the Democratic thunder generated in the political atmosphere in that region is not charged with sounds of wrong perpetrated upon anybody there. It is the alleged wrong done to people in Louisiana and Mississippi that excites indignation, and yet all that the Government has done or claims the right to do is to preserve order in States where the people have notoriously and palpably failed to do it themselves; a duty which the Constitution expressly imposes upon the Executive. They have a way at the South of fixing things, disputes about schools, elections, social questions, and so on, by the armed intervention of bodies of men on horseback who volunteer to see justice done in ways improvised for the occasion; and the tyranny is not really that the Government interposes to prevent that popular method of administering justice, so much as that there is such interposition. The idea is that the people there best know what they want, and these administrators of justice kindly assume to be the people. The laws apply to all the States alike, and there is no trouble in any well ordered State, and none of the people in States where anarchy does not prevail ever dream that they are under a despotism. Mr. Lamar will love a Government which allows the peculiar methods of justice of his section full license to work out their ends; but it is the ends he desires, and not the methods. The trouble is that the ends do not conform to those which alone are compatible with the general good, and hence interference becomes in his view unlovely and oppressive.

Proceeding further in this direction we find abundant evidence of the entire incompatibility of the notions of Mr. Lamar and his friends with any possible government by the people. A government by the people implies general suffrage and intelligence, and especially virtue, or the will to do right, and there is proof that in none of these requisites are the Lamar politicians up to the exigencies of the occasion. It will not be claimed that the Southern politicians are in advance of the Northern democracy at the close of the war. They denounce reconstruction now as then, and on the same grounds. Mr. Rogers, of New Jersey, the Democratic leader of

the House, said of suffrage: "There is no privilege so high; there is no right so grand. It lies at the very foundation of this Government; and where you introduce into the social system of this country the right of the African race to compete at the ballot-box with the intelligent white citizens of this country, you are disturbing and embittering the whole social system; you rend the bonds of a common political faith; you break up commercial intercourse and the free exchanges of trade, and you degrade the people of this country before the eyes of the envious monarchs of Europe, and fill our history with a record of degradation and shame." Mr. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, one of the most moderate Democrats in the country, and who has gained some reputation among the liberals as a "reformer," spoke against granting suffrage to negroes, and said: "I shall not vote to degrade suffrage. I shall not vote to pollute and corrupt the foundations of political power, either in my own State or any other. I shall resist it everywhere and at all times. If overborne, if contrary and opposing opinions prevail, I shall simply submit to the necessity which I cannot resist, leaving to just men and future times the vindication of my conduct." Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, said he "was glad to say from my reading and my association with the Democratic party of Pennsylvania, it had uniformly been against extending the right of suffrage to the negro." And most of the Democrats in Congress confirmed the views expressed by Rogers, Buckalew, and Randall. This was in 1865, and there is no evidence of any material change of opinion on suffrage among the Democrats of the country. There could not well be any change, for they hold and have always held the negro to be of an inferior race, only one degree removed from the monkey, and their scientists write treatises on the ebon skin, and bulging foot, and construction of certain bones, to show that he is not a man. People who hold to such doctrines concerning the nature of the negro cannot logically acknowledge that he is entitled to vote, or that his vote is a proper element in government. The Democratic theory, therefore, necessarily denies suffrage to one half of the people in the Southern States.

They think it no wrong to deny it to them, and as the reconstruction measures have established suffrage there in law, they prevent its exercise by violence and intimidation, unless the negro consents to vote the right ticket.

Now the spirit that denies suffrage to the negro also denies him education for the same reason. And there is another and all powerful reason in the Southern mind for opposing the education of the colored race, and a reason which comes home to every man in the old slave States; and that is the expense. Free schools for negroes (and the poor white people, also) cost money, and as the negroes are poor and have but little money, the burden falls upon the white property-holders, and we confess it causes taxation to the very point of hardship. There is no denying this, and opposition to schools is a very natural consequence of the fact. And yet the only way out of the mire of Southern degradation is through education, if it does cost money and heavy burdens; and the whole people should take hold and share in the cost and burdens. But here we are met by the Democrats of the South, and the North also, with a Constitutional objection, and with what is more effective than a Constitutional want of power—a want of will, or rather a determined opposition to all plans of education, and a hatred of education itself. Down as late as 1871 the Superintendents of Education in Louisiana and Texas reported that white men in many sections would not sell their land at any price if a school-house for colored children was to be built on it. Prejudice against the profession of teacher is so strong that in Texas only a single white man of standing and influence had become a teacher. In many places where the colored people had succeeded in establishing schools their teachers were maltreated, threatened, and driven away by intimidation, and in other places the school-houses were burned. In some portions of Louisiana free schools were started, but the apathy of the whites was so general that they amounted to very little. One parish, that of Sabine, with a territory of thirty by sixty miles, equal to an entire county of the State of Massachusetts, was reported as without a single school,



colored or white, private or public. In that parish every black man who was summoned to serve on a jury during the year 1870 was shot, hung, or driven out of the country. So dense is the prejudice in that region against education of the colored people that their letters and the letters to their friends are not delivered to them, and in many places it is regarded as much a crime to teach a colored child as it was in the days of slavery, and the punishment is meted out with as much certainty, though without the forms of law.

That such a state of things exists is abundantly proved, and cannot be denied. It is the natural legacy of the institution of slavery. It could not be possible for the Southern people, with their ideas all formed under the overmastering influence of the slave system, to appreciate the importance and necessity of general systematic education, and especially to be willing to stand taxation to secure what they had never believed in. The only attempt to break the force of these facts is to sneer and turn them by flippant remarks about "carpet-baggers" and the "bloody shirt," as though there were any argument or reason in harping upon phrases which a venal press has endeavored to render odious.

And on this question of education and taxation for education the Democratic party North is in full accord with the South. Mr. Kerr, the new Speaker, in 1871 laid himself out in an elaborate effort opposing taxation for educational purposes, and brought an array of statistics to prove that the South could not educate her people, asserted that she did as much for education according to ability as the other sections, and contended that the proposition for national education, made by Mr. Hoar, imposed the most unequal, unjust, and oppressive burdens upon the Southern States, and he exclaimed: "Is it credible that such monstrous doctrines shall be approved, find defenders, or be tolerated in this country?" The proposition was for a tax of fifty cents *per capita* yearly, solely for the purposes of education, the amount raised to be expended in the district where raised; and he further said: "It violates every principle of just government, and is unworthy of the age in which we live."

By the returns of the ninth census only one fourth of the children in the majority of the Southern States, white and black together of an age to be in school were receiving any instruction in reading and writing at all; and according to Mr. Kerr that community would regard a tax of fifty cents a year on each person, to give them a chance to learn to read as a burden so monstrous that it is incredible it should find a defender! It is true that Mr. Kerr opposed the proposition on constitutional grounds, but that in no way affected the onerousness of the burden, which in his view could not be borne. And this in view of the fact that the common schools in the Southern States were wholly inefficient, and three quarters of the children were growing up without an education. And Mr. Kerr of all the Democratic statesmen of the North is chosen to the highest position in the gift of the party. It is now eleven years since the close of the war, a period that covers the entire school life of a generation of voters. They who do not get an education between the ages of five and sixteen years do not get one at all. The census returns show that three-fourths of the children of the South were not in any school in 1870, but were growing up to become the greatest source of weakness and danger in a possible republic. Says Laboulaye, the great French statesman: "Whence comes it that Germany has so rapidly and completely overcome France, which is equally populous, more rich, and more warlike? Every one answers it is because Germany had had compulsory education for all. It is not the needle-gun which has conquered; it is the schoolmaster. We cannot declare it too loudly: it is ignorance that has lost France. It was in vain that Jules Simon, Pelletan, Durin, Jules Favre, cried out year after year, 'There must be millions for education or France is lost.' The Government was deaf. It denied nothing to pleasure, to luxury, to ostentation. It denied everything to education. The calamities which ignorance is causing France during the war are not to be compared to those which she is menaced in peace. The former, cruel as they may be, are transitory; the latter are abiding. Everywhere and always, despotism has been the natural fruit of ignorance."

George Washington eighty years ago said in his memorable Farewell Address: "Promote, then, as an object of *primary importance*, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." John Adams in his Inaugural declared: "A love of letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion, is the only means of preserving our Constitution from its natural enemies." James Madison in his Inaugural declared the "advancement of science and the diffusion of information the best aliment to true liberty." Said James Monroe: "It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, and degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising sovereignty." John Quincy Adams said: "No Government, in whatever form constituted, can accomplish the lawful ends of its institution but in proportion as it improves the condition of those over whom it is established. Among the first, perhaps the very first instrument for the improvement of the condition of men is knowledge; and to the acquisition of much of the knowledge adapted to the wants, the comforts, and enjoyments of human life, public institutions and seminaries of learning are essential. So convinced of this was the first of my predecessors in this office, now first in the memory, as, living, he was first in the hearts of our country, that once and again, in his addresses to the Congresses with whom he co-operated in the public service, he earnestly recommended the establishment of seminaries of learning to prepare for all the emergencies of peace and war—a national university, and a military academy." General Jackson in his Inaugural said: "Internal improvement and the diffusion of knowledge, so far as they can be promoted by the Constitutional acts of the Government, are of the highest importance." Horace Mann, the most devoted and eloquent advocate of education this country has produced, said: The common school is the institution which can receive and train up children in the elements of all good knowledge and of virtue

before they are subjected to the alienating competitions of life. This institution is the greatest discovery ever made by man: we repeat it, *the common school is, the greatest discovery ever made by man.*"

If authority and the examples in history settle a question, this question of the necessity of education in a republic is settled; and now what do we find, and how are we placed in relation to the vital duty of doing what is necessary to maintain freedom and preserve republican institutions? In one whole section of the Union no adequate provision is made for the education of the larger portion of the people, and the attempt to furnish it is met by the demagogue, and echoed by the statesmen of the hour, with the cry of "taxation," "oppression," "imposing a burden too great to be borne." Fifty cents a head to save the nation is a contribution so enormous as to justify resistance, and the Government which proposes to save the nation by diffusing intelligence is denounced as unworthy the affection of the people, and powerless to command it. The whole ingenuity of the Kerrs, and Davises, and other leaders of Democratic opinion, is directed to finding obstacles in the way of educating the people, and excuses for the South for not doing more than they have in this direction. They could find abundant Constitutional power to scour the North and remand the poor escaped bondman back to his servitude and chains; they find plenty of authority to buy the needle-gun and the chassepot to drive the Indians from the lands wanted by the cupidity of the frontiersman and the adventurer; they have no difficulty in providing an army to invade Mexico and steal territory to add to the security of certain of our institutions; but to arm ourselves with a protection more powerful than needle-guns and chassepots, and more vital than cattle and lands, and any material possessions, is a proposition at which they roll their eyes in horror, and scout with all the energy of frantic vociferation and anathema.

Countrymen, are you aware of the immensity of the conflict before you? Do you realize that on the side of continued ignorance and debasement of the masses in the

South is the great Democratic party ready to sacrifice every measure looking to the education of these people? Do you feel that the grand alliance against our institutions is now composed of that portion of the people of this country which is without the idea of nationality, without a belief in human rights as a principle, the haters of reconstruction, with the opponents of any and all

systems of education? The coming conflict is to be with the masses of ignorance combined with the haters of institutions of learning and the enemies of nationality; with men lacking intelligence, and men destitute of patriotism; and it is the most fearful conflict which our institutions have been subjected to, save only the war of the rebellion—perhaps not even that.

## REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

### AMNESTY IN CONGRESS.

...It would be almost impossible to find as many men who need remission for past sins (political at least) and condonation for those they are sure to commit as the present Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. The Northern Democrats are, if anything, more in need of amnesty than are the Southern members. The country owes to Mr. Blaine a debt of gratitude for having with the Ithuriel spear of parliamentary skill and keen logic exposed the real animus of the temporary reaction by which, under false pretenses, these men have re-obtained power.

Elsewhere in THE REPUBLIC the record will be found of the remarkable events and debates of the last month. They will not be repeated here. But there are some things to be said, necessary to a right understanding and summing up of the case as it stands. In the first place, then, no just argument can be made against the Republican minority, because that party in the last Congress voted, so far as the House was concerned, to amnesty Jefferson Davis. The conditions were different. It was an act of grace and mercy then. An unwise one we think, but the spirit in which it was tendered is to be honored. In the present instance amnesty is demanded as a right by a majority in sympathy with the avowed principles for the treasonable and wanton support of which Mr. Davis stands branded. To tender the olive branch is one thing; to seize the crown of full citizenship, and place it defiantly on the brow of this man, is quite another. The effect would be, if successful, to place loyalty to freedom and Union on trial.

It would arraign the entire policy which has marked the course of the Republic since 1861. Mr. Blaine, with that sagacity which distinguishes him, saw and has successfully opposed this attempt. The Democrats are in the position of men who, striving to secure an ideal result, refuse to accept a large and practical good. They seek to rehabilitate the sectional South over the shoulders of Jefferson Davis. The Republicans have won a substantial victory for the Nation by the overwhelming indictment that has been made of this man, not as an individual merely, but as the full-blown flower and consummate product of a savage system masquerading under the name of Democratic civilization.

...A conversation between Mr. Greeley and another younger and prominent journalist, which occurred on one occasion, illustrated the national feeling then as well as now. It was when the venerable editor was in the early and rosy flush of his campaign of sentimentality towards the South. His friend objected to the positions assumed in the *Tribune*, and ended his criticism by remarking that "*The rebellion was not an offense simply, it was a crime.*"

"Well!" was Mr. Greeley's Tweedish reply, "what are you going to do about it?"

Of course there was nothing more to be said. But since that date those who believed there was justice to be done as well as mercy to be tendered have learned it is quite possible for "The sweetness of mercy to brew bitter destruction."

...In summing up the results of the amnesty debate, it must be acknowledged that Mr. Blaine and his associates have succeeded—



1st. In not only defeating the Confederate-Democratic attempt to arraign and try the Union, as such, but that they have also changed the situation, and by assuming the aggressive, as befits right principles, have placed the Democratic party at the judgment bar and again shown its approval and indorsement of the slaveholders' war and its attendant horrors.

2d. In doing this the present and pending canvass for the future direction of the country has been lifted from the miry plane of detraction and slander in which the politics of two years past have been floundering, and placed upon that of great national issues, principles, and policies. Ethics and convictions have place in this struggle. Libel and abuse have been the marked features of the more recent discussions.

3d. The Republicans have, under Mr. Blaine's skillful leadership, most distinctly unhorsed their antagonists. The latter are chargeable with an attempt to force a grave result without debate and under the whip and spur of a demagogue majority. They are also proven guilty of so eager a desire to honor their Confederate partisans as to be unwilling to accept amnesty for all others, the one man being excluded. This may be logical, but it is not wise. The Nation is not "hankering" to honor the South, and it is very clear in apprehending the danger to public safety that must arise from replacing it in power as the controlling factor of a triumphant party.

Two other points are to be stated. One is—and the Democracy, North and South, must learn it sooner or later, and that is—that the people of this country, that majority that fought and maintained the Union, will never trust again with national control the political organization or leaders who either betrayed it or blew hot and cold while its destinies were trembling in the balance. The other is, that, as the records will show, Mr. Jefferson Davis is historically arraigned and branded as the man who represented and enacted, as far as lay in his power, into administration and law, the cruelty, the bitter contempt for individual rights, the remorseless ambition, and the narrow par-

tisanship, provincial and egotistic in character, which must follow the existence and domination of slavery as a directing social and political force. Jefferson Davis was not unfairly treated by Mr. Blaine, and the verdict of history will sustain the stinging indictment with which his name has been seared and blasted.

...The following comprehensive and sagacious call for the next Republican convention fitly opens the great Centennial campaign. The bugle's blast is clear—the trumpet tones are distinct. No uncertain sounds break on the ear. This is the call:

The next Union Republican National Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States will be held in the city of Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of June, 1876, at 12 o'clock noon, and will consist of delegates from each State equal to twice the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and of two delegates from each organized Territory and the District of Columbia.

In calling the conventions for the election of delegates, the committees of the several States are recommended to invite all Republican electors, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences or previous party affiliations, who are opposed to reviving sectional issues, and desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the country by maintaining and enforcing all the constitutional rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage without intimidation and without fraud; who are in favor of the continued prosecution and punishment of all official dishonesty, and of an economical administration of the Government by honest, faithful, and capable officers who are in favor of making such reforms in government as experience may from time to time suggest; who are opposed to impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations, and in favor of sustaining in every way the national faith and financial honor; who hold that the common-school system is the nursery of American liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control; who believe that, for the promotion of these ends, the direction of the Government should continue to be confided to those who adhere to the principles of 1776, and support them as incorporated in the Constitution and the laws; and who are in favor of recognizing and strengthening the fundamental principle

of National Unity in this Centennial Anniversary of the birth of the Republic.

E. D. MORGAN, *Chairman*,  
WM. E. CHANDLER, *Secretary*,  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1876.

...In the January number of THE REPUBLIC appeared an item relating to the dismissal of Union soldiers by the Confederate majority in the House of Representatives, and the substitution of men who under the "Stars and Bars" fought to destroy the Union. Everywhere among the loyal masses hot indignation at the insolence thus manifested is exhibiting itself. Such responses as the following are coming to hand. The stanzas so aptly express this indignation that we depart from our usual practice and insert them. The writer, a well-known State officer of Michigan, writes as follows under date of January 5: "I don't claim any particular merit for these lines, but I like plain talk, and believe the sentiment expressed therein will find a response in all the hearts of all the loyal North. \* \* The people cannot have too much light." In this there is a common agreement. The reader will surely join in the sentiment after reading the annexed poem, which was first published in the Lansing (Michigan) *Republican*.

**"SAY, BOYS, DO YOU HEAR THAT YELL."**

BY ROBERT ROLAND.

*The Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, who was also Sergeant-at-Arms in the Confederate Senate, has dismissed 14 ex-Union soldiers, who are disabled men, from their positions as Assistant Doorkeepers, and has appointed ex-Confederate soldiers in their stead.*  
—THE REPUBLIC.

Say, boys, do you hear that Confederate yell  
Ringing out on the winter's air?  
You have heard it in times when brave men  
fell,

In the days of our dark despair.  
You have heard it in sixty-one and two,  
And in sixty-three and four;  
But when the weary war was through,  
Dreamed ye ever to hear it more?

Say, boys, do you hear that Confederate yell  
Ringing up from the nation's halls?  
And remember they swore to "winter in hell,  
Or level the Capitol's walls?"  
Do you mind, for aye, the northern trait  
Where their legions in triumph trod,  
Until hurled back by your iron hail  
From the consecrate acre of God?

Oh, say, do you hear that same old yell  
From the battle-field ringing out,  
That was heard in days remembered so well  
On the picket-line and redoubt?

Do you relish its scornful, defiant tone?  
Is this what you fought for? Say,  
Ye stalwart heroes, whose blood and bone  
Have saved us, a nation to-day!

Say, boys, do you hear the yell of the crew  
Ye have fought by day and by night?  
And driven in blood, all the Wilderness  
through,  
Believing in God and the right?  
Do you halt on crutches! Live on a crumb,  
That the country ye fought for gave?  
And have ye no votes? are all tongues dumb,  
That ye live the Confederate's slave?

Boys, ye have trod on the northern hills,  
Ye have marched on the southern plain,  
With their iron nerve of the man who wills  
The blessings of life through pain;  
And is *this* the goal that ye fought to win,  
And conquered in sixty-five?  
Is *this* the harvest ye gathered in  
When you gave us the nation alive?

I say, brave heroes of northern soil,  
Is it all in vain that ye fought?  
Does not the nerve harden, the hot blood boil?  
Was your valor thus sold for naught?  
Are the thousands who stood on the battleline,  
Clad all in the loyal blue,  
Upbearing the banner of stars to shine  
For aye? Are ye still as true?

O God! Brave boys, do you hear that yell  
From the Capitol's halls well forth?  
Was it more defiant when Sumter fell  
On the stern, true-hearted North?  
And have ye no shots for this rebel rout?  
No votes for the wooden leg  
Whom the vanquished in war are turning out,  
To halt on the streets and beg?

Oh say, is the flag ye loved so well  
To droop now, or loyal blue?  
Was it for a *lie* that your comrades fell?  
Hath peace no victories too?  
Is all that ye won in the battle's van  
To be wrested by fraud away?  
And have ye no cheer for the crippled man  
Who stood at the front that day?  
\* \* \* \*

And now there goes up another shout  
From brave hearts, true and tried,  
"Oh yes! we have put them all to rout;  
Not in vain have our comrades died.  
We have met them, for aye, on many a field;  
We have fought them on many a plain;  
We have conquered, when it was death to yield,  
And we will conquer again."

From the northern tops of our whispering pine,  
From our prairies, broad and free,  
There came a shout from the loyal line  
Of our future yet to be.  
"Oh yes! we have met this same old crew,  
And now hear our comrades cry;  
And ten million scars are marshaling to  
Avenge their wrongs or die!

"We have not forgotten our comrades dead,  
Or our murdered Lincoln yet,  
Nor the living, who bravely fought and bled,  
Ere the sun of rebellion set.  
The heart of the nation is true as then,  
And this is the soldier's boon;  
Were we to fight the war through again,  
We'd not close it a year too soon!

"We would not exempt from a traitor's fate  
The feasts that the halters crave,  
But swiftly in sorrow—oh, not in hate—  
Punish well ere we one forgive.  
And had this been done ten years ago,  
We never had seen this rout,  
Or heard the old rebel yell we know,  
Now turning the loyal out.

"But a million true hearts are on the march,  
And we answer the rebels' yell  
Who swore to 'winter 'neath the Capitol's  
arch,  
Or else they would winter in hell.'  
And some, we know, have kept that vow;  
But the rest of the traitor crew  
Have come to make laws for the loyal now,  
Who forgave when the war was through.

"Oh yes! we have heard the old wild yell  
From the dome on Capitol hill;  
But the future will have its tale to tell  
Of the loyal veteran's will.  
And it will not say that a hundred years  
Have given us, bond and soul,  
With the nation's treasure, and blood, and  
tears,  
To the vanquished 'rebs' control."

\* \* \* \* \*  
And I sat in my chamber alone at night,  
And I heard their gathering feet,  
With the marshaled tread of the warrior's  
might,  
All hasting again to meet.  
And I saw afar their stalwart forms  
Come filing down through the gloom,  
With brave hearts ready for battle storms,  
To make for their comrades room.

And I saw their banner flung to the breeze,  
And the gleam of their army blue,  
As they march along 'neath the autumn trees  
That shade the dim avenue.

And they answered for aye for the whole broad  
land;

*"We have made it the nation's will  
That the crippled and torn of our patriot band  
Are the wards of the nation still!"*

LANSING, Dec., 28, 1875.

#### STATE CONVENTION.

...The Indiana Republicans, under Senator Morton's wise leadership, are already in the field. The following call has been issued:

"The Republicans of Indiana are invited to meet in delegate convention in the city of Indianapolis, at the Academy of Music, at ten o'clock, Tuesday, February 22, 1876, to give expression to their political faith and purposes, and to nominate candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, auditor, and treasurer of State, attorney-general, four judges of the supreme court, reporters of the supreme court, and superintendent of public instruction, to be chosen on the second Tuesday in October, 1876; also, to select delegates to the next National Republican Convention, and fifteen Presidential electors, to be chosen on the first Tuesday in November, 1876.

## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

### THE EXECUTIVE.

#### THE CALIFORNIA AND OREGON RAILROAD.

The President has appointed Edgar Mills and Christopher Green, of Sacramento, California, and Jacob Neff, of Auburn, Colorado, Commissioners to examine and report upon twenty additional miles of the California and Oregon railroad, beginning near Vina, Trehama county, California, and making a total of 117½ miles reported completed up to date.

#### INDIAN DELEGATES WITH THE PRESIDENT—THE ADMINISTRATION POLICY.

On Thursday, the 12th instant, the delegates representing the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Choctaw nations called upon the President, and in answer to their report upon the condition of the several tribes, and their approval of his policy toward them, the President said in substance:

I am glad to hear such a good report of your people; to hear of their advancement in civilization and self-support. There have been, and are, strong parties in favor of opening your country to white settlement. The measure, no doubt, would contribute greatly to the benefit of such parties, and

perhaps to a portion of your people, but your masses would be made wanderers, without homes. It is not the policy, at present, to open your country for settlement—not until all are alike prepared to meet the change, and are ready to assume and discharge the duties and responsibilities of citizens. There will be no change of the administration in the affairs of your country without the consent of your people.

### STATE DEPARTMENT.

#### NAVIGATION OF AMERICAN CANALS BY CANADIAN VESSELS.

Owing to the refusal of the United States authorities to allow Canadian vessels to navigate American canals on the same footing as American vessels the Dominion Government has prepared a case, and forwarded it to Secretary Fish.

#### SIAM AT THE CENTENNIAL.

The King of Siam has signified to the Secretary of State his intention of representing that kingdom at the Centennial, and will expend a sum not less than \$96,000 in making full preparations. John H. Chandler, an American who has resided in Siam for some time past, has been appointed com-



missioner, and will leave Bangkok some time in December with goods for the exposition. It was intended that a prince and several noblemen should be present at the Centennial, but it has finally been decided that no nobles will accompany Mr. Chandler, into whose hands all the arrangements have been placed.

#### TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

##### REDUCTION IN THE DRAWBACK ON HARD SUGARS.

It will be seen by the following order of the Secretary of the Treasury fixing the new rates of drawback that a very small reduction in the drawback on hard sugars has been found necessary. This slight change of rates will not impede the prosperity of the trade, and, under present laws and regulations, we may safely count on our continued ability to undersell foreign countries in the markets of the world in supplying them with hard sugars.

The order is directed to the several collectors of the ports, viz :

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 17, 1875.

*Collector of Customs :*

SIR : The following rates of drawback on refined sugars and sirup wholly manufactured from imported raw sugar are hereby established in lieu of those heretofore in force :

On loaf, cut loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered refined sugar, stove dried, or dried by other equally effective process, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, three and sixty one-hundredths (3 60-100) cents per pound. [Former rate, 3 75-100 cents per pound.]

On refined white coffee sugar, undried and above No. 20 Dutch standard in color, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, three (3) cents per pound. [Former rate, 2 50-100 cents per pound.]

On all grades of refined coffee sugar, No. 20 Dutch standard and below in color, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, two and one-half (2½) cents per pound. [Rate unchanged.]

On sirup resulting entirely from the refining of foreign duty-paid sugar, six and one-quarter (6¼) cents per gallon. [Unchanged:]

The allowance on sugar to be subject to the deduction of one (1) per cent., and the allowance on sirup to the deduction of ten (10) per cent., as prescribed by law.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary.*

##### REVENUE PAYMENTS BY CHECKS DISCONTINUED.

In view of the labor and hazard incurred by the Treasurer of the United States and

other independent Treasury officers by the receipt and collection of drafts and checks received by them from national banks, public officers, and other parties having payments to make into the Treasury, the Secretary has advised these officers that he thinks it better they should receive in all official transactions only the lawful and proper moneys of the United States, as provided by law and regulations thereunder. This will prevent national banks from paying their semi-annual duties, banks and other parties from paying for fractional currency, and collectors of internal revenue from making deposits in the offices mentioned by means of drafts and checks, thus doing away with a feature which seems to have crept into Government transactions without any special authority of law or regulations, and which has become a burden to the officers who voluntarily undertook to collect for parties the checks and drafts transmitted for the purpose of making the payments mentioned.

##### ISSUE OF NEW NOTES.

The Comptroller of the Currency, December 23, advised the Secretary of the Treasury of the issue of \$805,690 of additional national bank notes, under the act of June 14, 1874, upon which amount 80 per cent. of legal-tender notes will be destroyed. The amount of additional national bank notes issued since November 1 is \$1,761,280, and the total amount issued since the passage of the act of June 14, 1874, is \$12,715,975. The amount of legal-tender notes deposited by the national banks for the purpose of retiring circulation since November 1 is \$2,987,206.

##### IMPORTED FURNITURE TO BE USED AT THE CENTENNIAL NOT EXEMPT FROM DUTY.

Mr. J. H. Cundell, resident engineer of the British Executive Commission at Philadelphia, having written to the Treasury Department stating that the British Executive Commission had found it advisable to procure in England certain furniture, house-linen, etc., to furnish a house rented as a residence for the staff attached to that Commission, and inquiring whether such articles generally as may be required for the use of

the foreign commissions to the International Exhibition may be admitted free of duty, or under warehouse bond, conditioned on their exportation at the close of the Exhibition, the Secretary replies that the act of Congress allowing the entry of articles under bond in the manner suggested is expressly limited to such as are intended for exhibition only, and that there is no law authorizing the Department to allow the free entry of the articles to which the letter alludes.

#### VERIFICATION OF INVOICES.

Secretary Bristow informs the Secretary of State, with reference to an inquiry from Sir Edward Thornton on the subject of verification of invoices by persons intending to send articles for exhibition at Philadelphia, that under Treasury regulations heretofore issued such goods may be verified before a Government commissioner of the country from which the same are imported, or a consular officer of the United States.

#### CREOSOTE AND CARBOLIC ACID.

The Treasury Department being officially informed that creosote dutiable at 40 per cent. ad valorem has been imported as carbolie acid, dutiable at 10 per cent. ad valorem, custom officers are instructed to carefully examine all importations purporting to be carbolie acid, and if any doubt exists as to its true character, to subject the article to chemical analysis.

#### CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNAL REVENUE DISTRICTS.

The consolidation of the internal revenue districts throughout the country has been completed, and the number of districts reduced from two hundred and nine to one hundred and sixty-three. The annual saving by the consolidation will reach about \$250,000, nearly \$200,000 of which is in salaries alone, and the balance for rent, fuel, &c. The number of clerks has also been very much reduced by the consolidation, but fully as many deputy collectors will be required as when the whole number of districts were in existence, as the same amount of territory will require to be policed.

#### PROTESTS AGAINST THE PAYMENT OF TONNAGE TAX.

Secretary Bristow has issued a circular to collectors of customs, directing them to call the attention of parties making payments of

tonnage tax which they claim to be illegal to the law upon the subject, printed upon the back of the certificates of payment, prescribing the form and time of protest necessary to be entered in order to entitle such parties to a hearing for a refund of tax. This course has been rendered necessary by the prevailing ignorance on the subject.

#### THE WITOWSKI AND SUGG FORT FRAUDULENT CLAIMS.

The committee, consisting of Hon. D. D. Pratt, Commissioner of Internal Revenue; D. W. Mahon, First Auditor; J. H. Robinson, Assistant Solicitor of the Treasury, and John W. Porter, acting chief clerk of the Department, submitted their report to the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 27th ult., in the matter of the Witowski and Sugg Fort claims.

The committee find both claims fictitious and fraudulent, and that they were passed through the office of the Third Auditor and Second Comptroller without such examination as the law requires; that the Third Auditor and Messrs. James F. Allen and George Doolittle, clerks in his office, and the Second Comptroller, his deputy, Mr. Curtis, and Mr. John C. Wilson, a clerk in his office, had failed to give such claims the proper examination, and are therefore chargeable with culpable negligence. The report does not impute to any of these officers, or any one connected with the Department, corrupt or fraudulent purpose. The Secretary submitted the report to the President, and on his return to the Department showed it to Messrs. Brodhead, Rutherford, and Curtis, who promptly tendered their resignations. The three clerks above named also severed their relations with the Department in like manner.

#### THE SECOND COMPTROLLER.

Mr. Carpenter has accepted the tender of the office of Second Comptroller.

#### THE THIRD AUDITOR.

Ex-Governor Austin, of Minnesota, has been appointed Third Auditor.

#### HENDERSON'S SUCCESSOR.

The appointment of Mr. Brodhead to succeed Gen. Henderson as special counsel for the Government in the fraudulent whisky cases has been approved by the Department of Justice, and his commission was forwarded to him yesterday afternoon.

**INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.****THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS TO THE CENTENNIAL.**

Secretary Chandler has been informed of the appointment of Colonel Sanford and Professor Archer as joint British commissioners to the Centennial, to fill the place of J. Cunliffe Owen, resigned.

**JAPAN AND THE CENTENNIAL.**

The great interest manifested in the East over our Centennial jubilee is illustrated in the fact that on the 11th instant one hundred Japanese employees attached to the Japanese Centennial Commission arrived in Philadelphia. The enormous shipment of Japanese works for exhibition at the Centennial includes eleven hundred tons, and a good portion of this freight has already reached San Francisco, and all of it will soon be in Philadelphia.

**PORTUGAL AT THE CENTENNIAL.**

Portugal will be fully represented at the Centennial in 1876. Preparations are being made in Lisbon and in Oporto for the complete exhibition of domestic and of colonial products. The invitation to attend was accepted some time ago, but owing to unexpected delays decisive steps have not hitherto been taken.

**WAR DEPARTMENT.****THE INTER-OCEANIC CANAL SURVEYS—IMPORTANT REPORTS.**

The reports of Commander E. P. Dell and Lieutenant Frederick Collins on their surveys of the Panama and Napipi inter-oceanic canal route are now about finished, with maps and plans, and it is to be hoped that Congress will speedily cause them to be published in convenient form for distribution among the members of the scientific and commercial world that are so interested in the solution of this great problem. These reports, with the three already published, (Tehuantepec, by Commander Lull, and Darien, by Commander Selfridge,) will constitute a series reflecting the greatest credit upon the navy and the country, and presenting all the information necessary to the solution of the question of the best location for the canal—a question, it may be said, which for nearly three hundred years the world had failed to solved, though many

lives and much treasure had been expended in fruitless attempts. Those reports and the elaborate review of them that will be made by the distinguished commission appointed by the President for the purpose should form a feature of the Centennial Exposition, as showing the completion of a work of which the country ought to feel proud.

**NAVY DEPARTMENT.****UNITED STATES FLEET—ASIATIC STATION.**

A report has been received from Rear Admiral Reynolds, commanding the United States fleet, Asiatic station. That officer reports his arrival November 27, on the flagship Tennessee, at the port of Nagasaki, Japan, after a short passage from Shanghai. Affairs are reported as quiet at Pekin and Tientsin, the Margary affair having passed from discussion. Before leaving Shanghai, information was received of the death of Minister Avery, and as no consular officer was available, Admiral Reynolds announces the detail of Lieutenant H. W. Lyon, of the admiral's staff, to accompany the remains of the late minister to San Francisco. The body was then daily expected in Shanghai from Tientsin, whence it would be conveyed to the United States steamer Monocacy.

**SOUTH PACIFIC STATION.**

The Navy Department has received a letter from Rear Admiral Worden, South Pacific station, dated Coquimbo, Chili, December 9, 1875, announcing the arrival on the 7th ultimo of the flagship Richmond at that port, for the purpose of quarterly target practice and inspection of the ship. Officers and crew all well. It was his intention of sailing for Valparaiso on the 10th.

**GENERAL POST OFFICE.****THE POSTAL UNION TREATY.**

The general postal union treaty which went into operation in France on the first of January, (the postal union rates are five cents per half ounce on letters, two cents for postal cards, two cents for newspapers each if not exceeding four ounces, and two cents per two ounces for other printed matter and patterns of merchandise,) took effect on the date named for correspondence from the United States addressed to France and Alge-



ria, and also for correspondence addressed to Spain, including the Balearic Isles, the Canary Islands, the Spanish possessions on the northern coast of Africa, and the postal establishments of Spain upon the western coast of Morocco. The postal union territory now includes the whole of Europe, Asiatic Russia, Asiatic Turkey, Egypt, and the United States.

#### MIS-SENT LETTERS AND NEWSPAPERS.

Railroad post office clerks and route agents will in future be required to stamp the word "mis-sent" on all letters or newspapers that may come into their hands erroneously, the practice having been found beneficial in some of the large post offices. Two thousand stamps have been prepared for the purpose, and will be at once distributed.

#### SUCCESSOR TO MR. BANGS.

Theodore M. Vale, assistant superintendent

of railway mail service, will succeed Mr. George S. Bangs as superintendent. Mr. Bangs' resignation will take effect in February.

#### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

##### REFUND OF TAXES ILLEGALLY COLLECTED.

Attorney General Pierrepont has decided the question as to the refund of \$176,257 tax illegally collected on dividends of the stock of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, held by non resident alien stockholders, in favor of the company, the issue being whether the refund should be made to the company from which it was collected or to the non-resident alien stockholders interested. The Attorney General holds that the Government should pay the money illegally collected back to the company; and the stockholders can recover from the company.

## TWO PICTURES FOR LOYAL EYES.

The Democrats have given the nation a fair sample of the reformed civil service which they would establish if entrusted with national power. In order to show how radical a reform has been brought about in the post office of the House of Representatives, we give the employees of the post office under the Forty-third Congress, Republican, and the ones now employed under the Democratic Forty-fourth. They form two interesting pictures for loyal eyes:

#### POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Henry Sherwood, Postmaster, entered the service in, we believe, the Second Michigan Cavalry early in the war. He was in all the battles in the West, from Perrysville to the battle of Kenesaw mountain in 1861, and lost a leg at the fight at Lattimer's Mill on the left of Kenesaw.

Joseph F. Wilson, Assistant Postmaster, entered the service from Illinois, and in one of the battles of the war had his lower jaw entirely shot away.

Francis A. Wardell entered the service in 1861, in a Massachusetts regiment, and was totally disabled by wounds received at the battle of Winchester, Virginia, September 19, 1864.

J. H. Paine entered the army from Ohio, and served honorably during the war.

R. S. Bishop served in a Michigan regiment during the war, and had his arm shot away by a rebel bullet.

R. S. McMichael, while in service in a Wisconsin regiment, nearly lost his eyesight in the honorable discharge of his duty.

Norman Crane, of Vermont, was not in the army, but furnished the service with two substitutes.

D. B. Bradley enlisted in a Wisconsin regiment in 1861, and was honorably discharged November, 1864.

A. M. Legg, from New York, served during the war in our navy.

C. M. Thomas, Iowa; J. H. Lytle and W. B. Sessions, New York; J. D. Serun and D. F. Bishop, Pennsylvania, and Cripti Palmomi, District of Columbia, were appointed from civil life.

#### POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

James M. Stewart, Postmaster, from Virginia, was captain in the rebel army, and served with J. E. B. Stuart's raiding cavalry.

Edgar Snowden, Assistant Postmaster, from Virginia, was a press correspondent in the rebel army.

G. W. Rock, Va., served in the rebel army.

G. W. Kennedy, Va., served in the rebel army.

A. W. C. Nowlin, Va., served in the rebel army.

W. H. Robertson, Va., served in the rebel army.

J. R. Fisher, Va., served in the rebel army.

W. B. Lowry, Va., served in the rebel army.

E. C. Glass, Va., served in the rebel army.

The other employees are Richard Allen, Virginia, Edwin Estes, New York, who took the modified oath; Thomas B. Kelly, Tennessee; P. S. Goodsell, Connecticut, James M. Taylor, Pennsylvania, and William Tudge are old employees retained.



THE MOST EMINENT authors of the day, such as Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Prof. Max Müller, Prof. Huxley, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, Prof. Tyndall, R. A. Proctor, Frances Power Cobbe, The Duke of Argyll, Jas. A. Froude, Mrs. Muloch, Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Thackeray, Jean Ingelow, Geo. MacDonald, William Black, Anthony Trollope, R. B.

Blackmore, Matthew Arnold, Henry Kingsley, Thomas Carlyle, W. W. Story, Robert Buchanan, Tennyson, Browning, and many others, are presented in the pages of

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DEVOTED TO

THE DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION.

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Whole No. 37.

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**PROSPECTUS.**

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To the Republican press of the country, co-laborers in the grand mission of preserving good government, the REPUBLIC sends greeting and thanks. If increased activity can merit a continuation of the good will expressed, our brethren, of the press will still extend their hands in generous welcome. The Presidential campaign will bring upon all, increased responsibilities and new demands. The REPUBLIC will bear its share and perform its duty without fear or favor, keeping ever in view, that the highest reward that patriotism can win, is the consciousness that its efforts have advanced civilization and contributed to the cause of good government.

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# THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH, 1876.

No. 3.

## WHAT MUST BE DONE IN THE CRISIS?

We have proceeded thus far in the discussion of the Southern question entirely upon the theory that reconciliation is an essential element in producing a true and lasting union of the States, and that reconciliation can be arrived at only by the hearty adoption on the part of the South of the conditions under which the readmission of the States was effected, viz: the amendments to the Constitution. These amendments involve the equality of the colored people before the law, and also before public opinion. Whately says: "If there be any one truth which the deductions of reason alone, independent of history, would lead us to anticipate, and which again history alone would establish independently of antecedent reasoning, it is this: that a whole class of men placed permanently under the ascendancy of another as subjects without the rights of citizens must be a source, at the best, of weakness, and generally of danger, to the State."

The disposition to be made of the colored people has been from the first the only question of grave moment, assuming that loyalty to the Union has been secured on the part of the late rebels. All thought of punishment of the mass of rebels was universally abandoned at the moment Lee surrendered, and not for years has there been any expectation that even Jeff Davis would be required to suffer any penalty for offenses committed against the United States. The desire for a restoration of good feeling led the Republican party to a policy of absolute forgiveness as fast as prudence would permit, if not much faster, and amnesty was tendered

right and left with the largest liberality, and restrictions which were chiefly mere matters of form. Had these favors, which were pure offerings of grace, been accepted in the spirit which prompted them, this part of the difficulty would have been arranged and ended; but the language used in Congress shows that they failed of securing reconciliation, and the demand still is that something more shall be done to secure it. What that something is they call self government, or local government, but they really mean a government by the white race alone. This is the substance of all the complaints made against the measures of reconstruction which were adopted, all other objections being aimed at administration of affairs in which individuals and not the National Government were chiefly at fault.

The governments of the States by the colored people were not satisfactory, and it was not in the nature of things that they should be. A whole race born into slavery and brought up in ignorance could not be expected to become wise legislators in a moment. There was ignorance, and corruption, and mismanagement—still not worse than the municipal corruption and mismanagement in some of our large cities, and not so bad as that of Tweed in the city of New York. If, however, we turn the case around, and see how the white people have for generations stripped their colored brethren of houses, lands, and all the earnings of their hands, and of all chance to profit by their wits, we shall realize that the colored people are not the only sinners, and that on the score of hardship and suffering they are ye



much the heaviest victims. We do not say this in justification, but it palliates largely the offense which the colored people have perpetrated, and must be taken into account in striking a balance between the races, if a balance is demanded by those who are now crying out and bewailing their fearful sufferings.

But our purpose is not to attack or defend either side. We are stating some unpleasant truths because they are truths, and not to villify, and because it is important to look at the actual condition of things in order to any improvement therein. The elements of the problem we are dealing with are perplexing to the last degree, and the evils of the situation are not of a nature to be cured by a few centennial speeches, dinners, hand shakings, and complimentary resolutions of conventions, boards of trade, and ecclesiastical councils. The question goes directly to the foundations of society in the Southern States. Two races with wide differences in their composition and temperament and considerable differences in capacity occupy the ground together, the inferior race striving to place itself on a level with the other, and at this distance of time from the adoption of the constitutional amendments which were intended to secure their rights they are met by prejudices which are so violent, and by measures so unjustifiable, as to amount to a practical defeat of those amendments.

This condition of hostility between the races is fatal to Southern progress, fatal to industrial success, fatal to social order, fatal to the redemption of the South from its extreme of weakness and poverty. The colored people know now that they are men, that they are free men, that they are entitled to a recognition of their rights, and they are so nearly like other men that any serious infringement of their rights, any serious oppression, any systematic and continued wrong will certainly arouse in them and keep up a burning flame of revenge and retaliation; and this is nothing more or less than war. And such a war must drive away capital, frighten and keep away the enterprising and energetic elements of population which have done so much for New England

and New York, and built up the great West with such astonishing rapidity. Unless the South can organize industry and increase her productions she must continue to fall behind, and she must become to the rest of the country what Ireland has been to England. The load of debt and taxation which rests upon that section can only be lifted by industry intelligently directed, and by thrift. The curse of God rested on slavery as all now can see, but it rests also upon society in a state of anarchy, and upon unintelligent labor. Social anarchy can be averted only by justice and a recognition of the rights of the oppressed, and intelligent industry can be secured only by the common school and by social peace.

The condition of industry in the South is something appalling. Much of the population is unfit for mechanical employment, lacking skill, ingenuity, the inventive and executive faculty. A large moiety of the people not only work at a great disadvantage but they spoil the raw material, and destroy the machinery and works which others have made. Look at an ignorant, blundering servant girl. How she smashes the china and costly glassware, wastes the fuel, burns out prematurely the cooking stove, defaces furniture, walls, and the ornamentation of the house, and reigns in her realm with a carelessness that is destructive of both property and the peace of mind of the proprietor. And it is the same with the serving man-of-all-work. He leaves the hoe and shovel where they can be readily stolen, leaves the harness out in the rain to spoil, drives the wagon against somebody's carriage, causing damage to both vehicles, and in a thousand ways destroys property and renders himself a curse to his employer and the community. But all this appertains entirely to the simpler forms of labor, and is a mere trifle to what is lost to the producing force of society by rendering whole classes of men, white as well as black, unfit for any higher order of work. The difference between intelligent and unintelligent labor can be measured in various ways: by comparing one man with another, one village with another, one section of country with another. It can be measured by dollars and cents, and

is so measured by boss and hand, by master and servant, by manufacturer and employee, and by every one who has labor to buy or labor to sell. A strong, healthy, industrious man will break his back at shoveling gravel and accept a dollar for a day's work with gladness, while the skilled mechanic will receive for the same outlay of strength, or less, three or four dollars during the same time. The hand on the farm will earn thirty dollars per month, and the serving man only ten.

The difference in these prices is due entirely to the difference in intelligence between the two classes. Payment is according to product, and product depends upon skill and knowledge. As the result of knowledge the poor soil and bleak hills of Massachusetts are made to yield more from year to year, while for the want of knowledge the fertile valleys of Virginia have gradually been running out and the population have been reduced to extremity. Ignorance, therefore, is plainly destructive. It impoverishes labor; it reduces the productive power of the community; it robs the stomachs of people by disenabling them of the power to get proper and sufficient food; it robs the backs of men and women by destroying their power to obtain proper and sufficient clothing; it reduces the value of land by bad methods of cultivation; and, worse than all, it creates a dangerous, turbulent, vicious population which effectually excludes healthy immigration to keep up the recuperative energy of the community. The safety of the State, the recuperation of the State, the happiness of the people, and the proper organization of industry in the Southern States all depend primarily upon education, as may be readily seen by what we have said above, and, without an improvement of a marked character in the interest which the Southern leaders have in the cause of education, there is absolutely no hope for that section of the country.

We have arrived now on practical ground. There must be equality of rights, and the population must be educated. As it is unsafe to the whole Union to have one entire section remain ignorant and turbulent, and as it is unprofitable to have the people of

an entire section ground down in the dust by poverty, and to have their labor misdirected and but half rewarded, this question becomes one of high national concern and transcendantly important. The whole future of the country hangs upon this issue. North, West, South are vitally interested in its determination; and we are driven to ask, "What are you going to do about it?" "Can we save the country?"

When the war broke out the people responded by saying "We can;" and the job was undertaken. They waded through oceans of blood; but the work is yet unfinished. The Democratic party throws itself in front of the friends of equality and education and demands a halt. It signalizes its return to partial power by bringing in a bill to abolish the Bureau of Education. It goes with unerring instinct against all the prominent instrumentalities of education and the dissemination of knowledge. It goes back on the ideas of all the Presidents from Washington to Polk, and frowns upon the efforts of the apostles of education, and proposes to cut the official throat of every disseminator of human knowledge within its reach. The beggared South, unable to provide the means for teaching its children the alphabet, and doubly unable to secure and maintain an organization which shall collate and publish the facts and statistics necessary to an organized system of education, is to be deprived of the only agency which can be made available to promote the great cause of the common people and the great cause of all the people.

The Democrats strike at education because they are not in sympathy with knowledge and equality. The Southern white man's party hopes to keep the negro under by keeping him ignorant, and it offers the votes of the Southern States solid as the consideration to the Democracy for making war upon the machinery of education and upon all measures for the protection of the colored man's rights. Slavery is dead, but ignorance and inequality, disunionism and Democracy, are still in alliance and go hand in hand as lovingly as in former days when slavery was with them as senior partner and chief capitalist. Education can be carried only by the triumph of the party of education, and without education the South must

remain ignorant, poor, disturbed, discouraged, an element of weakness to the Union, a foe to good government, and her own worst enemy.

To avert this great calamity the triumph of the Republican party is necessary. Dispute as we may about the fact of present outrages, quarrel as we may about the regu-

larity of elections, scoff as we will concerning "the bloody shirt," there is danger in the situation as important to have met, and met rightly, as any of the appalling dangers which have been met and conquered in the past. The mission of the Republican party is not ended. We are not out of the woods. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

## TO THE SURVIVORS OF REBEL PRISON PENS.

Jefferson Davis, in a letter dated New Orleans, Louisiana, January 29, 1876, and addressed to the Honorable James Lyons, Petersburg, Virginia, makes a defiant denial of the arraignment made by the Honorable James G. Blaine, of Maine, and by General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, of his direct and personal responsibility for the cruel treatment of the Union soldiers who were prisoners of war to the Confederacy of which Mr. Davis was President. He goes further, and, like Mr. Benjamin H. Hill, Representative in the Forty fourth Congress, from Georgia, who was also a member of the Confederate States Senate, from the same State, the rebel ex-President denies altogether that unnecessary suffering ensued among, or unjustifiable harshness or cruelty was practiced against, those of our soldiers who were so unfortunate as to be prisoners within the pens at Andersonville, Florence, Salisbury, Belle Isle, and Tyler, or in the tobacco warehouses of Libby and Castle Thunder. The denial is a bold and sweeping one. Its audacity rises to sublimity. It not only denies but accuses. The Union is assailed as having, through its officials and policy, treated the Confederate prisoners in its hands as bad or worse than our men were used at Andersonville, Belle Isle, and elsewhere. It is also charged with causing the sufferings of the latter by the policy it pursued of refusing to exchange.

Now, as to one part of Mr. Jefferson Davis' denial and counter accusation, there is a direct and unassailable method of obtaining evidence. The survivors of the rebel prison pens still remain among us. Those of Andersonville formed an association which is still in existence. We call upon every man who was captured and confined by the Confederates during the civil war for slavery

and disunion to at once give to the public a brief and direct account of his personal experiences. Let each man write to the nearest Republican paper a simple statement of his name, regiment, rank, date of capture, length of confinement, when exchanged, the treatment he himself received as to food, shelter, medical care, &c., as well as to the action of those in charge. Avoid all rhetoric, denounce no one, give as far as practicable the names of Confederate officers, &c., in command; also, any special instances as to others known to the survivors, the details of which are readily substantiable.

With regard to the treatment of rebel prisoners in the northern entrepôts, there is as direct a method of obtaining reliable testimony. Officers who were in command of such prisons are still living, as are also soldiers who were stationed thereat. Their evidence will be of value. In every place where such prisons were located local sanitary and Christian associations existed, the members of which busied themselves in caring for the sick and wounded, and in visiting the prisons and camps. Reputable citizens at Elmira, Rock Island, Chicago, Columbus, and elsewhere know the facts. Let them give their testimony. The honor of one's country should be sacred. We who fought for liberty and union surely have as vital an interest in that honor as the men who compelled us to fight by their mad attempt to perpetuate slavery and destroy the Union. Let us have the facts.

Bear in mind that the object of such communications is not partisan but historical. Two civilizations or systems of government have been and still are on trial. This question of Andersonville and its attendant horrors belong to the trial. The case has been reopened, and the verdict once solemnly rendered is now challenged. A cloud of witnesses are still living. Let them give the facts. Communications can also be sent to the office of THE REPUBLIC, Washington, D. C., if writers do not desire to send to their county or other journals. Let every man respond, and at once. The good name of the Union is sought to be assailed, and a feulent treason seeks historical vindication by these audacious falsehoods.



## SUMMARY OF THE FIELD WORK OF THE HAYDEN GEOLOGICAL SURVEY DURING THE SEASON OF 1875.

The United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, under the direction of Professor Hayden, during the season of 1875 continued its work of the two previous seasons in Colorado, completing the southern and southwestern portions, including a belt, fifteen miles in width, of northern New Mexico and eastern Utah.

The entire force of the survey was divided into seven parties for special duty, four of which were assigned to specific areas for the performance of topographical and geological work. One party attended to the primary triangulation; a second collected photographic views of the most interesting scenery and ancient ruins, while a third transported the supplies to the various districts.

The areas for exploration the present season were much further from the base of supplies than heretofore, rendering the labor greater and causing great loss of time in traveling to and from these bases. Yet the amount of topographical and geological work accomplished has not been exceeded by any previous year.

As heretofore, the starting point was at Denver. The first or southern division operated in southeastern Colorado. It was composed of A. D. Wilson, chief topographer, directing; Franklin Rhoda, assistant topographer; Dr. F. M. Eudlich, geologist; with two packers and a cook. The district surveyed by this party embraced an area of 12,400 square miles. Within these limits Mr. Wilson made 143 stations on the more commanding peaks.

A system of triangles was extended over the whole area, while at the same time the topographical sketches and angles were taken, barometrical readings were made at all occupied points, at all camps, passes, and other places of note visited during the season. Many of the stations have been carefully connected in height by fore and back angles of elevation and depression, to be used as a check on the barometric heights, while the heights of all located points have

been determined by a system of angles of depression and elevation.

The district assigned to this division for the summer of 1875 joined on to the south borders of that surveyed in 1873 and 1874. The  $104^{\circ} 30'$  longitude formed the eastern,  $108^{\circ}$  longitude the western, and  $36^{\circ} 45' N.$  latitude the southern boundaries. About 12,400 square miles were contained in the district.

A plan for the most rapid and successful completion of the work undertaken was prepared by Mr. Wilson and subsequently carried out as proposed. This district contained the foot-hills sloping eastward from the Front range, the southern continuation of the Sangre de Cristo range, the southern end of San Luis valley, the extension of the La Plata mountains, and the lower country of the Rio San Juan and its tributaries. A small portion of the sedimentary eastern foot-hills was first surveyed, and the work then carried westward to the mountainous vicinity of the Upper Rio Grande. Instead of forming a well-defined, sharply-limited range, the mountains south of the Rio Grande are formed by a high plateau with numerous isolated peaks. Both plateau and the peaks mentioned are volcanic, showing the characteristic regularity of flows prevalent there. From the position of volcanic beds composing the higher peaks, it may be inferred that at one time the summit of the plateau extended to a considerably higher altitude than at present. Toward the southwest it drops off suddenly into the lower country containing Rios Piedra and Pinos. Presenting a line of steep, rough mountains—formed in part by the abrupt termination of the plateau, in part by the peaks above mentioned—the former contrasts strongly with the rich land in the valleys of the two rivers. Here, as at so many points in the districts surveyed by the southern division, the geological features determine the orographic character. With the plateau and the volcanic beds and the sedimentaries of cretaceous age set in. But few stratigraph-

ical disturbances have changed the relative position of the beds, and the country therefore shows regular features. Long lines of high ridges, abrupt on the north side, sloping more gently toward the south, extend from east to west, and are cut by the drainage of the San Juan. Eastward the edge of the plateau recedes, losing at the same time some of its roughness, and a broad expanse of comparatively low, bluff country appears. Rich valleys, partly timbered or covered with grass, follow the course of the larger streams, owing their formations to the rapid erosions and ready disintegration of the shales belonging to Cretaceous No. 2. Springs containing an unusual amount of mineral ingredients, some of them hot, occur in these valleys. Owing to the slight southerly dip of the cretaceous beds, this formation claims a considerable area of the region extending from the Rio Animas eastward to the border of the district. Above the well-determined strata of Nos. 2 and 3 a series of shales and sandstones set in, in which no characteristic fossils whatever were found. They reach a thickness of about 3,000 feet, and contain coal at a number of points. It will not be possible to determine their geological age with any degree of certainty until careful comparisons of the parallel formations observed by Mr. Holmes and Dr. Peale can be made. The absence of fossils is greatly to be regretted, but none were found, although many square miles were traversed containing the series. Speaking with the reserve that imperfect comparison of the notes taken dictates, it would appear that the Trinidad coal-bearing series is parallel to this one.

After having completed the survey of this lower region along the Rio San Juan and its tributaries, the work was continued to the extension of the La Plata mountains. Here again volcanic rocks were met with, identical in every respect with those further north and west. Here, as well as previously on the headwaters of the Pinos and Piedra, evidence of former glaciers was found. Considerable areas showed the grooving and striation of rocks in situ, produced by the motion of ice and boulders. Deep canons were cut into, volcanic conglomerate occur-

ring there, that had not preserved the grooving and striation, however, owing to the rapidity with which it yields to the effect of atmospheric influences. A gentle slope eastward of the volcanic rocks, that there reached to the youngest member of the group, basalt, gradually merged into the San Luis valley. Affected by local basaltic eruptions, as well as by the easterly dip of the volcanic beds, the drainage on the west side of this valley presents some interesting features, consisting in sudden curves northward. Northward the unbroken flows of basalt continue on the west side of the valley until Rio Alamosa is reached, where they end and drift begins. A number of volcanic bluffs, trending nearly north and south, separate this portion from the valley through which the Rio Grande runs after making its turn southward west of Fort Garland. This region, geologically, is more interesting than the western one, on account of the evidence furnished demonstrating the existence of two very large lakes at the close of the volcanic activity there. The two were connected by a narrow strip of water south of Fort Garland, and the lower one extended southward nearly to the Rio Colorado. At that time, too, the course of the Rio Grande was different from its present one. By the formation of a narrow canon in the basaltic beds the course of the river was deflected, the lakes drained, and the topography left very nearly in the shape we now observe it. The accurate determination of all the points connected with the existence of these lakes offers no material obstacle, but requires by far more time than could be bestowed upon it in the regular course of the survey.

Separating the eastern foot-hills and the great plains from San Luis valley is the southern continuation of the Sangre de Cristo range. Several peaks of this range rise to an elevation of nearly 14,000 feet, while many of them reach 13,000 feet above sea level. Here again metamorphic rocks set in, containing indications of metalliferous veins. Sedimentary beds, belonging to the carboniferous and cretaceous ages, the latter only on the eastern slope, however, rest against the metamorphic "core" of the range. Volcanic eruptions of the trachytic series have occurred, and show an arrangement parallel to the general course of the

chain. A more or less isolated group of peaks is north of Fort Garland, termed the Sierra Blanca. Passes are both north and south of it—Mosco pass and the Sangre de Christo and Abeyta passes. While cretaceous beds, overlying the carboniferous and subjected to considerable disturbances, slope off from the range toward the eastward, their area is somewhat limited, as the lignitic group there again makes its appearance in the Raton hills and north of them. Lithologically this is identical with the one observed on the Rio San Juan. Comparisons of the succession of strata and relative thickness, &c., will be found in the report for 1875. The age of this group has for some time occupied the attention of geologists and given occasion for dissenting views. It is highly probable that the results obtained during the past season will not admit of a definite decision with regard thereto. They will at least be entitled to more consideration than those of explorers having merely traveled over a limited area, as so large a continuous district containing the formation has been examined. It is not possible at present to state positively what these results will be, but from the observations taken in the field it can be deduced that the age of the lignitic group near Trinidad is *not* cretaceous. A full discussion of this important subject will be found in the report for 1875.

Upon the completion of the examination of the just-mentioned group the work of the season was connected to the north and northeast with that of 1874 and therewith finished. On October 12 the party returned to Denver, having fully accomplished the purpose for which it was sent out. Important and useful information has been obtained regarding mineral and agricultural resources of the district, and data has been obtained for the preparation of a topographical and geological map of the area surveyed.

The southwestern division was conducted by W. H. Holmes as geologist, with G. B. Chittenden as chief topographer and T. S. Brandegee as assistant topographer. Mr. Brandegee acted as botanist also.

The area assigned to this division is bounded on the east by the work done by Mr. Wil-

son in 1874, or a line about on the meridian of  $108^{\circ}$  west longitude; on the south by the parallel of  $36^{\circ} 45'$ ; on the west by meridian  $109^{\circ} 30'$ ; and on the north by  $37^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. These boundaries included an area of about 6,500 square miles. An area of about 500 square miles was surveyed on the eastern base of the mountains on the outward march. Here Mr. Chittenden made about twelve stations, connecting with the former work and completing the sheets to the proposed eastern line of the survey.

The easternmost line of the district assigned to this division was over four hundred miles from Denver. The party arrived there on the 30th June, and commenced work immediately.

The work was generally done by means of the plane table, and re-enforced by both vertical and drainage sketches from all the stations, and also by time meanders of all the main streams, and generally by a running sketch of the routes traveled. The main stations averaged *one to every seventy-five square miles* of area.

By meandering Mr. Chittenden surveyed the San Juan river, the La Plata, the Mancos, and the Dolores, all of them considerable streams, and besides these the McElmo and Montezuma creeks, which, though well defined stream beds, contain no running water. These last named dry rivers are each upwards of seventy-five miles long, and for a considerable part of their course are in deep canons. In the meander he made a trigonometric location as often as once in ten miles.

The great trouble in working was lack of water. The party were often obliged to ride out ten, fifteen, and even twenty miles from the rivers to make a station and back again for camp, because outside of the rivers themselves there was no water at all.

In regard to the systems of working generally employed now in the different surveys west of the Missouri River, the plane-table system which was generally used this summer is admirably adapted to a low broken country, where good "points" are abundant, and works also extremely well in a simple canon country, where there are surrounding prominent points at not too great distance. But



in a mountain country it could not be used to any advantage, and was eventually abandoned in all the mountain work. In low broken and canon country it is probably the best system that can be used; but in the ordinary rolling and mountainous country of the northwest it will not repay the extra weight and time which its use entails.

In any but a very mountainous country a system of *meander* seems to be almost necessary to make work on a scale of four inches to a mile complete. It is the abuse and not the use of the old odometer system that has brought it into so much discredit. If properly checked the meanders give the more important portions of the country, as the traveled routes and principal rivers, the greater degree of accuracy which is their due. The third and only remaining system in use in the West is that generally employed on this survey and formerly used both in the California survey and in that of the 40th parallel. It consists of a system of vertical and horizontal sketches based on a rather elaborate triangulation and checked by numerous angles, both vertical and horizontal. This system is peculiarly adapted to a rolling or mountainous country, and in such country can not be equaled by either of the other modes. It works well, too, in country of different character, and is, probably on the whole, the best system on which to base work in the average country of the West. It should, however, be supplemented by good meanders of all the main roads and rivers. In the work of the survey this summer the three systems were employed, and the above remarks are the immediate result of the summer's observations.

The party completed about six thousand square miles in the West, being obliged, after the trouble with the Indians, to leave unworked a small corner in the Northwest, which will require about five days to complete. This patch joins directly on to Mr. Gannett's uncompleted area, and lies entirely west of the Colorado line. In going to and from the work six full weeks were spent in marching. Mr. Chittenden worked about six thousand five hundred square miles, and made eighty-four main stations.

The geological examination by Mr. Holmes was fruitful of most important results. His

investigations were extended from Colorado into portions of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.

No previous study of this region had been made, excepting that by Dr. Newberry, in 1859, of which nothing has been published up to this time.

In 1874, Dr. Eudlich examined the district lying to the east, so that Mr. Holmes took up the work where he left off at  $108^{\circ}$  west longitude, and carried it without difficulty to  $109^{\circ} 30'$ . In general the geology is not greatly complicated. The section of stratified rocks exposed extends from the lignitic series to the carboniferous, including about 2,000 feet of the former and slight exposures merely of the latter. About 8,000 feet of measures, therefore, passed under examination. Of other rocks, there are four small areas of trachyte, one limited area of metamorphic rock, and a few unimportant dikes.

Beginning at the east, Dr. Eudlich's section on meridian  $108^{\circ}$  includes the entire series, beginning with the lower carboniferous in the north and extending up into the tertiary at the south. The strike is east and west, the dip south from  $5^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$ . Working to the westward Mr. Holmes found the whole series flattening out, *i. e.*, approaching a horizontal position. At the same time a gentle rise toward the northwest brings the cretaceous rocks to the surface, or at least up to the general level of the country. The lignitic group is, therefore, confined to the southeast. From Station I an outcrop of the light colored sandstone belonging to the base of this series could be traced along its entire course through his district.

The heaviest seam of coal examined in these beds is 26 feet in thickness. It is rather light and impure on the surface, but probably of moderately good quality. A number of less important seams could also be recognized.

West of the Rio La Plata the upper cretaceous beds are raised to a higher plane by a slight monoclinical fold, after which they spread out to the west, forming the *Mesa Verde*. This plateau extends nearly to the San Juan on the south, west beyond the Rio Mancos, and north to the middle of the district, an area of more than 700 square miles. On

these three sides the mesa breaks abruptly off in lines of irregular escaped cliffs, generally from 1,000 to 2,000 feet in height.

The striking features of this series are the exposures of two horizons of massive sandstones. The upper forms the top of the mesa, the lower, 1,000 feet below, produces a subordinate shelf. Shales intervene between the sandstones of the lignitic and the upper sandstones of the mesa and between these and the lower sandstones. Around the base of the mesa the lower cretaceous shales outcrop. The belt covered by these is narrow and is followed by the hard sandstones of the Dakota group, which is very persistent here as elsewhere, and occupies the higher level of the entire mesa country to the west and north. The jurassic strata and the "red beds" are exposed in the sides and bottoms of the numerous canons and stream courses, the latter only in the greater valleys, and in patches about the bases of the trachytic areas. The jurassic section is, in the upper part, almost identical with the corresponding series in other parts of Colorado, but at the base has a larger development of soft sandstones and marls. The identification rests upon the analogy of position and lithology. The "red beds" are massive sandstones and conglomerates as usual.

The only important mountains are the Sierra La Plata. They lie toward the northwest, and are principally of carboniferous rocks, so highly metamorphosed as to have lost all apparent structure. A large number of rich lodes of gold and silver have been recently discovered in this group about the sources of the Rio La Plata, and an extensive placer bar is located near its exit from the mountains.

In the extreme northeast corner of this district there is a group of trachytic buttes, including Lone Cove, which belongs to the San Miguel mountains. West of the Mesa Verde, almost in the center of the district, stands the "Late" group, of which Ute Peak is the culminating summit. It covers an area of some 40 square miles, and is simply a mass of trachyte pushed up through and poured out over the floor of the Dakota group.

In the extreme southwest corner, principally in Arizona, are the Sierra Caisso, identical with the Late in nearly every re-

spect, differing only in having carried up portions of the carboniferous rocks about their base, while a fragment of the same beds is caught up in the center of the group.

Of the 6,000 square miles, 5,700 are of sedimentary rocks. 230 of these in the southeast are of the so-called lignitic, 800, chiefly included in the Mesa Verde, belong to the upper cretaceous, and the remaining 4,900 to the lower cretaceous, and such of the earlier periods as are exposed in the crooked and narrow valleys and about the trachytic groups. In the cretaceous series Mr. Holmes examined a number of seams of workable coal, procured fossils in ten distinct horizons, and expects to be able to identify these horizons with such corresponding ones as exist on the Atlantic slope. The section obtained is the most complete and satisfactory made in Colorado up to this time. The trachyte areas include about 250 square miles, and seem to present no remarkable or unusual features.

The prehistoric remains in the canons and lowlands of the southwest are of great interest, and the study of them by Mr. Holmes was as complete as possible under the circumstances. Many cliff houses built in extraordinary situations, and still in a fine state of preservation, were examined. A good collection of pottery, stone implements, the latter including arrow-heads, axes, and ear ornaments, &c., &c., some pieces of rope, fragments of matting, water jars, corn and beans, and other articles were exhumed from the debris of a house. Many graves were found, and a number of skulls and skeletons that may fairly be attributed to the prehistoric inhabitants were added to the collection.

The western, or Grand River division consisted of Henry Gannett, topographer-in-charge, W. R. Atkinson, assistant topographer, A. C. Peale, geologist, two packers, and a cook.

The district assigned to this party lies between the parallels of latitude  $37^{\circ} 52'$  and  $39^{\circ} 15'$ ; is limited on the west by the meridian  $109^{\circ} 30'$ , and on the east by the western limit of the work of last year, approximately the Gunnison and Uncompahgre rivers. This embraces the country drained by the Uncompahgre and Dolores rivers and their branches.

The party left Denver on June 7th, and on July 3d commenced work. They worked uninterruptedly until August 15th, when the work was brought to a sudden close by the Indians.

The work was carried to the western line of Colorado, toward the northern end, extending 25 or 30 miles into Utah, and reaching the north and south lines throughout, except in the southwestern part. The total area surveyed is about 6,000 square miles. In doing this 74 stations were made.

The country is extremely diversified. The Uncompahgre flows through a broad valley, fifty miles in length by about twenty in width, almost perfectly flat, and very dry. The elevation is 4,500 to 6,000 feet. The soil is poor, and vegetation, except in the river bottom, very scanty.

Between the Uncompahgre and the Dolores is a high ridge, whose axis is parallel to the course of the rivers, *i. e.*, about N. 30° W. It has a long, gradual slope to the Uncompahgre valley, while it breaks off sharply and steeply to the Dolores. The average elevation of the crest is 8,000 to 9,000 feet. Most of this country is well timbered with heavy pine, quaking aspen, and some spruce. There is also considerable open country, which is covered with luxuriant grass.

The Sierra la Sal is a short, isolated range of mountains, just west of the Dolores, separating it from the Grand river. The direction of the range is about north and south; its length about fifteen miles, and the elevation of the summits 12,000 to 12,500 feet.

The Grand river from the mouth of the Gunnison to that of the Dolores is alternately in open valley and low canons. On the south the river hugs the edge of the plateau closely, while on the north low, open, desert country extends about fifteen miles back from the river. This desert country extends down the Grand, and across to the Green, forming the great plateau in which these streams and the Colorado cut their canons.

South of the Sierra la Sal are fine valleys extending nearly to the head of the Dolores. Further west the country is a plateau, without water, covered with sage and pinion pine, and cut by numberless dry canons.

The geological features of the district surveyed by the Grand River division during

the season of 1875 are comparatively simple, there being no great uplifts nor many local disturbances. The sedimentary formations represented are all included under carboniferous, red beds (triassic?), jurassic, and cretaceous. Exposures of metamorphic rocks are seen in several parts of the district, limited mainly to the bottoms of canons, the streams having cut through the overlying sedimentaries. The eruptive areas are also limited. In the southern part of the district we had the overlapping edges of various trachytic flows whose sources of origin were in the Uncompahgre mountains still further south. Besides these, there are three distinct centers of eruption, viz: The Lone Cove group of mountains on the south, the Abajo mountains in the southwest, and the Sierra la Sal mountains toward the northwest. These are of porphyritic trachyte, and have been pushed up through the cretaceous layers, which dip gently from them. The greater part of the district, however, is covered with sedimentary rocks, generally horizontal, or if dipping, but little inclined. In these beds the drainage is outlined by canons which are from a few hundred to over a thousand feet in depth. During the summer months the streams are dry.

Leaving the Los Pinos Indian agency, the first work was on the south side of the Gunnison river in a narrow strip of country lying between Mr. Gannett's district of 1874 and that of Mr. Wilson for the same year. The rocks here are trachytes interlaminated with tuffs in horizontal layers. They rest partly on metamorphic rocks, and partly on the remnants of cretaceous sandstones. Previous to the outpouring of these trachytes the country was evidently subjected to considerable erosion, the sandstones being in many places entirely removed, exposing the gneissic rocks upon which they were deposited. Going westward toward the Uncompahgre river, the volcanic rocks disappear, and rocks of upper cretaceous age show in bluffs on the east side. The weathering of these beds has produced a barren alkaline soil, in which there is no vegetation. In the immediate river bottom there is some good soil, but it is limited in extent. The course of the Uncompahgre is a few degrees west of north, and between it and the drainage of the San Miguel and Dolores rivers, which has approxi-



mately the same direction, is a plateau-like country with a gentle slope to the eastward toward the Uncompahgre, and breaking off in benches on the Dolores side. Seen from the mountains, this plateau appears very regular, nevertheless it is very much cut up by numerous canons, which carry water only in wet seasons. The floor of the plateau is composed chiefly of sandstones of the Dakota group, (cretaceous No. 1,) underlaid by jurassic shales and red beds, (triassic?) which rest upon metamorphic rocks, as seen in the canons. On the western side of the plateau is a monoclinical fold, which in some places becomes a fault of 300 to 500 feet. One of the most curious features of this region is a canon extending from the Dolores river to the Gunnison river. It is evidently the bed of an old stream which probably once flowed toward the Gunnison. At present, there are in it two creeks, one a tributary of the Gunnison and the other a branch of the Dolores, the latter the principal stream of the two. At the divide between them the canon is about 1,200 feet deep, 900 feet of gneissic rock and 300 of sedimentaries on the top. The dip is toward the east, and the creek flowing in that direction gradually gets higher and higher in the schists, and finally cuts through the overlying sandstones in which it joins the Gunnison. Toward the west the canon rapidly increases in depth until it is 3,000 feet below the general surface. The stream on this side cuts across the line of faulting of the west side of the plateau, and enters the red sandstones which incline westward. In these it joins the Dolores river. North of the canon, between it and Grand river, the Dakota group, which prevails to the southward, is almost entirely absent, the red beds forming the greater part of the surface, which is here a maze of dry canons. The country gradually falls off toward Grand river, the western line of faulting becomes a fold, and the eastern fold, which is also faulted in places, gradually becomes less. North of Grand river beds of upper cretaceous age appear, probably succeeded by tertiary as we go north. On the San Miguel river, and Dolores river, and extending westward, the rocks are sandstones. There are broad folds extending across the country whose axis are parallel, the general direction being north and south.

Between the San Miguel and Dolores the Dakota group forms the floor. Beyond the Dolores the red beds prevail, capped with isolated patches of jurassic shales, and underlaid with beds of carboniferous age. The latter show but in few places. The drainage here has two general courses at right angles to each other. The main streams flow in a general northerly direction.

In the Sierra la Sal the prevailing rock is a beautiful porphyritic trachyte, which in some places has included masses of cretaceous shales. One of the most prominent peaks has a capping of sandstone which was lifted up by the eruption of the mass, the base of the peak being entirely of trachyte. There are evidences of glacial action here. Northwest, and west of the group, the red beds have the Roches Montonnées form, beautifully seen from the summits of the mountains.

The Abajo mountains are of porphyritic trachyte, similar to the Sierra la Sal, as are the mountains about Lone Cove, which properly belong to the district assigned to the San Juan division.

The work of the fourth division, directed by G. R. Bechler, extended over a large area, situated between meridians  $104^{\circ}30'$  and  $106^{\circ}30'$  and parallels  $38^{\circ}40'$  and  $40^{\circ}30'$ , or from the foot-hills of the Rocky mountains to the Upper Arkansas and Eagle rivers, and from a point six miles south of Pike's Peak to within fifteen miles of Long's Peak.

In this district the entire Middle and South Parks are located and three of the large rivers of the west, the Arkansas, Grand, and Platte rivers, together with several of their large tributaries, have their origin. The principal branches are Blue, Snake, Williamson, and Frazer rivers on the west slope, and Tarryall, Fountain of the Bouille, Bear, Clear, St. Vrain, Boulder, Thompson, and Buckhorn rivers on the eastern slope.

The main Rocky range and its minor ranges are, in this district, peculiarly complicated, for the latter, at times, on account of their height and magnitude, seem to lose their subordinate character and become independent ranges, while the main range contains groups or clusters of peaks so complicated in their form and connections that it requires close observation on the part of the topographer to lay down the true drainage.

Among the minor ranges, the Park, Williams or Blue river, Gore, Tarryall, and Platte River ranges rank in height among the largest, while for extreme ruggedness, the Gore and Tarryall mountains cannot well be surpassed. In this district the great mining industries of Colorado are found.

The geographical features of this area are as follows: Between the Argentine and Georgia passes, a ridge of mountains leaves the main chain and follows a course about southeast and connects with the mountains near the Pike's Peak group on its west side. This is the Tarryall range, a rugged and abrupt granite wall, with several peaks over 12,500 feet in height and most of the others rising above timber line. The greatest depressions in this range are where the Tarryall and South Platte rivers break through in canons, and where the Ute Pass and Kanosha Pass afford an entrance to the South Park. To the east of the Kanosha pass a few miles, the Tarryall range separates into two ridges, which run nearly in an eastern direction. The northern ridge borders the south side of the North Platte river and is called the Kanosha or Platte River range. In this ridge volcanic peaks are found in great numbers. The mountain ranges in this portion of Colorado continually throw off spurs which are remarkable for the deep gorges which have been worn down their sides.

After completing the survey of Platte river, Tarryall, and the South Park districts, Mr. Bechler ascended the Arkansas valley, crossed the Tennessee Pass and examined the country that lies between the Eagle and Blue rivers, of which very little was known. This territory is bounded on the south, by the imposing mountain masses of the Mt. Lincoln group, and on the east by the cliff-walls of the Blue River range, and on the northeast by Gore's range, with its needle shaped peaks extending for twenty miles like sharp pinnacles.

In completing the survey of this district, Mr. Bechler joined, by his topographical work and triangulation, three separate surveys of previous years.

Crossing Gore's range and the Blue river, Mr. Bechler passed through the Middle Park and over the Boulder Pass to the sources of the

Big Thompson creek, an important stream, rising on the east side of the Long's Peak group. Much excellent work was done in the ridges of hogbacks at the east base of the mountains, thus bringing the season's labors to a most successful termination. One hundred and six stations were made, barometrical elevations were 450, and the number of elevations taken with the gradienter were about 6,000.

The party under Mr. Gardner had made but four stations when it was prevented from further prosecution of that duty by Indians. One of the stations occupied, was very important, viz., the Sierra la Sal mountain, which enabled Mr. Gardner to secure an excellent set of observations, thus extending the triangulation far into Utah, and connecting our eastern work with the great Colorado river of the west.

During the latter part of the season of 1874, Mr. W. H. Jackson, the photographer of Prof. Hayden's U. S. Geological Survey, in connection with Mr. Ernest Ingersoll, visited the southwestern portion of Colorado for the purpose of photographing the ruins, which rumor had placed in the canons of the Mesa Verde, and about El Late. The season was far advanced, and there was but little time for investigation, yet the eight days that were actually devoted to the subject brought to light a group of ancient habitations so novel in their construction and position that they have excited a very general interest. The results of the trip, as published in the correspondence of that time, and in Bulletin No. 1 of the survey, have already been widely distributed. The illustrations secured by photography, and then reproduced by photolithographic processes, have done much to popularize and render familiar the leading features of the subject, and showing, as they do, all the phases of the eccentric methods of these ancient builders, has made them an authority, and they have already been reproduced in a number of late publications.

The first trip proving so successful, Mr. Jackson was dispatched again this season to the same region with instructions to ascertain as far as possible the extent and distribution of these ruins, north of the present Moquis Pueblos. Associated with him in the enter-

prise was Mr. E. A. Barber, special correspondent of the *New York Herald*. A guide, two packers, and a cook constituted the whole party, and then, with six weeks' supplies laid in, the party started out from Parrott City, on the head of the Rio La Plata, August 27th, the general course being down the Rio San Juan to the DeChelly, up that to near Fort Defiance, and then over to the seven Moqui "Cities." Returning, they crossed the San Juan at the mouth of the DeChelly, and traveled northward to midway between the Sierra Abajo and La Sal, and then returned to starting point, across the heads of the canons which run southward to the San Juan.

The Upper San Juan, Mesa Verde, and El Late regions came within the area assigned Mr. W. H. Holmes, who, in addition to his geological investigations, made a special examination of the archaeology of his region, bringing out with his ready and artistic pencil even more wonderful ruins (of the same general class however) than were found by Mr. Jackson the season previous.

Traveling westward to the head of the McElmo, a day was spent in the further investigation of that interesting locality. A number of new ruins were discovered, but in no way differing from those already figured. The extreme heat of the atmosphere and the aridity of the country prevented more than a superficial examination of the many side canons which debouch into the main one, only enough to determine satisfactorily that ruins were to be found only in those canons which had alluvial bottoms, or in the near vicinity of tillable land. This fact held good in the other regions, for in no case could a single vestige of any habitation be found in the sterile, rocky gorges anyways removed from cultivable ground. Their ideas of a good farming land would hardly come up to that of an eastern farmer, yet a strip of bottom-land only fifty yards in width at the bottom of their deep canons would yield maize enough to subsist quite a town. The supposition that they were an agricultural people is strengthened by the fact that in the vicinity of any group of ruins there are also a number of little "cubby-holes," too small for habitation, but very evidently intended for "caches" or granaries, and the large towns

contain small apartments that must have been for the same use.

The only known water in the country, short of the San Juan, over forty miles distant, was on the Hovenweep, near the town which was discovered last year, thus necessitating the retraversing of so much of the country. A day spent in some of the tributary canons developed no remains of any importance, although every little side canon contains traces of former occupation by the town-builders. To the west of the Hovenweep is a high, level plateau separating it from the canons of the Montezuma, and running north and south from the waters of the San Juan to those of the Dolores. Upon this were found the remains of many circular towers, all of about the same size, twelve to fifteen feet in diameter. They are generally almost entirely obliterated, but in two or three cases portions of the wall, twelve to fifteen feet high, of well-built masonry, were found. This and sandstone mesa, a thousand feet above the surrounding valleys, does not contain a spring or any water whatever, except such as collects in the water pockets after a shower. The soil upon its surface is thin, and in places blown off clean to the bed rock. Grass, cedar, and artemisia flourish; in fact it is most excellent grazing land, and as cultivation was out of the question, these people must have had herds of sheep or goats which they brought up here to graze during the winter, mostly, just as the Ute and Navajo do at the present time, and these towers were built as places of refuge, or residence for their herders.

Eight and ten miles below the Hovenweep town are two groups of ruins worthy of note. The first is built upon an almost perfectly rectangular block of sandstone, which occupies a prominent position on a spur of the mesa. It is thirty-eight by thirty-two feet square, and twenty feet in height, as true and as level as though set by masons. The summit is entirely covered with the work that was built upon it, very evidently for merely defensive purposes, for directly at the foot of the rock, at its south side, was the habitation of the family. A line of wall forty feet square incloses a space, within which was another building resting against



the rock itself, the roof of which served as a means of access to the rock above. Two miles below, where the McElmo comes in, and upon the point of the mesa, are other similar ruins, but built much less regularly. Upon one of the faces of the rock is an inscription chipped in with some sharp pointed instrument, and covering some sixty square feet of surface. Figures of goats, lizards, and human figures abound with many hieroglyphical signs. The top of the mesa afforded much food for speculation in the interesting remains there discovered. The extreme point was a perfectly flat, level table, fifty by one hundred yards in diameter, with perpendicular walls of from fifty to one hundred feet on all sides, excepting the narrow neck which connected it with the main plateau. Across this neck a wall had been built to keep off either human or beast, and rendered the place perfectly isolated. Inside, nearly the entire space was subdivided into small squares and double-walled circles formed by slabs of stone set on edge, each square about three by five feet. The supposition has always been that these were burial places. They were dug down upon to a considerable depth without discovering anything. Here the soil was thin and light, so that the labor of excavating was easy. A number of the squares were cleaned out to the bed rock beneath, which in some cases was not more than a foot in depth, but without discovering anything more than that in every case the earth had been burnt, and a thin layer of charcoal remained. The question arises as to whether these people might not have been cremationists?

The Rio San Juan, at the mouth of the McElmo, is a stream averaging one hundred feet in width, and three to five in depth, flowing in great curves that almost touch upon themselves again, and bordered with dense groves of cottonwood. The bottoms are from one to three miles in width, and run back over sage-covered benches to the sandstone bluffs, picturesque in outline and color, which rise from five hundred to one thousand feet above the river. They gradually close in upon the stream until it is finally lost in the great canon below the mouth of the DeChelly.

Twelve or fifteen miles down the river brought the party to the first important ruins, although the older, almost unrecognized "indications" were abundant everywhere. At that point the bench land juts up over the river, and almost upon the brink is a quadrangular structure one hundred and sixty by one hundred and twenty feet square, with a small open court facing the river. A singular feature in its construction was a semicircular apartment in the center of the building and the rear of the court, about the outer circle of which was ranged a series of seven other apartments averaging thirty-five by fifty feet. Under the bluffs, and almost overhanging the stream, were a row of little cave houses. Other cave houses were niched in the cave like recesses of the bluffs for some distance above and below.

Some ten miles further, and the bordering bluffs came down quite near the stream, in some places overhanging it. Cave and cliff ruins occurred frequently in them. Upon the south side of the river an important cave ruin was discovered, which was quite remarkable in its way. Imagine a perpendicular bluff nearly three hundred feet in height, the upper half of which is a firm white sandstone, and the lower half a dull red, soft, and friable variety. Time has excavated an almost perfectly hemispherical cave from this bluff, equally divided between the two kinds of rock. It is two hundred and fifty feet wide, two hundred feet deep, and the same from top to bottom at its outer face. Midway from top to bottom, and running completely around the half circle which formed the back of the cave, are two benches, upon the upper of which is built the town or series of rooms two hundred feet in length in the aggregate, the lower serving as a walk or promenade, from which access could only be had by ladders. A little to the left of the center is the principal building, consisting of three rooms, each two stories in height, and now standing twelve feet high. Adjoining it on the right is a long row of twelve apartments built as a solid block, and on the left an open space of sixteen feet, and then another small building. In the open space were four holes, four

inches in diameter and twelve deep, drilled into the rock, serving evidently as post-holes for a loom.

All the rooms have been burnt out clean so that not a vestige of wood work remains. The walls are remarkably well preserved, the adobe mortar on the inside still retaining the impression of the delicate lines on the thumbs and fingers of the hands of the builders. Impressions of the whole of the hand were frequent, showing them to be small and finely formed. Corn cobs and pieces of pottery were found imbedded in the mortar. In the center of the larger rooms, beneath the debris, were found the fire places, circular excavations, which still retained the charred wood and ashes of aboriginal fires. Perched up in one of the houses, under a great dome of overhanging rock, that distinctly echoed every word uttered, with a steep descent of over 100 feet to the broad, fertile bottoms, handsome groves, and meandering course of the river, these old, old people, whom even the imagination can hardly clothe with reality, must have felt a sense of security that even the inroads of the barbarian northmen could hardly have ruffled.

Omitting mention of large numbers of ruins which are clustered along the San Juan, the next important group discovered, for this is the first time any of these have been brought before the world, were those of the Rio DeChelly. The party reached this point August 7th, the very hottest portion of the year, in a region noted for the intensity of the scorching rays which radiate from its bare plateau of white sandstone. The average temperature throughout the day, in the sun, was 140°. The temperature of the water in the river, in the midst of the rapid current, was 88°, and that was the coldest water to be had.

The Rio DeChelly, for a distance of about thirty-five miles above its mouth, is so canoned, and the wash, for the bed of the stream is perfectly dry the greater portion of the year, cuts from wall rock to wall rock so frequently that it is impossible to travel up it, except in the bed, and that is so tortuous and rocky in places that it would be difficult, if not impossible. Making a detour to the right, the first opening into the canon was reached ten miles above. In here an interesting and extensive ruin was found, which was so well

preserved that it seemed to have been vacated less than a score of years, and so near like the workmanship and manner of building of the present Moquis that it would not be difficult to imagine them lurking among the deserted rooms. This ruin was situated in a long cave-like bench or mesa, running along the face of a perpendicular bluff some fifty feet above its base, and a total length of nearly 300 yards. The town was irregularly, but compactly built, conforming to the rock upon which it was placed, the rooms arranged in a single row most of the way, but at either end bunching up to two and three deep. A ground plan shows seventy-five rooms, with many little irregular "cubby holes," with a total length of 548 feet. A few yards further to the right a half dozen detached buildings, cisterns, and reservoirs yet remain perfect enough to show their purpose. In the center of the mass was a well preserved circular apartment, a little below the general level of the others, that was probably an *estufa*. The goat-corral were inside between the houses and the bluff. Digging beneath the debris several pieces of finely preserved pottery were found, the same finely ornamented and glazed ware of which the fragments are so universally scattered over the whole country. Beneath the center of the town there was found in one group some whole jars of about two gallons capacity each, of the grey indented ware, but they were too fragile to transport upon pack mules. Besides the pottery, many stone implements and arrow points were unearthed. Another detour to the right, this time over an elevated plateau of white sandstone, across which were drifted great dunes of white sand, brought the party to the famous, so called, diamond fields of Arizona, about which there was such an excitement in 1872. Lingering on its bare red plain, upon which the sun beat with redoubled intensity, only long enough to gather about a pint of garnets, which were of excellent quality, and very abundant, camp was made at the foot of a side canon which came in from the west, and was known as the Canon Bonito Chiquito. Another group of ruins occurred here, not in a large town, but in scattered houses, both up and down the DeChelly and the Bonito. A marked feature was great reservoirs, in which there was, even now, abundant and excellent water. Two or three miles below, in the canon of the main stream, was a well preserved two-story house

standing upon a bench elevated fifty feet above the valley, and overhung by a great roof of rock that effectually shielded it from the storms. Near by was a great natural reservoir filled with good water. Another five or six miles and the canon of the DeChelly opened out into a great valley, from one to three miles in width, and extending up to the foot of the great canon near Fort Defiance. Twenty-five to thirty-five miles above the Bonito are some peculiar table rocks and monuments that form notable landmarks. The ruins are now scarce, only a few being met with in the caves at the side of the valley. The bottom lands bear the impress of very numerous ruins, adobe, very likely, that are now almost entirely obliterated, and would hardly be noticed were it not for the broken pottery.

At the head of the valley of the DeChelly the trail turned off to the southwest, just above the upper edge of the great white mesa. Taking only two others, Mr. Barber and Lee, the guide, and sending the remainder of the train back some fifty miles where there was suitable grazing, Mr. Jackson continued over to the Moquis Pueblo, seventy-five miles distant, with only the photographic apparatus and supplies for five days. Tequa was reached by noon of the following day. As these pueblos have been so frequently described and illustrated, the party spent only two days and a half among the six most easterly towns, viz: Tequa, Se-chum-e-way, Mogui, Moo-she-neh, Shong-a-pah-wee, and She-paul-a-wee. Photographs of each of these were made, and numerous sketches illustrating their habits, dress, and occupations, collections of recent and ancient pottery and tools, and other objects of interest were made. The comparison between the workmanship of the northern town builders and these Moquis was very much in favor of the former. The highest perfection was reached in the cliff houses of the Rio Mancos, where some of the houses were marvels of finish and durability, and then traveling toward the Moquis, there is a gradual merging of one style into the other, from the neatly cut rock and correct angles to the comparatively crude buildings now inhabited.

Retracing their steps to the San Juan, at the mouth of the DeChelly, the party now traveled northward toward the Sierra Abajo, up a stream known as Epsom creek, from the water which is found near its head tasting and operating like that salt. The usual indefinite ruins which occur on the low lands continued up this valley over thirty miles. To the west was a great labyrinth of canons running off into those of the Great Colorado, an examination of some of which discovered many cave and cliff houses and towns, all of

the same general type as the others. The ruins gradually diminished as they approached the Sierra Abajo, and several days spent in the examination of the canons and plateaus about it and the Sierra La Sal failed to bring to light any more evidences of their occupation.

Nearly opposite the Sierra Abajo or Blue Mountains, as they are locally known, heads the great canons and valley of the Montezuma which empties into the San Juan. Here the bottoms of the canons have once supported a very thickly settled community. There is almost a continuous series of ruins for a distance of twenty-five miles. This in one canon only, and all the others contain numerous remains, chiefly in cliff houses and towns. In the main canon first spoken of are two ruins notable for the size of the stones employed in their construction. In one built upon a small isolated table land in the middle of the valley are stones set upon end, six feet in length by eighteen inches square, and ranged along the walls a distance of twenty-five or thirty yards. Another case is where stones seven feet in height (above ground) and twenty inches square are standing perpendicularly about five feet apart, and form one side of a wall inclosing the ruins of a large important building. Throughout the canons every available defensive point has been utilized and is now covered with the remains of heavy walls and large blocks of houses. Another singular feature was the number of holes cut into the perpendicular lower wall of the canon for the purpose of ascending the rocks, holes just large enough to give hand and foot hold, and leading either to some walled-up cave or to a building erected above. Some of these steps ascend the nearly perpendicular face of the rock for 150 or 200 feet. On exposed surfaces, disintegrations has almost entirely weathered away the holes, while on more protected surfaces they are deep enough to still answer their original purpose. The main western branch of the Montezuma contains the greater number and more important ruins of all northern tributaries of the San Juan west of the Rio Mancos. Water was found in a few pools near its head, and lower down running along in a small stream a distance of two or three miles, when it sank again. The bottoms are rich, and the present Indians, Utes, who occupy the country, raise good crops of corn without irrigation.

The results of this trip was the collection of a large number of utensils, both modern and ancient, stone arrow and spear points, knives, and axes, photographs, especially illustrative of the most important ruins, and numerous sketches of everything of note, which will be brought out in detail in the regular publications of the survey.



ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE  
GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

The annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the year ending June 30, 1875, contains a large amount of useful and interesting information even for the general reader, including a statement of the surveys of the public lands during the last year; the comparative progress of surveys and disposals of public lands during the last ten years; the surveys of Indian lands and of abandoned military reservations; astronomical surveys of boundaries between States and Territories; a description of the principal surveying bases and meridians governing the surveys of the public lands; operations under the laws relating to private land claims, donation claims, mission claims, Indian cases, and certain cases of scrip in Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico; reports in relation to pre-emption and homesteads and operations under the town site laws; reports on timber culture and the rights of Indians on the public lands, also in regard to lands granted for educational purposes; useless military reservations and what to do with them; operations under the mining laws in Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Oregon; report of the location of lands with military bounty-land warrants, including Revolutionary bounty land scrip, also with agricultural college scrip, and showing the number of acres located in the several States and Territories with bounty land warrants during the last fiscal year; a statement of the progress made in the adjustment of land grants for railroad purposes, and of the disposal of swamp lands; a report of the decisions rendered affecting private land claims, concerning lands chiefly in California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Washington Territory; decisions of the Department during the last fiscal year under the pre-emption and homestead laws, and those affecting mining rights; decisions affecting lands lying within railroad grants, also those affecting the holders of military bounty land warrants; a complete list of the circulars issued by the General Land Office during the past year; a list of the United

States surveyors general, with their respective places of residence, also of the district land offices, with the changes made during the last year, and the annual reports of the surveyors general for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.

The report also contains a large number of valuable tabular statements showing the extent of the surveys of the public lands, not only during the past year, but all lands surveyed since the beginning of the surveying system in this country, with the amount still remaining unsurveyed in each of the States and Territories; a statement of lands sold, and of those entered under the homestead law of 1862, and the land located with agricultural college scrip under the act of July 2, 1862, and supplemental acts, also the selections of swamp lands that have been approved and patented for the several States; statements of lands granted for the construction of canals, railroads, and military wagon roads, also estimates of the various appropriations needed for the next fiscal year for the use of General Land Office and its dependencies.

The report shows a falling off in the disposals of public lands under various heads during the last year, as compared with the preceding year, of 2,460,601 acres, and that the decrease in entries made for actual settlement is found to be 1,500,880 acres. This is attributable, in part, to the devastation of grasshoppers, to severe droughts in some localities, and to a decrease in emigration. It is thought that this decrease will be likely to continue, not only for the reasons assigned, but because the area of public lands desirable for homestead settlement is becoming very small, and the construction of railroads in the sparsely inhabited portions of the country has almost entirely ceased.

The Commissioner earnestly urges the necessity of future legislation to protect the interests of the Government in relation to the survey and sale of pine, fir, and other valuable timber lands. Experience shows that through the facilities furnished by that provision of the pre-emption laws which, for

unoffered lands, extends to applicants a credit of thirty-three months, opportunity is found, under cover of the "declaratory statement" which gives to the pre-emptor protection in his possession of the tract, to strip the lands of their timber, and thereupon to abandon them without even the payment of the minimum price.

Another class of timbered lands not heretofore referred to in the reports from that office are the wooded portions of the mountain ranges of the West, including the Pacific slope. Only a small portion of these lands has been surveyed, and they are not in the market, and yet, in the vicinity of mining localities, large sections of country are stripped of timber by depredators, who take what they want, and the loss falls on the Government. The Commissioner recommends that this class of lands be surveyed and sold, wherever practicable, and says that the homestead and pre-emption laws have no proper application to such lands, and this fact should be declared by statute. In making sale of these timbered lands, he thinks the United States should reserve the unqualified right to all valuable deposits of minerals that may be found in them, with full power, except as to any trees remaining thereon, to sell the same, upon application, under the mining laws.

Referring to the lands west of the one hundredth meridian, the Commissioner says that—

The early practice of the Government indicates that the public lands were at first regarded and administered solely with a view to the revenue to be derived from their sale. Gradually, however, the view was asserted that the real profit to the Treasury and to the people at large was not to be found in largest measure in the consideration paid, but rather in the productive forces which settlement and cultivation would necessarily bring into play. This idea has been formulated into a policy, and since the act of May 20, 1862, commonly known as the homestead law, has been the leading purpose in all legislative and executive action.

Thus far in the administration of the laws the general wisdom of the existing policy is amply shown. A period has, however, now been reached when exception ought to be made.

Legislation and executive practice have

heretofore been suggested and controlled by the physical and climatic conditions prevailing between the eastern boundary of the State of Ohio and the central portions of the States of Kansas and Nebraska, covering the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri rivers, and extending from the eighty-first degree to the ninety-fifth degree of west longitude. This is well classified as the "fertile belt" of the continent. To this region, agricultural in its every feature, both the exactions of the homestead and pre-emption laws in the matter of residence and cultivation upon the tract entered, and the limitation of quantity allowed to be taken by any one person, are of undoubted applicability. Beyond and westward of this belt, or in all that section lying between the one hundredth meridian on the east, and the Cascade Range and Sierra Nevada Mountains on the west, and, within these limits, from the Mexican line on the south to the international boundary on the north, a totally different set of conditions, geographical, physical, and climatic, are found to exist. Within this vast area agriculture, as understood and pursued in the valley of the Mississippi and to the eastward, has no existence. Irrigation is indispensable to production. That there are limited areas within which by its aid crops are and may be secured is true, but the proportion of land within the area now treated of, which, under the present system of disposals, can by this means be made productive, is insignificant. Under a system which would justify large expenditures and insure the utilization for purposes of irrigation of the whole volume of water reaching the valleys from the mountain streams, but a mere fraction of the whole great area could be made fit for tillage.

Leaving out of view the great mineral wealth of the region under discussion, and treating only of that portion of it supposed to fall within the purview of the laws for the disposal of the public lands not mineral, it may be safely affirmed that, except in the immediate valleys of the mountain streams, where by dint of individual effort water may be diverted for irrigating purposes, title to the public lands cannot be honestly acquired under the homestead laws. That cultivation and improvement which are required, and which are made to stand in the place of price, are impossible; and, if attempted, are without result. But the vast areas here referred to are not without value, and for a large acreage purchasers would be found if a system of sale should be authorized in accordance with the necessities of the situation.

I have adverted to the fact that the immediate valleys of the streams may be made productive by resort to irrigation, and this, too, without a larger outlay than could be

provided for by the occupants of tracts limited as to extent by the provisions of the homestead and pre-emption laws. But there is a still larger area, possessing in equal measure the natural elements of fertility, which, under a liberal system of purchase, would also be utilized for farming purposes. I refer to lands lying along the general course of such streams as bear a volume of water larger than is required for irrigating the narrow margins of "first bottom" along their courses, to the mesa, or table lands of the central plateau. For their reclamation a system necessarily expensive, because involving canals or main ditches of great length and size, is required; and, hence, associated capital must be called upon to furnish the means of success. But the security for its repayment, even the inducement to furnish it, must be found in the lands to be benefited. It is only necessary to make this suggestion for it to become manifest that so long as disposals are hampered by the requirements, and restricted to the quantities prescribed by the homestead and pre-emption laws, this class of lands must remain undisposed of, and their present waste condition be perpetuated.

Thus far I have treated of the limited portions of the central plateau, which, under favorable conditions can be made to contribute in some measure to the volume of the cereal and vegetable products of the country. A still larger proportion of the belt now under consideration finds profitable use in the pasturage of large herds of domestic animals, sheep, cattle, and horses. The pasturage of the plains and mountain valleys is of great excellence. But here, again, the conditions under which that industry is prosecuted bear no similitude to those under which the same business is conducted within the "fertile belt," and the same incongruity is found in the application of existing public land laws, when tried by the reasonable wants of those in the stock business, as has been seen to exist in the case of the only lands fit for general farming uses. The quantity of land necessary to the support of a given number of domestic animals on the table lands is very largely in excess of that required for the profitable pasturage of a like number in the fertile belt. The excellence of the pasturage of the plains and valleys consists in the fact that the grasses, though thin and of slow growth, retain their nutritious qualities throughout the entire year, and in the further fact that, for the present, the range is only limited by the possibility of reaching suitable watering places.

For grazing purposes the limitation of the right of purchase to one quarter-section, and that under the impossible condition of cultivation, is to forbid the acquisition of

title to pasture lands by citizens "careful of their proofs," and is, in effect, to withhold absolutely from sale that which, in fact, is now the largest remaining class of the public lands.

From the foregoing recitations it will be perceived that I have reached the conclusion that both public and private interests demand that that body of surveyed land within the "central plateau," so called, not embraced in the first bottom of the streams, and commonly known in the region where situated, as the mesa lands, ought to be offered at the earliest possible day for cash purchase, and thereafter that portion remaining unsold be subject to private entry at \$1.25 per acre. To the extent to which sales could be made the Treasury ought to be replenished from this source. Persons desiring to acquire title ought to be relieved from the necessity of making questionable affidavits requisite under the homestead and pre-emption laws. Every hinderance to the fullest possible production in this region ought to be removed. The mining industry of the mountains, though in its infancy, demands of food products a large share of all that are raised within the contiguous country. Referring again to the particular matter of the pasture lands, the policy of such sale may be urged as necessary to the good order of the communities where the business is generally prosecuted, as well as on the ground of justice to the class engaged in the pasturage calling. The present policy compels them to use the public lands as their feeding ground, having no better right to their selected range as against another whose purposes or seeming convenience may lead to an attempted occupation of the same ground than they may be able to assert by forcible means. Conflicts and uncertainties necessary follow upon this state of things, to the detriment alike of order and development. This result must be intensified as the herds increase and desirable localities become monopolized.

Seeing no remedy for these threatening evils so long as the exclusive policy of withholding the public lands from sale is continued, interested parties have suggested a system of leasing by which, for a reasonable rental, designated tracts might be held in individual control for pasturage purposes only; subject, however, to be defeated as to any part of the tract so held by a sale thereof under existing laws. I find, on examination of the "Crown lands occupation acts" of New South Wales of 1861, and of the "Crown lands alienation act" of 1868 of the Colony of Queensland, that a system of leasing having the features above indicated is applied to the pasturage districts of these colonies. That such a system might be advantageously adopted within our own grazing



districts west of the one hundredth meridian is possible. It is not, however, in consonance with the established methods of our land system, and would require legislation to authorize it. I am of the opinion that the immediate necessities of the situation can be better met by an offering of this class of lands at public sale. This can be done to the extent that surveys have progressed, under the provisions of existing law.

I have endeavored generally to indicate that offerings of the public lands west of the one hundredth meridian would not be inimical to the objects of the prevailing policy, which has tended to restrict disposals to the homestead and pre-emption laws. The facts will justify the declaration that the policy of restriction has retarded actual settlement in this region, while the record shows that in many localities it has been the fruitful source of fraud—fraud so glaring as to call into exercise the powers of grand juries—not, however, into successful or preventive exercise. Prosecutions for irregularities in obtaining title to the public lands find little sympathy among communities hindered in general and individual progress by being made subject to conditions inappropriate to their surroundings.

I recommend, therefore, without hesitation, as a matter of justice, both to the individual settler and the communities interested, as well as in view of the amount to be secured to the Treasury in reimbursement of the large sums expended for surveys and the general administration of the land system, that the policy of public offerings authorized by law be resumed at an early day as to lands west of the one hundredth meridian embraced in the description of mesa or table lands.

The report contains valuable statistics relating to the mines of Nevada, Utah, and Montana.

The product of the mines of the State of Nevada for the year commencing July 1, 1874, and ending June 30, 1875, was as follows:

Name of county.	No. of tons extracted.	Gross yield, or value.
Elko.....	8,001	\$242,264 09
Esmeralda.....	6,659	489,643 39
Eureka.....	66,479	3,180,644 40
Humboldt.....	7,801	288,592 60
Lander.....	7,367	891,607 97
Lincoln.....	23,411	656,773 22
Lyon.....	1,600	25,940 83
Nye.....	13,268	619,861 12
Storey.....	562,239	23,785,151 03
White Pine.....	15,902	806,582 78
Totals.....	712,731	30,987,061 43
Ores.....	712,731	30,987,061 43
Tailings.....	126,997	791,874 87
Borax.....	465	55,500 00

In Utah Territory there are eighty-six mining districts, the most important of which are Little Cottonwood, Big Cottonwood, Parley Park or Uintah, West Mountain or Bingham Canyon, Ophir, American Fork, Lake Side, Rush Valley, Camp Floyd, East and West Tintic and Beaver, in all of which silver, lead, and copper exist in inexhaustible quantities.

Large deposits of gold ore are found in American Fork, Bingham Canyon, and Uintah districts.

There are fifty-three reduction-works, viz:

Smelting-works.....	31
Arrastras.....	4
Separating and refining.....	1
Concentrating.....	4
Stamp-mills.....	13
Total.....	53

Ore, bullion, &c., produced from June 30, 1874, to June 30, 1875:

Silver-lead-ore, 6,978 tons, at \$100.....	\$697,800
Copper-ore, 380 tons, at \$51.50.....	19,570
Base bullion, 15,744 tons, at \$250.....	3,936,000
Copper bullion, 65 tons, at \$250.....	16,250
Pure lead, 2,500 tons, at \$100.....	250,000
Gold-dust, 2,450 ozs., at \$18.....	43,700
Silver bars, 705,000 ozs., at \$1.25.....	881,250
Total.....	5,844,570

In Montana Territory the yield of the placer claims during the last year is estimated at \$2,500,000. Rich placers are being worked in the vicinity of Jefferson City that yielded \$350 per week to the man.

The yield of the gold quartz lodes in Montana during the last year is estimated at \$1,500,000. There is great interest manifested in its silver lodes. Many new and rich districts have been brought into favorable notice, and large returns and good profits have been realized. The lack of railroad transportation is, however, a great drawback to the mining operations in this Territory, and more good smelting works are much needed. Rich deposits of copper have been discovered, chiefly in the vicinity of Helena and Copperopolis. Extensive beds of bituminous and semi-bituminous coal have been found. Wheat, rye, oats, potatoes, and vegetables generally, are cultivated successfully, and yield handsome returns. Considerable attention is also given to stock-raising, with favorable results.

The report of the Surveyor General of

Arizona shows an increasing interest and development of the mining operations in that Territory. Within forty miles of Tucson gold placers of an unexpectedly rich character have been discovered recently. In the Pinal mountains, north of the Gila valley, remarkably large deposits of silver have been discovered. Nuggets of native silver weighing from one ounce to thirty-four pounds have been taken from these mines.

In Mohave and Yuma counties rich discoveries of gold and silver have been made, and every steamer via the Colorado river and Gulf of California carries tons of ore and bullion to San Francisco. In the vicinity of Prescott a section containing gold placers and gold and silver lodes in great numbers, new and much richer in developments than heretofore discovered, have recently been found, and the facilities for the reduction of ore are being increased. It is expected that during the present year the Southern Pacific Railroad of California will reach the Colorado river on the western border of the Territory, which will afford quicker and cheaper transportation, and inevitably give renewed impetus to all branches of industry within its borders.

One of the singular climatic features of Arizona is the fact that there are copious rains there in the months of July and August, which revive vegetation at a time when other sections of the country are liable to drought. Copper is being profitably mined in eastern Arizona. It is one of the most favorable Territories for stock growing. Those who have introduced flocks and herds are increasing them rapidly. Stock of all kinds is kept fat the year round by grazing alone, without shelter at any time. Grain, vegetables, and fruits are successfully cultivated. Peace prevails in every part of the Territory, and people go when and where they please without molestation by the Indians.

United States land officers are located at the following named points in the different States and Territories:

Ohio, Chillicothe; Indiana, Indianapolis; Illinois, Springfield; Missouri, Boonville, Iron-  
ton, Springfield; Alabama, Mobile, Hunts-

ville, Montgomery; Mississippi, Jackson; Louisiana, New Orleans, Monroe, Natchitoches; Michigan, Detroit, East Saginaw, Ionia, Marquette, Traverse City; Arkansas, Little Rock, Camden, Harrison, Dardanelle; Florida, Gainesville; Iowa, Fort Des Moines, Sioux City; Wisconsin, Menasha, Falls of St. Croix, Wausau, La Crosse, Bayfield, Eau Claire; California, San Francisco, Marysville, Humboldt, Stockton, Visalia, Sacramento, Los Angeles, Shasta, Susanville, Independence; Nevada, Carson City, Eureka, Pioche, Elko; Washington Territory, Olympia, Vancouver, Walla Walla; Minnesota, Taylor's Falls, Saint Cloud, Du Luth, Alexandria, Worthington, New Ulm, Litchfield, Detroit, Redwood Falls; Oregon, Oregon City, Roseburg, Le Grand, Linkville, Dalles; Dakota Territory, Sioux Falls, Springfield, Fargo, Yankton, Bismarck; Nebraska, Norfolk, Beatrice, Lincoln, Niobrara, Grand Island, North Platte, Bloomington; New Mexico Territory, Santa Fe, La Mesilla; Kansas, Topeka, Salina, Independence, Wichita, Kirwin, Concordia, Larned, Hays City; Colorado Territory, Denver City, Fair Play, Central City, Pueblo, Del Norte; Idaho Territory, Boise City, Lewiston; Montana Territory, Helena, Bozeman; Arizona Territory, Prescott, Florence; Utah Territory, Salt Lake City; Wyoming Territory, Cheyenne.

The United States surveyors general and their offices are given as follows:

C. W. Babcock, Lawrence, Kansas; J. H. Baker, St. Paul, Minnesota; Wm. P. Dewey, Yankton, Dakota Territory; T. B. Searight, Denver City, Colorado Territory; L. F. Cartee, Boise City, Idaho Territory; James T. Stratton, San Francisco, California; E. S. Davis, Virginia City, Nevada; James K. Proudfit, Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory; Benjamin Simpson, Eugene City, Oregon; William McMicken, Olympia, Washington Territory; J. R. Clark, Plattsmouth, Nebraska; A. J. Smith, Helena, Montana Territory; Nathan Kimball, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory; John Wasson, Tucson, Arizona Territory; Leroy DeBall, Tallahassee, Florida; O. H. Brewster, New Orleans, Louisiana; E. C. David, Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory.

*Tabular statement showing the number of acres of public lands surveyed in the following land States and Territories up to June 30, 1874, during the fiscal year, and the total of the public land surveyed up to June 30, 1875; also the total area of the public domain remaining unsurveyed within the same.*

Land States and Territories.	Areas of public land in States and Territories.		Number of acres of public lands surveyed—				Total area of public lands remaining unsurveyed, and, of course, offered and undisposed of, inclusive of the area of private land claims surveyed up to June 30, 1875.
	In acres.	In square miles.	Up to June 30, 1874.	Prior to June 30, 1874, not heretofore reported.	Within the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.	Total up to June 30, 1875.	
Wisconsin ..	34,511,360	53,924	34,511,360	.....	.....	34,511,360	.....
Iowa .....	35,228,800	55,045	35,228,800	.....	.....	35,228,800	.....
Minnesota ..	53,459,840	83,531	35,897,912	10,749.71	17,609,904.93	37,078,567	16,381,273
Kansas .....	51,769,976	80,391	45,770,685	2,622,257.74	3,277,032.80	51,769,976	.....
Nebraska .....	48,636,800	75,995	32,372,410	.....	2,186,252.48	34,558,662	14,078,138
California ..	120,947,840	188,981	38,805,776	1,001,118.55	1,208,076.95	41,015,972	79,931,868
Nevada .....	71,737,741	112,090	8,898,194	.....	1,173,016.55	10,071,210	61,666,531
Oregon .....	60,975,360	95,274	15,255,617	178,134.81	1,885,982.85	16,819,735	44,155,625
Wash'g'tn ..	44,795,160	69,994	10,190,046	177,118.80	6,922,950.57	11,290,115	33,506,045
Colorado .....	66,880,090	104,500	15,683,086	.....	2,109,355.69	17,792,442	49,087,538
Utah .....	54,035,075	84,476	5,984,792	.....	662,113.51	6,646,905	47,418,170
Arizona .....	72,995,304	113,916	3,135,753	23,009.00	348,048.14	3,506,810	69,399,494
N. Mexico ..	77,568,640	121,201	5,488,185	.....	722,906.92	6,209,092	71,359,548
Dakota .....	93,535,840	150,932	13,863,913	.....	2,874,937.67	16,738,351	79,856,989
Idaho .....	55,228,160	86,294	4,014,953	.....	905,221.28	4,920,174	50,307,986
Montana .....	92,016,640	143,776	6,784,481	.....	1,208,683.81	7,993,165	84,023,475
Wyoming .....	62,645,120	97,883	4,748,841	194,968.23	1,527,373.84	6,471,123	56,173,997
Missouri .....	41,824,000	65,350	41,824,000	.....	.....	41,824,000	.....
Alabama .....	32,462,080	50,722	32,462,080	.....	.....	32,462,080	.....
Mississippi ..	30,179,840	47,156	30,179,840	.....	.....	30,179,840	.....
Louisiana .....	26,461,440	41,346	23,903,253	113,269.19	123,409.06	24,139,931	2,321,509
Arkansas .....	33,466,720	52,198	33,466,720	.....	.....	33,466,720	.....
Florida .....	37,931,520	59,268	29,345,870	461,944.29	.....	29,807,814	8,123,706
Ohio .....	25,576,960	39,934	25,576,960	.....	.....	25,576,960	.....
Indiana .....	21,637,760	33,809	21,637,760	.....	.....	21,637,760	.....
Michigan .....	36,128,640	56,451	36,128,640	.....	.....	36,128,640	.....
Illinois .....	35,462,400	55,410	35,462,400	.....	.....	35,462,400	.....
Indian .....	44,154,240	68,991	22,832,725	.....	24,171,264.81	27,003,990	17,150,250
Alaska .....	369,529,600	577,390	.....	.....	.....	.....	369,529,600
Total .....	1,834,724,856	2,865,758	649,393,052	4,782,510.35	26,077,531.86	680,253,094	1,154,471,762

(a) Of the surveys in Minnesota, 43,972 acres of the reservation for the Chippewas of the Mississippi, per treaty of March 19, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 16, page 719,) were subdivided into sections; also 240,485 acres of the White Earth Indian reservation, per same treaty.

(b) Of the surveys in Washington Territory, 178,861 acres are of the Yakama Indian reservation, under treaty of June 9, 1855, (Statutes, vol. 12, page 951,) and 7,169 acres of the Swinomish Indian reservation, under treaty of January 22, 1855, (Statutes, vol. 12, page 927,) both subdivided into 40-acre tracts.

(c) Of the surveys in Dakota Territory, 187,959 acres are of the Yankton Sioux reservation, under treaty of April 19, 1858, (Statutes, vol. 11, page 743,) subdivided into 40-acre tracts, and 587,840 acres of the Old Winnebago and Sioux Indian reservation, subdivided partly into 40-acre tracts, and the remainder into sections. Treaty of April 29, 1868, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 635.)

(d) Of the surveys in Indian Territory, 479,667 acres are of the reservation for the Sac and Fox Indians of Mississippi, under treaty of February 18, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 495.) This is a subdivision into 40-acre tracts of a former survey of Creek ceded lands. 56,685 acres of the Quapaw, 50,301 acres of the Peoria, 17,088 acres of the Shawnee, 21,406 acres of the Wyandotte, and 51,958 acres of the Seneca Indian lands in Indian Territory were subdivided into 40-acre tracts. Treaty of February 23, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 513.) The surveys in Indian Territory also include 3,494,240 acres of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian reservation and Choctaw and Chickasaw ceded lands, surveyed into sections. Treaty of October 21, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, pages 581 and 589.)



*Historical and statistical table of the United States and Territories, showing the area of each in square miles and in acres; the date of organization of Territories; date of admission of new States into the Union; and the population of each State and Territory at the taking of the last census in 1870.\**

The thirteen original States.					Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
					<i>Sq. ms.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	
New Hampshire.....					9,280	5,939,200	318,300
Massachusetts.....					7,800	4,992,000	1,457,351
Rhode Island.....					1,306	835,840	217,353
Connecticut.....					4,750	3,040,000	537,454
New York.....					47,000	30,080,000	4,382,759
New Jersey.....					8,320	5,324,800	906,096
Pennsylvania.....					46,000	29,40,000	3,521,951
Delaware.....					2,120	1,356,800	125,015
Maryland.....					11,124	7,119,360	780,894
Virginia—East and West.....					61,352	39,265,280	1,067,177
North Carolina.....					50,704	32,450,560	1,071,361
South Carolina.....					34,000	21,760,000	705,603
Georgia.....					58,000	37,120,000	1,184,109

States admitted.	Act organizing Territory.	U. S. Stat's.	Act admitting State.	U. S. Stat's.	Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
		<i>Vol Page</i>		<i>Vol Page</i>	<i>Sq. ms.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	
Kentucky.....			Fb. 4, 1791	1 189	37,680	24,115,200	1,321,011
Vermont.....			Fb. 18, 1791	1 191	10,212	6,535,680	330,551
Tennessee.....			Jun. 1, 1795	1 491	45,600	29,184,000	1,258,520
Ohio.....	Oct 3, 1787		Ap. 30, 1802	2 173	39,964	25,576,960	2,665,260
Louisiana.....	M'h 3, 1805	2 331	Ap. 8, 1812	2 701	41,346	26,461,440	726,915
Indiana.....	M'y 7, 1800	2 58	De. 11, 1816	3 399	33,809	21,637,760	1,680,637
Mississippi.....	Apr. 7, 1798	1 549	De. 10, 1817	3 472	47,156	30,179,840	827,922
Illinois.....	Fb. 3, 1809	2 514	De. 3, 1818	3 536	55,410	35,492,400	2,539,891
Alabama.....	M'h 3, 1817	3 371	De. 14, 1819	3 608	50,722	32,462,080	996,992
Maine.....			M'h 3, 1820	3 544	35,000	22,400,000	626,915
Missouri.....	Jun. 4, 1812	2 743	M'h 2, 1821	3 645	65,350	41,824,000	1,721,295
Arkansas.....	M'h 2, 1819	3 493	Jun. 15, 1836	5 50	52,198	33,406,720	484,471
Michigan.....	Jan. 11, 1805	2 309	Jan. 26, 1837	5 144	56,451	36,128,610	1,184,059
Florida.....	M'h 30, 1822	3 654	M'h 3, 1845	5 742	59,268	37,931,520	187,748
Iowa.....	Jun. 12, 1838	5 235	M'h 3, 1845	5 742	55,045	35,228,800	1,194,020
Texas.....			De. 29, 1845	9 108	274,356	175,587,840	818,579
Wisconsin.....	Ap. 20, 1836	5 10	M'h 3, 1847	9 178	53,924	34,511,360	1,054,670
California.....			Se. 9, 1850	9 452	188,981	120,947,840	560,247
Minnesota.....	M'h 3, 1849	9 403	Fb. 26, 1857	11 166	83,531	53,459,840	439,706
Oregon.....	Aug. 14, 1848	9 323	Fb. 14, 1859	11 383	95,274	60,975,360	90,923
Kansas.....	M'y 30, 1854	10 277	Jan. 29, 1861	12 125	80,891	51,769,976	364,399
West Virginia.....			De. 31, 1862	12 633	23,000	14,720,000	442,014
Nevada.....	M'h 2, 1861	12 209	M'h 21, 1864	13 30	112,090	71,737,741	42,491
Colorado.....	Fb. 28, 1861	12 172			104,500	66,800,000	39,864
Nebraska.....	M'y 30, 1854	10 277	Fb. 9, 1867	14 391	75,995	48,636,800	122,993

Territories.	Act organizing Territory.	U. S. Stat's.	Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
		<i>Vol Page</i>	<i>Sq. miles.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	
Wyoming.....	Jy. 25, 1868	15 178	97,833	62,645,120	9,111
New Mexico.....	Se. 9, 1850	9 446	121,201	77,588,640	91,874
Utah.....	Se. 9, 1850	9 453	84,476	54,065,075	86,786
Washington.....	M'h 2, 1853	10 172	69,994	44,796,160	23,955
Dakota.....	M'h 2, 1861	12 239	150,932	96,595,840	14,181
Arizona.....	Fb. 24, 1863	12 664	113,916	72,906,304	9,658
Idaho.....	M'h 3, 1863	12 808	86,294	55,228,160	14,199
Montana.....	M'y 26, 1864	13 85	143,776	92,016,640	20,595
Indian.....			68,991	44,154,240	.....
District of Columbia.....	Jy. 16, 1790	1 130	10 m'l's sq.	.....	131,700
Alaska†.....	M'h 3, 1791	1 214			
	Jy. 27, 1868	15 240	577,390	365,529,600	.....

\* The whole area of the States and Territories, including water surface of lakes and rivers, is nearly equal to four million square miles.

† Boundaries.—Commencing at 54 degrees 40 seconds north latitude ascending Portland Channel to the mountains, following their summits to 141 degrees west longitude; thence north on this line to the Arctic Ocean, forming the eastern boundary. Starting from the Arctic Ocean west, the line descends Behring Strait, between the two islands of Krusenstern and Rotmanoff, to the parallel of 65 degrees 20 seconds, and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the same Arctic Ocean. Beginning again at the same initial point, on the parallel of 65 degrees 30 seconds, thence in a course southwest, through Behring Strait, between the island of St. Lawrence and Cape Chukotski, to the 173 degree west longitude, and thence southwesterly through Behring Sea, between the islands of Alton and Copper, to the meridian of 193 degrees west longitude, leaving the prolonged group of the Aleutian Islands in the possessions now transferred to the United States, and making the western boundary of our country the dividing line between Asia and America.

*Synopsis of the annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.*

	<i>Acres.</i>
Disposals of public lands by ordinary cash sales.....	745,061.30
Military bounty land warrant locations, under acts of 1847, 1850, 1852, and 1855.....	137,000.00
Homestead entries.....	2,356,057.69
Timber-culture entries.....	464,870.16
Agricultural college scrip locations.....	9,432.02
Certified to railroads.....	3,107,643.14
Land approved to States as swamp.....	47,721.25
Certified for agricultural colleges.....	22,321.24
Certified for common schools.....	142,388.11
Certified for universities.....	16,454.04
Internal-improvement selections approved to States.....	8,614.25
Sioux half-breed scrip locations.....	1,526.45
Chippewa half-breed scrip locations.....	11,181.64
Total.....	7,070,271.29
Disposals of previous year.....	9,530,872.93
Decrease in disposals.....	2,460,601.64

CASH RECEIPTS UNDER VARIOUS HEADS.

Purchase money of land sold.....	\$1,382,281.52
Homestead fees.....	185,970.00
Commissions.....	159,125.80
Timber-culture fees.....	36,430.00
Commissions.....	14,572.00
Agricultural college scrip fees.....	236.00
Fees for exemptions furnished by General Land Office.....	5,385.95
Total.....	1,784,001.27

	<i>Acres.</i>
Total area of the land States and Territories.....	1,834,724,856.00
Surveys during past fiscal year.....	26,077,531.86
Previously surveyed.....	654,175,562.35
Total surveyed to June 30, 1875.....	680,253,094.21
Leaving yet to be surveyed.....	1,154,471,762.79

## THE RESULT OF FALSE IDEAS OF GOVERNMENT.

It has been said that words are things, and if so, ideas are greater things. To all moderately educated minds this is a truism, old and stale, but to the mass of ignorant and unreflecting people there is no meaning in it whatever. The masses do not look much at thoughts, tendencies, and principles, but to taxation, and the passing of acts which shall secure next summer and next winter "two dollars a day and roast beef." They can comprehend certain individual measures as affecting present prosperity, but have only a faint conception of the ideas which lie back of such measures. They comprehended the war, but until it actually came they did not see that certain dogmas held by one of the great parties in the country were making war inevitable. They realized the fact that rebel guns were demolishing Fort Sumter, but not that those guns were charged with the speeches of John C. Calhoun. They went to Bull Run and died by rebel bullets,

but never thought that the ammunition which projected each bullet was a Virginia resolution of '98.

The great conflict which resulted in the tread of mighty armies, and the pouring out like water the blood of our best and noblest sons, taking from mothers and wives what they most loved and most needed, and making orphans of millions of children, grew out of certain ideas that were false, ideas that are fatal to Republican government, and ideas which, persisted in, will bring another conflict of the same terrible nature, whenever the circumstances shall favor. The belief that the United States were not a nation but simply a corporation, and the Constitution was simply a compact between sovereign States, of course made the States higher than the nation, and rendered the Constitution a document of secondary importance. The people of one State came to regard the people of the other States as foreign-

ers, as alien in interest and affection, and it became the study of the leading statesmen of one section how to get the control of the National Government and use it to check the growth and advancement of the other section, instead of securing the prosperity of the whole. The slavery question, by raising an industrial interest opposed to free labor, and by creating a consolidated capital of property in slaves amounting to thousands of millions in value, greatly aggravated the situation, and so formidable and influential was this question on the politics of the country that many, yes, nearly all the great anti-slavery leaders were brought to believe that slavery alone was responsible for our troubles, which would mainly pass away with the downfall of that institution. This was the idea of Mr. Lincoln in the celebrated remark at the opening of the debate with Douglas: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. This country must either become all free or all slave." There was pretty general assent to this view of the case, and so enormous and overshadowing was slavery that the men who were confronting it naturally believed that it was the sole cause of the difficulty, when historically the fact is that the sentiments which caused the rebellion existed at the time the country was all slave; and they had an existence independent of slavery all the time. The ideas were in the Virginia resolutions of '98, they were in the great Pennsylvania whisky rebellion, which was in reality a conspiracy having for its ultimate object a Southern Confederacy, and they were at the bottom of the laws of the State of New York which granted to Fulton and Livingston the right to the exclusive use of the waters of the State for steamboat navigation, and other similar laws passed by other States: laws which were exploded, it is true, by the Supreme Court in the case of *Gibbon vs. Ogden*; but the ideas which made such laws possible have never been abandoned. These were ideas known as States' rights; but allied to them, and belonging to the same family, were prejudices against the commerce of New England that had much to do with the embargo of 1812, and other measures tending to destroy their trade and check their growth, opposition to internal

improvement, education, and generally all measures of national importance except such as were necessary for our protection against the aggressions of other nations.

Mr. Webster, in his great reply to Hayne, brought out the view we are endeavoring to present. He said: "What interest, asks he, (Mr. Hayne) has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio? Sir, this very question is full of significance. It develops the gentleman's whole political system; and its answer expounds mine. \* \* \* He may well ask, upon his system, what interest has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio! On that system, it is true, she has no interest. On that system Ohio and Carolina are two governments, and different countries, connected here, it is true, by some slight and ill-defined bond of union, but in all main respects separate and diverse. On that system Carolina has no more interest in a canal in Ohio than she has in a canal in Mexico. The gentleman, therefore, only follows out his own principles; he does no more than arrive at the natural conclusion of his own doctrines. \* \* \* Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. We look upon the States, not as separated, but united. We love to dwell on that union, and on the mutual happiness which it has so much promoted, and the common renown which it has so greatly contributed to acquire. \* \* \* We do not impose geographical limits to our patriotic feeling or regard; we do not follow rivers and mountains and lines of latitude to find boundaries beyond which public improvements do not benefit us. \* \* \* It was the very object of the Constitution to create unity of interests." And so on.

It will be seen from these remarks of Mr. Webster that in 1830 there existed the pernicious doctrines which led to the rebellion; and that they existed, not as the offspring of slavery merely, but as dangerous heresies at the foundation of the Virginia school of political science. They were heresies which led Calhoun, Hayne, McDuffie, and South Carolina to oppose improvements, education, and freedom, and which later led James Buchanan to deny the right of the general Government to coerce a State, and induced Jeff Davis, and Wigfall, and Stephens, and



Breckinridge to take up arms for the avowed purpose of destroying the Union and the nation. Real patriotism is impossible with men who hold to the ideas which we have been describing. A man cannot love a country whose existence he denies. This is a contradiction in terms. If the Constitution is only a compact, as has always been affirmed by the rebel Democratic school of politicians, we have no country; we are in truth "men without a country;" there is nothing national to love, and patriotism necessarily confines itself to State limits, and to be logical, to county limits, and for aught we can see, it may as well shrivel itself into town limits or ward limits, after repudiating the claims of nationality. The terrible fact of the rebellion will not be denied, and no thoughtful man will presume to deny that it was the logical consequence of the prevalence of the ideas which Hayne advanced and Webster combatted in 1830. The question which comes next is: Has that school of thinking been abolished? and then, has love of country taken the place of State pride, State affection, and the determination to maintain local interests as paramount to interests of a general, common, and national character? As these questions are candidly and fairly and truthfully answered shall we be able as reasonable men to decide our political duty in the next Presidential election; for it will not be pretended in any loyal quarter that it is the proper way to save the country, or advance the highest interests of the country to put the government thereof in the hands of men who fail in their allegiance to it, or fail in their belief in its supreme character and grand ultimate unity and perpetuity. A mistake on the tariff, a false step as to currency, or a false estimate as to the proper sum to be paid for public buildings or public works, may be rectified by future legislation, and no great harm will ensue, but an administration without the sentiment of nationality must be fatal should the enemies of the nation choose to improve their opportunity to destroy it.

To arrive at an intelligent and safe conclusion as to the dangers of the situation we should consider what was the teaching of philosophy concerning the case of the nation,

while the war was pending, in connection with the events that have actually transpired. Mr. Carl Schurz, the eminent German orator, made a speech in Cooper Institute, New York, October 6, 1862, in which he undertook to forecast coming events in case the Union arms should prove victorious. Mr. Schurz was the right man to discuss a matter of this nature, for, added to learning, great powers of mind, and a speculative disposition, he was an experimental revolutionist, having been an actor in scenes which must have forced upon him the study of consequences with singular impressiveness. Having given the subject due thought, he worked out the problem in his own mind, and in this speech gave the country the benefit of it by an illustration. He said: "Take the State of South Carolina; you beat the rebels defending its soil, and occupy the whole State with your troops. Armed resistance to the authority of the United States becomes impossible, but you want to restore the active co-operation of the people of South Carolina in the government of the United States, without which the old order of things is impossible. Now, you call upon the people of South Carolina to elect new State authorities of their own, or you impose upon them a provisional government, appointed by the President at Washington. In the first case, the people of South Carolina—a large majority of whom are disloyal, and those who are not disloyal are not loyal either, (ap-  
*plause,*) and to a certain extent seem to be incorrigible—are most likely to elect a new set of secessionists to office. It will be a re-organization of TREASON and CONSPIRACY; *for you must know that conspiracies do not only precede rebellions, but also follow unsuccessful ones.*" Evidently the orator knows what he is talking about. "The new State government is at once in conflict with the Federal authorities. The latter find themselves counteracted and clogged in every imaginable way." Is not this man a prophet? He made a mistake in selecting South Carolina as an illustration, but substitute for South Carolina the State of Louisiana, and he appears to be talking veritable history. After asserting that this state of things must cause sterner measures on the part of the Government of the United

States to compel order, and admitting that force as a permanent means of restoration must prove a failure, he goes on to point out the remedy in these words: "In order to restore these principles to life, the Government is obliged to trust its authority to the loyal action of the people."

This is a correct statement of what is necessary, and an accurate description of what has transpired and is transpiring in the late Confederate States. The Government did the very things Mr. Schurz predicted. It appointed the Provisional Governors, and after a brief period trusted to the loyalty of the people of the States to maintain order and build up the places made desolate by the war of the rebellion. And the Government was met precisely as was predicted by Mr. Schurz, just as soon as the rebel elements could fully organize and get their forces in hand. They did even worse than the prophet had foreseen, for he had only anticipated that a "new set of secessionists" would be elected to office, not dreaming that audacity ever was born so brazen as to put the old set back into power, as was speedily done, with the officers of the Confederate army conspicuously to the front. Mr. Schurz declared this would be a reorganization of treason and conspiracy, and that such is the result is capable of the clearest demonstration. The purpose of the General Government has been clogged and thwarted at every step. The effort to maintain order has been met by armed mobs, the citizens of the States have been dragged from their beds at midnight, and shot, hung, and tortured, to the number of many thousands, and not a court in the whole South has yet been able to punish the offenders; indeed, has not cared to do so. The negroes, have been driven from their homes and murdered in cold blood simply for voting, their school-houses have been burned, and their teachers tarred and feathered for no crime but a desire to give and get an education to qualify themselves and their children for the duties of the free citizen. These men have corrupted such of the blacks as they could not intimidate, have bought Legislatures and offices, carried through bills by shameless bribes, have robbed right and left, have polluted the fountains of

justice, debauched the public sentiment, established a reign of terror in some places and a reign of rottenness in others, and wherever the Government has discountenanced it or any part of it they have scoffed, and when it has interfered to put a stop to the iniquities they have denounced and derided. That the crimes of corruption and bribery have been charged exclusively upon the carpet-baggers we well know, and that they have been guilty in many cases we are not permitted to deny, but it is not alone or chiefly the carpet-baggers who are in these things. In his public address to the citizens of New Orleans on the 28th January, 1870, Gov. Warmoth, of Louisiana, the great Conservative leader, said: "You charge the Legislature with passing corruptly many bills looking to the personal aggrandizement of individuals and corporations. Let me suggest to you that those individuals and corporations are your very best people. For instance, this bank bill that is being lobbied through the Legislature now. By the hardest kind of work we have been able to defeat that bill twice in the House, and now it is up again to be passed. Who are doing it? Your bank presidents. The best people of the city of New Orleans are crowding the lobbies of the Legislature, continually whispering into these men's ears bribes to pass this measure. Now are we to defend the State against the interposition of these people, who are potent in their influence in this community?" Mr. Warmoth is not our witness, and perhaps he lies; but if there was bribery of the negro members of the Legislature the bribes came from a source where there was money, and neither carpet-baggers nor negroes have been found guilty of riches whatever other sins may have been laid to their charge. If there was the bribery, as doubtless there was, the money was furnished by those having it, and they were the bank presidents and first citizens of cities like New Orleans.

When bribery is committed there are two parties to the crime, and the wealthy bankers of Louisiana, who all belong to the white man's party, are not in a condition to throw stones at the negro members of the Legislature whose votes they bought.

That the negroes sold their votes is an argument against electing such men to the Legislature, but it is no argument against electing a Republican Legislature. Having debauched the poor and ignorant negroes, these men must not be permitted to come in and allege that the negro is most to blame.

Of course it is a bad state of things, and we are not defending the negroes or carpet-baggers for their share in the business; but we do claim that the remedy is not to be found in putting the control into the hands of the debauchers. Returning now from the temporary digression in our main line of argument, we reassert that the prophecies of Mr. Schurz have been fulfilled; the course pointed out was taken by the Government; the rebels resumed their old power in the Confederate States, and used it against the ideas and measures of the National Union party, and in favor of the principles of the resolutions of '98, which gave birth to the rebellion. The condition of things in much of the territory of the South was well described by the late General George H. Thomas, whose testimony is unimpeachable. He said in an official report that "crime is committed because public opinion favors it or acquiesces in it. The local laws are enforced or not, according to the controlling opinion of the community. A criminal who is popular with the mob can set law at defiance; but if a man is only charged with a crime, if he is inimical to the community, he is likely to be hung to the nearest tree or shot at his own door." Thomas had a remarkably clear head and was cool in judgment. He speaks as the commander of the Department of the South, and describes the facts as he witnessed them. The facts reveal the tone and temper of society at the South. It is a temper which is a natural fruit of the rebellion. As Schurz said, "conspiracies follow as well as precede rebellions." The defeated sulk, are immeasurably chagrined at their overthrow, and hate their conquerors. Messrs. Lamar and Gordon claim otherwise and talk of the "era of good feeling," and all that, but it is contrary to history and to human nature. All the acts of the body of the late conspirators belie the assertion that they are at heart reconciled and reconstructed. Even Lamar

himself, with all his pretended acceptance of the situation, when he gave a true heart utterance, admitted that he failed to love the chosen Government of the Union. Then he spoke truthfully. Then he revealed the condition of the Southern mind, which is chronic opposition and hatred of the principles which we of the North fought for in the late war, which we gained on the battle-field, but which we are to be cheated out of by the alliance of the forces of ignorance, rebellion, and Democracy, if the alliance succeeds.

It is plain enough now that the old anti-slavery men and Mr. Schurz in 1862 were entirely mistaken in their theory of the effect of emancipation upon public opinion at the South. Slavery and freedom were hostile forces, which made a "house divided against itself" that could not stand. Free labor and slave labor were vitally opposing interests, which were the basis of permanent and bitter conflict, and it was argued that the abolition of slavery would at once harmonize these interests, and compose the elements of strife. This has not happened, and it is plain why it has not. The old slave-holding element, the dominant white race, has not accepted the situation, but only pretends to have done so. The old slave-holding class has lost two thousand millions of property in slaves, in addition to what it wasted in four years of expensive war, which amounted to two thousand millions more. This property was their capital, and the income of it furnished their means of support. Their slave labor was opposed to free labor, because the latter put the power perpetually in jeopardy. Emancipation has ended this by the total destruction of the property, but it has introduced a new conflict. The old masters cannot recognize the equality of their late slaves. They still feel themselves to be the dominating class, and so assume the prerogatives of the dominating class. They scout the idea of negro equality, and deny *in toto* his fitness to share in the Government. The instinct to keep him under remains powerful, and is strengthened by the necessity of their still living on the proceeds of his labor. There are no more offices, corporate and State, than are needed by the dominant class. This they believe, and on it they practice. To main-



tain the superiority which they assume to have by nature, they must shut the negro out of the offices, and debar him from entering the lists as a competitor for office, for business, or social position. Hence they are in deadly hostility to suffrage now, and to education which will lead to suffrage hereafter. Whatever a few cunning men like Lamar and Gordon may say, the whole spirit of Southern first-class white society has this character. It is seen in the Ku-Klux movements. It speaks in the Congressional orations of Northern Democrats, which invariably taunt the Republicans with inaugurating negro rule and negro equality at the South. It is the standing accusation against the Republican party that it favors negro equality. It is the real cause of the difference between parties to-day. It is the cement which keeps Democracy together. The Democratic party is divided on the great financial and industrial questions, the currency, tariff, internal improvements, &c., but on education and negro equality it is one, and were these two questions put to rest, as a party it would be in the throes of dissolution within twenty-four hours. Whatever collateral, or tempo-

rory, or incidental issues, like currency, extravagant expenditures, and reform, may be in the next presidential canvass, the great overshadowing and transcendantly important one of nationality, of our right to be a nation, the possibility of our continuing the experiment of self government, will be the question which we are to meet, and in its solution all other questions will be involved. This one grand issue is not made for us by party conventions or ranting demagogues; it is inherent in the condition of things. It comes of itself, from the ideas which have been engendered in the Southern mind by education and circumstances. It is the last legacy of slavery, bequeathed, not by will and testament, but by the natural order of things. It must be met—we cannot avoid meeting it if we would. All that we fought for in the war is involved in it, and will be lost if the secessionists shall beat us—schools, education, free suffrage, the prosperity and progress of the South, nationality—all are involved, and with them the character of the American people; for what must be said of a people who would fight and win what they had not the wit to maintain?

## TREASURY BOOK-KEEPING.

The debate in the Senate opened by Senator Davis, of West Virginia, on discrepancies in the reports of the Treasury Department has attracted wide attention, and most of the wise men who edit Democratic newspapers, and their allies of the independent press, are quite satisfied that there is an alarming amount of rascality or incompetency in that department.

Their opinions are based, not on what they know individually on the subject, but on what is said by Senators, who know nothing whatever, if we take their own admissions, or consider the facts developed in their speeches. Mr. Davis wanted a committee of investigation. Why? Simply to find out whether anything was wrong or not. If he *knew*, of course there was no need of a committee to find out. Mr. Eaton, of Connecticut, confessed that he knew nothing, and further, owned up that he, aided by the most expert book-keeper in the Nutmeg State, des-

paired of ever being able to tell within \$50,000,000 of the amount of the public debt. Few sadder sights than this venerable Senator making such a confession have been witnessed since the war. He knows nothing, and can never know by the best light of an enlightened State within fifty millions of dollars. This is very poor buncombe. If nothing is known, and Connecticut accountants cannot find out anything, it was very unwise in him to put the figures so low, because he might with the same accuracy and safety have put them at \$200,000,000.

The statement shows on its face that the Senator is ignorant of the whole matter, as from the nature of the case he must be. He could guess with the same degree of confidence that no State in the Union knows the amount of its debt, or he might give it as his opinion that A. T. Stewart is bankrupt. What of it?

The discrepancies alluded to by Mr. Davis

were not very important in amount, but very important as mistakes, if they were undiscovered by the officers of the department, except the thirty-seven million item. The debt in one year was reported that much more than it actually was, but it hurt nobody, and the debt was not increased thereby, and no one was able to get money out of the Treasury unlawfully in consequence. It was such a mistake as insured its own detection. It could not possibly remain undiscovered, and is not and never was of the slightest consequence, only as giving occasion for a charge of carelessness.

The charges made are rather aimed at the system of book-keeping in the department, and the administration is held responsible for a very bad system according to Davis and Eaton. Let us see how this is. The system is the same which was inaugurated by Alexander Hamilton, and approved by such eminent Democrats and financiers as Albert Gallatin, Samuel Dexter, A. J. Dallas, Richard Rush, Louis McLane, Roger B. Taney, Levi Woodbury, Robert J. Walker, and Jas. Guthrie, the latter of whom pronounced it perfect. It is a little rough in Mr. Eaton to abuse the financial reputation of such eminent Democrats who in their day were thought to know a thing or two about their business, and whose administrations were supposed to reflect considerable credit upon the Democratic party. A few old fashioned persons have sometimes advanced the idea that a return of some of these perfect gentlemen would be the best thing to pray for; but that is a mistake, if the system they approved is so uncertain and defective.

As Mr. Boutwell explained the items named by Mr. Davis, there is no need to go over the same ground, and the idea can be illustrated by another example. In 1870 the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his report gave the receipts of the Treasury for the fiscal year ending 30th of June, 1870, at \$185,235,867.97; the Register for same year, \$184,899,756.49; the Fifth Auditor for same year, \$168,476,458.59.

These figures are taken from the books. The books remain unchanged, and the discrepancies at once attract attention. People who jump at conclusions immediately decry

the result as nonsense, and say that if either is right the other two must be wrong. Now it will be seen at once that there was no forcing of books to come to an agreement. Each office put forth its own figures fearlessly, and braved the consequences. Let them have credit for that. And well they might, for the explanation is very simple.

The money which gets into the United States Treasury, or out of it, does so by a warrant signed by the Secretary and other specified officers, which paper sets forth, from or to whom, and for what the money is received or paid. These particulars are entered on the books of the Comptroller, Register, and Treasurer, and in all stated accounts of the Auditor, and each warrant is compared with the several books as a check against any possible mistake or collusion; and this, so far as safety is concerned, is far superior to mercantile double entry, as collusion is rendered all but impossible. When a collector remits money, instead of sending to the Treasury actual cash, he deposits the cash in a Government depository, takes triplicate certificates, and sends one to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, one to the Secretary of the Treasury, and keeps one as a voucher to protect himself, and show that he has paid over the amount. When the Commissioner receives his certificate he enters the amount at once upon his books, and from the books he can tell the amount actually deposited by the collectors. But when the Secretary receives the duplicate certificate, to get the money into the Treasury the warrant has to be drawn and signed by the proper officers, and the comparisons must be made, which in the case of a million in small sums of \$10,000 or less is a work of days; so that at the close of the fiscal year the certificates of the last few days will be entered on the books of the Commissioner, while the warrants will not get to the Register's books in time, and they necessarily go upon the books of the succeeding year. Hence the difference between Commissioner and Register. After all this the Auditor adjusts the accounts of the several collectors, when they reach him and are in condition for settlement, which more or less of them never are in time for making up the

annual report, and as he only reports from his adjustments, all the deposits in the unadjusted accounts fail to be included, and his statement of collections is less than the Register's. All these officers are right, so far as they each go, and neither may be actually right, because some collector may have failed to send his certificates, or they may have been lost in the mail, so that the actual collections may exceed the amounts in the reports.

The question then arises: Why publish the reports if they do not convey true information? We answer, that the law requires the several officers to report to the Secretary, and the reports are valuable for use and information. Each member of Congress can see by the Fifth Auditor's table how much money was collected in his district, how much salary was paid, what contingent expenses were allowed, &c., unless the collector has been delinquent in forwarding his accounts, and then that fact will appear. The Secretary can see the same things, and any other officer the same. As to the general public, it is not of the least consequence whether the amount reported is two or five millions less than the receipts: the fact that the money collected has got into the Treasury and is safe is alone of consequence to them, with the assurance that all that is possible has been done to guard the treasure when there.

It is admitted that one cannot understand the reports unless he understands Treasury business, and it is no discredit to Davis, Eaton, and Thurman that they do not understand that business, because they have not been in it. What is to their discredit is that, not knowing what they are talking about they get up in the Senate and undertake to enlighten the people. It is a necessity of the position that the clerks in the department, those who do the business, should understand it. The checks on incompetency are as ample as they are on fraud. A fraudulent claim may get through by false swearing in sufficient amount, same as a guilty man may escape in a court of justice by bringing false witnesses to an *alibi*, but the fault is not in the system—it is a failing in any system. Nothing has been invented which is a com-

plete bar to forgery and false swearing. The Treasury system is the best thing yet discovered, and in proportion to the amount of business the losses are far less than in the banking and business corporations of the country. The system is decried as complicated and mysterious, while in fact it is simple and devoid of mystery. The Democratic members from the rural districts who are giving out word that they are about to simplify and amend the masterpiece of Alexander Hamilton, and improve upon Robert J. Walker, James Guthrie, and Salmon P. Chase, will go into the Treasury, pull off their coats, take a survey of the million tons of vouchers—and retire, as the Irishman did, after surveying the majestic proportions of Mr. William Patterson, whose acquaintance he was so anxious to make till he saw him—and that will be the end of it.

INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS.—On the intelligent and loyal press of the country the hopes of the nation depend. The people look to the press for correct information, and on this they base their judgment of governmental affairs. A bad paper conveys a moral poison wherever it circulates. If it is edited with commanding ability, its power for evil is greatly increased, and this is still further enlarged in proportion to its circulation. How vital, then, in view of this, becomes the necessity of supporting good papers. Every citizen who believes in public and private morality should extend liberal support to his home paper. His first duty should be to strengthen that. If he has patronage, it should go to the local organ before a dollar is sent to a paper at a distance. The principle of home protection should be applied to the local papers of the country.

THE three political virtues taught in the school of Democracy are forgiveness, forgetfulness, and justification. In 1865 our lesson was the duty of forgiveness, in 1868 and 1872 it was forgetfulness, and now we are asked to follow the leader of the Confederate choir in the centennial song of justification. Loyal people generally decline to join in the chorus, or to throw up their hats over any agreement that compromises the results of the war.



## A STARTLING QUESTION:—IS THE SOUTH STILL FOR WAR?

Mr. B. H. Hill, a member of Congress from Georgia, delivered a speech, said to have been "the grandest" the gentleman ever uttered, and which was reported in the *Atlanta Constitution* of January 24, 1875. Mr. Hill said :

"Fellow citizens, I look to the contest of 1876 not only as the most important that ever occurred in American history, but as the most important in the history of the world ; for if the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against this Republican party it will perpetuate itself in power in the United States by precisely the same means that the President has taken in Louisiana, and the people will be powerless to prevent it *except they go to war*. [Applause.] If we fail with the ballot-box in 1876 by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. I trust we will not fail. I hope the Northern people have had a sufficient subsidence of passion to see this question fairly. If we must have war ; if we cannot preserve this Constitution and constitutional government by the ballot ; if force is to defeat the ballot ; if the war must come—God forbid that it should come—but if it must come ; if folly, if wickedness, if inordinate love of power shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come : I am ready."

It is useless to endeavor to conceal the fact that the delivery of such a speech must have been prompted by motives commensurate with the language employed and the influence of the speaker. It is useless to try to explain away the import of the words. The speech was delivered by Mr. Hill, who had been a Senator in the Confederate Congress and the mouthpiece of Jefferson Davis, whose infamous orders entailing suffering and death on Union soldiers he either justifies or makes light of. Mr. Hill spoke in a State which had joined in the rebellion in the hope of destroying the Union ; a State which had annihilated as far as it could the colored vote and the vote of white Republicans ; a State that had failed in its duty to provide fully for the education of its colored citizens and their children, and to afford them the protection of the law ; and that had been violently wrenched from Republican

control by Democrats who had obtained their present status through the leniency of amnesty laws passed by a Republican Congress. To such Democrats Mr. Hill made his address. They were men opposed to the reconstruction of the South as provided for in the reconstruction measures. They had no sympathy with the cause that triumphed in the war ; no sense of the obligations that rested upon them to accept the situation in good faith ; and no intention of obeying those Federal laws which made no discrimination in citizenship between whites and blacks.

The immediate audience surrounding Mr. Hill when speaking were spell-bound by the manner in which he dealt with the subject. But he knew, and they knew, that he addressed through them the whole South ; that his words were recorded with the intention of being circulated among the leading White Liners, that pestiferous class of fire-eaters, most of whom have received amnesty, but who keep the South in perpetual agitation by maintaining the old claims of the late slave States to subordinate the Federal Government and practically disfranchise the blacks. The whole speech is pervaded by a spirit of truculent disloyalty. Mr. Hill stands upon a very fierce platform—the blood and thunder platform so grateful to rebel ears—which calls upon the people to prepare for war if the Republican party is successful in 1876. Such an appeal was expected to meet with a ready response ; and it did so. Mississippi responded in its late election, where the platform was War, and where treason was rampant and the murders of colored men followed as a natural consequence.

The loyal people of the Union have now an opportunity of knowing who and what it is that causes disquiet in the South. It is not Mr. Hill alone, though he is largely responsible ; but it is the kind of speech which he and other speakers go about delivering that stirs up the worst passions of the people and leads to murder. This is no "bloody

shirt" fiction; no recommendation to shoot down the six blood-thirsty negroes that had armed themselves to overpower and exterminate the six hundred White Liners who were fleeing before them; no suggestion to keep the peace in localities where were negro majorities, by calling upon white men in the surrounding counties to assemble together and do indiscriminate slaughter. This is insignificant itself compared with what Mr. Hill had in view. He says:

"If the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against the Republican party it will perpetuate itself...and the people will be powerless to prevent it EXCEPT THEY GO TO WAR. IF WE FAIL WITH THE BALLOT BOX IN 1876...IF WE MUST HAVE WAR...IF THE WAR MUST COME...LET IT COME; I AM READY."

Let the people look at it. Divested of all extraneous matter, you have there the current sentiments of the Southern leaders. Soldiers! you who fought in the field to preserve the Union and its cause—is this what you expected as the result of all your sufferings and exposure when you faced death on

the battle-field and put down the rebellion? The contest at the ballot box in 1876 will undoubtedly be the most important that ever occurred in American history or the world. With the Confederate armies amnestied and breathing vengeance against the Republican party, what security is there, if disloyalty shall triumph, for the integrity of the Union; for the fulfillment of the pledges given by the nation; for the preservation of the national credit? The spirit of the Southern leaders to-day is a menace to liberty; a national danger; and can be met only by that spirit of patriotic resistance which will call every man to the polls to do his duty as a citizen, and cast a vote for the Republican party so overwhelming in its magnitude as will render the disloyal Democratic element in the country, North and South, utterly hopeless, and turn its insolent vauntings for blood against itself. The Republican party is national. It is the party out of which the Nation sprung. It is the party whose preservation has become a necessity for the preservation of the integrity of the Union.

## THOSE ENORMOUS EXPENSES.

Notwithstanding all the howling about the corruption of the Republican party, it is a demonstrable fact that the expenses, deducting those which appertain exclusively to the war, are less per head than they were under the Democratic administration of James Buchanan.

The following figures, in round numbers, for the year ended June 30, 1875, tell their own story:

Annual expenses for 1858.....	\$82,000,000
Annual expenses for 1859.....	84,000,000
Annual expenses for 1860.....	77,000,000

\$243,000,000

Per year ..... 81,000,000

Expenses for 1875 ..... \$274,000,000

From which deduct interest on debt of Democratic war.....	\$103,000,000
Sinking fund appropriation.....	25,000,000
Pensions on account of war.....	29,000,000
Internal revenue expenses on account of war...	7,000,000
Refunding war taxes.....	1,500,000
War damages paid.....	4,000,000

12R

Printing bonds and notes and negotiating.....	\$2,000,000
Extra clerk hire caused by war.....	500,000
Interest on Pacific Railway bonds.....	4,000,000
	<u>176,000,000</u>
Currency.....	\$98,000,000
Difference between currency and gold on \$98,000,000, average.....	12,000,000
Per year.....	<u>\$86,000,000</u>

Democratic Expenses.—Population in 1860, 31,000,000; expenses, \$81,000,000; equal to \$2.61 per head.

Republican Expenses.—Population in 1875, 42,000,000; expenses, \$86,000,000; equal to \$2.05 per head.

This is allowing nothing on account of army expenses caused by mobs in the South, which grew out of the Democratic rebellion, nor anything for increase of army, caused solely by the rebellion, which amount to \$15,000,000. Let every Republican newspaper publish this exhibit, and keep it standing until the next election.

"ONE man in the right is a majority."

## WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES?

In this centennial year of our national existence the extraordinary spectacle is presented to the American people, in the Senate of the United States, by the submission to that august body of the following resolutions declaratory of the character of the Government under which they live. The views entertained and the positions taken by the distinguished Senators submitting these resolutions will, at a glance, be seen to be in extreme antagonism, calculated to astonish the enlightened world in this advanced period of our national history, as to the apparent uncertainty that seems to exist as to the character of our Government. In the Senate of the United States, December 15, 1875, Mr. Morton, of Indiana, submitted the following resolutions:

*"Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) That the people of the United States constitute a nation, and are one people in the sense of national unity.*

*"Resolved, That the Government of the United States is not a compact between the States, in their municipal and corporate character, but was formed by the people of the United States in their primary capacity; that the rights of the States are defined and guaranteed by the Constitution, and not by outside theory of State sovereignty; and that the rights of the States cannot be enlarged or diminished except by an amendment to the Constitution.*

*"Resolved, That the rights of the States have the same sanction and security in the Constitution as the rights and powers of the National Government, and that local domestic government by the States, within the limits of the Constitution, is an essential part of our free republican system.*

*"Resolved, That the doctrine that a State has the right to secede from the Union is inconsistent with the idea of nationality, is in conflict with the spirit and structure of the Constitution, and should be regarded as having been forever extinguished by the suppression of the rebellion."*

In the Senate of the United States, January 8, 1876, Mr. Whyte, of Maryland, submitted the following resolution:

*"Resolved by the Senate (the House concurring,) That the people of the several States acting in their highest sovereign capacity as free and independent States, adopted the Federal Constitution, and established a form of government in the nature of a confederated republic; and for the purpose of car-*

*rying into effect the object for which it was formed, delegated to that government certain rights, enumerated in said Constitution, but reserved to the States respectively, or to the people thereof, all the residuary powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the States."*

It is proposed now to review at some length the proceedings in the convention at Philadelphia, in 1787, which framed the Constitution of the United States, the proceedings in the State conventions, especially of Virginia and South Carolina, previous to its adoption, and of the speeches made and views entertained by the patriot fathers in those famous conventions; in order to see what light can be thrown over the very opposite positions taken in the above-cited resolutions, and to ascertain which doctrine is the true one according to the record made by the framers and adopters of the Constitution as it now stands—the organic law of the land.

Were it not that the resolutions of the prominent statesmen quoted above justify fully the attempt to make such a review for the purpose indicated, or in any way to moot the question of the character of the Government, the reviewer would scarcely have ventured on such ground without some apology for such temerity. Such an apology is however now unnecessary. But in 1872, and during the pendency of the political campaign in which the Republican and Democratic parties were contending for ascendancy, the writer of the present review wrote an address to the people of the South, advocating the re-election of General Grant, in which a brief essay on the character of the Government was published, and then the following apologetic remarks were made by way of preface for what he deemed at that time so bold a venture:

"In consideration of the fact that nearly a hundred years have elapsed since the establishment of our present General Government the above interrogatory (the same as at the head of this review) may seem to be, at first thought, a tacit confession of ignorance, and an inquiry of meaningless import. The character of this Government, it is true, should have been long since as familiar to every American citizen as the particular vocation with which he has wedded his exis-



tence. It has received interpretation and exposition from the most thorough scholars of governmental science, and delineation from statesmen and jurists more profound than those which have graced the annals of any other country or people. And yet in the midst of this refulgent light, lamentable as the fact may seem, ignorance of, or an unwillingness to abide by the form of government of the United States has cost the country, North and South, within the last eleven years, more than a half million of lives, and at a moderate estimate nearly ten thousand millions of property and treasure."

The following passages in that essay it is thought proper to quote in order to show the positions then taken upon the character of the Government under which we live, and also to show how fully those positions are in accord with the doctrine that will be advocated by the Senator from Indiana, and with the positions now taken in this review:

"The majority of the men who composed that convention (at Philadelphia) were fully alive to the importance of the occasion—had a full appreciation of the evils of the existing Government, and the necessary elements of one which ought to supplant it. We will not trace the action of the convention, space forbids, and its result stands to-day an exponent of the grandest organism of constitutional government that ever emanated from the mind of man. The prime evil of the Confederation, as will be remembered, was found in the fact that it dealt with the States and not with individuals; that it could recommend, but not enforce obedience from the people in their individual capacities, unless the States first assented. Seemingly to give a death-blow to this delusion in the outset the framers of the Constitution commenced it with the memorable words, "*We, the people*," in order to form a more perfect union, &c., not we, the States. The same idea pervades the entire instrument, namely, that our present Federal charter is not a compact of the States, but a creation absolute, distinct, separate, and unqualified *ab initio* of the people. It lives independent of all other authority, an absolute, indissoluble entity in itself, and not a compact of corporations, whereby, by the withdrawal of any one or more of them the edifice may be either demolished in proportion, or entirely dissolved.

"These mighty advocates of liberty and supporters of constitutional law from which we have drawn so freely to support this discussion walked in no uncertain path. They affirmed that the General Government was meant to be, and was to all intents and purposes an entity of itself, dependent upon no

power save the will of the people, and not to State corporations, for its acts, clothed with authority to enact and power to enforce law, which authority, moreover, could neither be abridged nor withdrawn. In assuming this position they merely followed the plainest, simplest, most fundamental rule of legal interpretation and construction. They sought the *intent* of the framers of this instrument, the causes which led to the formation of the convention for its production, and on the result of this research they took their position. The *intent* of the framers was found in the words, "*We, the people*." The causes which led to the formation of the convention were seen in the evils of the confederation hereinbefore explained, evils which sprung from a scheme of government entirely the opposite of our present Constitution, and which the National Convention at Philadelphia was called to dispel and destroy."

Throughout that essay upon Government the positions taken were in full accordance with those now taken by the honorable Senator from Indiana, and to support them reference was mainly had to great Southern authorities, avoiding Northern authorities nearly altogether, in view of the fact that the writer was addressing only the people of the South, and he deemed it proper to limit reference to that direction; because to their minds such reference to their direct patriotic fathers would have the most weight, and be the most conclusive upon the questions at issue.

In this review of the proceedings and acts of the Philadelphia convention, and of the State conventions during the time of framing and adopting the present Constitution of the United States, special attention will be given to the views and sentiments entertained by the great Southern statesmen on this momentous question—What is the Government of the United States?—in order to present in the most forcible manner for the serious consideration of the political leaders in the South who still advocate and strangely embrace "the political heresy" set forth in the resolution of the Senator from Maryland. Surely the views and opinions of these great patriots and statesmen, who rescued the people of this country from the feeble and inefficient government of the old Confederation, and who in their name, and acting as their delegates, framed

and adopted a constitution in the full capacity and power to protect their interests and welfare at home and abroad, should command and receive their full assent, and entire obedience to the Constitution as it was framed and designed by its great authors.

The convention at Philadelphia in 1787 adopted as a basis for, and preliminary to all after action the following resolution:

*“Resolved, That the articles of confederation ought to be so corrected and enlarged as to accomplish the objects proposed by their institution, namely, common defense, security of liberty, and general welfare.”*

All assented to the plain and self-evident proposition that the old Confederation was an utter failure for all purposes of good and stable government, and the work begun for the formation of a government of greater strength and stability under which the people might live in assured condition of peace, happiness, and prosperity.

Three prominent plans were brought forward, but of these but two were mainly taken into lengthened consideration and discussion, that of Mr. Hamilton, which provided for a Presidency during good behavior, being viewed as equivalent to a life tenure, was considered too extreme, and was soon laid aside. The two other plans, known as the Virginia and New Jersey plans, upon which it was proposed to frame a Constitution in the place of the old confederate league of States, which was sadly crumbling to pieces, were, after Mr. Hamilton's plan was thrown aside, alone under consideration and discussion.

The Virginia plan as brought forward by Mr. Edmund Randolph, one of the most distinguished and able of Southern statesmen, was, after long continued discussion by the very eminent statesmen then assembled in convention, adopted, and upon it was framed the present Constitution of the United States. That plan, showing its authors to have been profoundly impressed in the sad lesson of the past, and the necessity of securing to the people a government strong and stable enough to guarantee their happiness and welfare, is as follows, as contained in three propositions:

1. “That a Union of the States merely Fed-

eral will not accomplish the objects proposed by the articles of confederation, namely, common defense, security of liberty, and general welfare.

2. “That no treaty or treaties among the whole or part of the States, as individual sovereignties, would be sufficient.

3. “*That a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary.*” (See Madison Papers, Vol. 5, of Elliott's Debates.)

It is not deemed necessary to cite at length the New Jersey plan submitted to the convention by Mr. Patterson, as it will suffice to note the difference between it and the Virginia plan as described by Mr. Wilson in convention, June 16, 1787, on the points suggestive by the subject-matter of this review, which are as follows:

“Virginia plan proposes two branches of the legislative body.

“New Jersey plan proposes a single legislative body.

“Virginia plan—the legislative powers *to be derived from the people.*

“New Jersey plan—the same powers *to be derived from the States.*

“Virginia plan—the legislature can legislate on all national concerns.

“New Jersey plan—can only legislate on limited objects.

“Virginia plan—the national legislature to remove the executive by impeachment.

“New Jersey plan—removal of executive on application of a majority of the States.” (See Yates' Minutes of Secret Debates and Proceedings.)

Hence it will be seen that the Virginia plan was decidedly national, and for a strong, energetic government, and that the New Jersey plan was based on the State rights theory of government.

In convention, 29th of June, 1787, Mr. Madison remarked as follows:

“Some gentlemen are afraid that the plan (Virginia plan) is not sufficiently national; while others that it is too much so. If this point of representation was once well fixed we would come nearer to one another in sentiment. The necessity would then be discovered of circumscribing more effectually the State governments, and enlarging the bounds of the general government. Some contend that States are sovereign, *when in fact they are only political societies.* There is a gradation of power in all societies, from the lowest corporations to the highest sovereign. *The States never possessed the essential rights of sovereignty.* These were always vested in Congress. *Their voting as States in Congress*



is no evidence of sovereignty. The State of Maryland voted by counties; did this make the counties sovereign? The States at present are only great corporations, having the power of making by-laws, and these are effectual only if they are not contradictory to the general confederation. *The States ought to be placed under the control of the general government—at least as much so as they were formerly under the King and British Parliament.*" (See Madison Papers.)

Among others of those great men in the convention at Philadelphia who participated in the discussion upon the merits of the Virginia and New Jersey plans for a constitution was Mr. Gouverneur Morris, the peer of any or all of the eminent personages who sat there, who explained the distinction between a *federal* and a *national supreme* government, the former being, as he said, a mere compact resting on the good faith of the parties, the latter having a *compulsive* operation. He contended that in all communities there must be one supreme power, and one only.

Mr. Mason, (of Virginia,) observed, not only that the present confederation was deficient in *not providing for coercion and punishment* against delinquent States, but argued very cogently that punishment could not, in the nature of things, be executed on the States collectively, and, therefore, that such a government was necessary as *could directly operate on individuals*, and would punish those only whose guilt required it. (See Madison Papers.)

It was moved in committee of the whole by Mr. Read, and seconded by Mr. Pinckney, to postpone the third resolution (in Virginia plan) as offered by Mr. Randolph, viz: "That a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary, in order to take up the following, viz: *Resolved*, That in order to carry into execution the *design of the States* in forming this convention, and to accomplish the objects proposed by the Confederation, a more effectual government, consisting of a legislative, executive, and judiciary, ought to be established."

The motion to postpone Mr. Randolph's third resolution for this purpose was lost.

On the question then as moved by Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, on said third res-

olution it was resolved in committee of the whole, "that a *national government* ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary," the vote being as follows:

Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina—ayes 6. Connecticut—no 1. (New York divided, Colonel Hamilton voting aye, and Mr. Yates no)

(See Madison Papers.)

Mr. Dickerson, in convention, happily compared the proposed national system to the great planetary system, in which the States were the planets, and the general government the sun around which they revolved in the spheres, and in the manner presented by the great Creator—their creator being the sovereign people of the United States.

Mr. Madison said: "In a word, to recur to the illustrations borrowed from the planetary system, the prerogative of the general government (its control over the States) is the great pervading principle that must control the centrifugal tendency of the States, which without it will continually fly out of their proper orbits, and destroy the order and harmony of the political system."

How fearfully this apprehension or prophecy has been realized and fulfilled, it will be but necessary to refer to the mad action of the Southern States in 1861 in flying out of their proper orbits, and seceding from the common Union.

Mr. Madison (at page 264 Madison Papers) said: "Whenever there is danger of attack there ought to be given a constitutional power of defense. But he contended that the States were divided into different interests, not by the difference in size, but by other circumstances; the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves. It lay between the Northern and Southern, and if any defensive powers were necessary, it ought to be given to these two interests."

Mr. Madison, in reply to certain State rights members remarked: "That he was of opinion, in the first place, that there was less danger of encroachment from the General Government than from the State govern-



ments; and in the second place, that the mischief from encroachments would be less fatal if made by the former than if made by the latter." "All the examples, (he continued) of other confederacies prove the greater tendency, in such systems, to anarchy than to tyranny; to a disobedience of the members, than usurpations of the federal head. Our own experience had fully illustrated this tendency." Alas! if Mr. Madison had lived to witness the suicidal acts of the Southern States in their late rebellion he would have dwelt with far greater force on what our experience had illustrated as to the tendency of the members to disobedience, ending with the inauguration of a long and bloody war upon the federal head.

The constitution for the United States of America having been framed on the plan submitted by Mr. Edmund Randolph, or, as it was more commonly called and known, the Virginia plan, in which it will be borne in mind that the third resolution thereof declared "that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary," it was referred, in due and solemn form, to the conventions of the several States for ratification by the people, through their delegates chosen to represent them in convention.

Its character was well and fully understood by every State convention, as the subsequent discussion in every convention fully shows. There was no mistake whatever upon this head. It was as fully and openly demonstrated to their view as the sun at noonday that the government to be established under the Constitution was to be a national government, consisting of "a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

Upon the subject of ratification of the Constitution by the Legislatures of the States or by conventions of the people Mr. Madison remarked:

"He considered it best to require conventions; among other reasons for this, that the powers given to the General Government, being taken from the State governments, the legislatures would be more disinclined than conventions composed, in part at least, of other men; and if disinclined they could devise modes apparently promoting, but really thwarting the ratification. The difficulty in Maryland was no greater than in other States

where no mode of change was pointed out, and all officers were under oath to support it. *The people were, in fact, the fountain of all power, and by resorting to them all difficulties were got over. They could alter constitutions as they pleased.*"

It is a matter of curious interest at this day to look back to the proceedings in the great Philadelphia convention, and observe the extraordinary fact (among other remarkable incidents showing sectional views) that the objections and opposition to a national government, such as was proposed to be formed on the Virginia plan, arose, mainly, from the delegates to the convention representing Northern and Eastern States; and that Southern members, particularly from Virginia and South Carolina, warmly and steadfastly espoused and advocated the national feature, and were thorough for a national government. In the South Carolina convention General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, than whom there was not a statesman in all the South, even among the greatest of those eminently distinguished characters, who figured in the exciting movements of that day, a superior, and who was a delegate from that State, in the Philadelphia convention made, on the 18th day of January, 1788, the following remarkable speech:

"This admirable manifesto, (referring to the Declaration of Independence,) which for importance of matter and elegance of composition stands unrivaled, sufficiently confutes the honorable gentleman's (Pierce Butler) doctrine of the individual sovereignty and independence of the several States."

"In that Declaration (he further remarked) the several States are not even enumerated, but after reciting in nervous language, and with convincing arguments, our right to independence, and the tyranny which compelled us to assert it, the declaration is made in the following words: 'We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.' " And further he says: "The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several States were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed the Declaration; the several States are not even mentioned by name

in any part of it, as if it was intended to impress the maxim on America that our freedom and independence arose from our union, and that without it we could neither be free nor independent. Let us, then, consider all attempts to weaken this union by maintaining that each State is separately and individually independent, as a *species of political heresy which may bring on us the most serious distresses.*"

Had General Pinckney lived to the day of secession of the Southern States he would have had his worst fears and apprehensions more than realized.

In close and immediate accord with the views entertained by the patriotic Pinckney upon the subject of State sovereignty, it will be interesting to read the following passage, quoted from that eminently learned jurist, Judge Story, in his Commentaries on the Constitution. Commenting on the authority by which the Constitution was made, he states:

"It was not an act done by the State governments then organized, nor by persons chosen by them. It was emphatically the act of the *whole people* of the United Colonies, by the instrumentality of their representatives, chosen for that, among other purposes. It was not an act competent to the State governments, or any of them as organized under their charter, to adopt. Those charters neither contemplated the case, nor provided for it. It was an act of original inherent sovereignty by the people themselves, resulting from their right to change the form of government, and to institute a new government whenever necessary for their safety and happiness. So the Declaration of Independence treats it. No State had presumed of itself, to form a new government, or to provide for the exigencies of the times, without consulting Congress on the subject; and when they acted it was in pursuance of the recommendation of Congress. It was, therefore, the achievement of the whole for the benefit of the whole. *The people of the United Colonies made the United Colonies free and independent States*, and absolved them from the allegiance to the British Crown. The Declaration of Independence has accordingly always been treated as an act of paramount and sovereign authority, complete and perfect *per se*, and *ipso facto* working an entire dissolution of all political connection with, and allegiance to Great Britain; and this not merely as a practical fact, but in a legal and

constitutional view of the matter by courts of justice."

Thus looking back upon the evidence and authorities of the highest and most undoubted character, piled up so extensively in the foregoing review of the past political history of our country from the very foundation of governmental institutions, the writer may without the least apprehension of reasonable objection, or refutation of arguments and testimonies brought forward in support of the positions taken therein, conclude that the resolutions submitted in the Senate by the able and distinguished Senator from Indiana, the Honorable O. P. Morton, are based on, and are fully supported by the political and historical record of this country; and that we live under a stable, energetic National Government, as contra-distinguished from a loose structure of confederated States, built on "the political heresy" of State rights, and that if the latter system should unfortunately ever be carried into practical operation in the future it will surely bring on us, to use the prophetic language of General Pinckney, "the most serious distresses," and greater even than those the country has but lately suffered from the madness of the rebellious States of the South.

Upon these remarkable resolutions, as submitted to the Senate by the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Maryland, so entirely opposite as they are in the views presented therein with regard to the character of our Government, doubtless extensive discussions will arise in both houses of Congress; and these discussions will be of the greatest interest and consequence to the people of the United States, as they will necessarily present for their consideration and decision the views and opinions of the two great parties, the National Republican party and the States' Rights Democratic party, soon to be engaged in the great contest for the control of public affairs for the ensuing four years, and which will offer to the sovereign people of this country the grand opportunity of making known unmistakably their views and determinations as to the character of the Government under which they desire to live, and to hand down to their posterity.



## NOTES ON EUROPEAN TRAVEL.

[One of our contributors who has recently visited some portions of the Old World made brief notes of his observations, which he has written out for THE REPUBLIC.]

Crossing the Atlantic with the safety and comfort now afforded by several lines of steamships may well be regarded as among the greatest achievements of human skill and enterprise. Among the reflections that come first to an American traveller is the humiliating fact that the flag of the United States is scarcely seen on the ocean. It is under a foreign flag that he embarks, and risks the hazards of the voyage. It is no relief to remember, or to be told, that twenty-five years ago the finest steamers that crossed the Atlantic were American, and that the parsimony or lack of statesmanship in our Congress caused their withdrawal from that service. Liverpool is the port that greets the weary passenger after some ten days of ship life. This grand city has expended in improvements £300,000,000, or a sum which reduced (or rather inflated) to United States currency, nearly equals our national debt.

London, the capital city of Great Britain, can boast of even greater expenditures, not from its own coffers, but, by the British Parliament, from the revenues of the Kingdom. Quite recently in this way a splendid embankment to the Thames has been built at a cost of thirty millions of dollars. Will not Congress build the much needed embankment to the Potomac, which may be done at an expense of less than six millions of dollars? Parliament appropriates annually some \$300,000 for the care of the parks of London. No nation can afford to neglect its capital. The glory of London is in its parks and gardens. The latter are cultivated to the highest degree of art. Something is due to the climate of England, but in America we seem to make no approach to the magnificent and exquisite display of flowers to be seen in London. The parks, on the other hand, are left more in their natural state than the great parks of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago are. The question suggests itself whether too much present expense is not incurred in the *embellishment* of

our parks—whether more of it might not be left to posterity, and whether the money expended for ornamentation now might not be used for enlargement or additional parks. Let the present generation secure the amplest grounds in all our cities for parks, and dedicate them to the free use of the people. This seems to have been the policy in European cities.

The Houses of Parliament in London scarcely equal the Capitol in Washington, either in grandeur and beauty or in adaptation to the uses of legislative bodies. Visiting the Queen's stables (or *Mews*, as stables are called in London,) one is surprised at the great number of fine horses of every variety of use. Inquiring if the horses of the Prince of Wales are included in the number, we are answered in the negative, and told that the Queen's horses alone count two hundred and thirty, while the Prince has only ninety. Carriages in proportion are shown—some of marvelous cost and glitter. The Queen has declined to use the most gorgeous ones since the death of her husband, and rides in those of more modest pretensions—remarkable, however, for their plain solid expensive qualities.

The London post office is known everywhere for its illimitable capacity and for its exactitude of details, as well. The post office in Great Britain combines the telegraph service with its ordinary mail business. In England, and in Europe generally, you send your *telegrams* with a feeling of security and at half the cost charged by the great monopoly in the United States. Post offices in Great Britain are also savings banks, where the humble depositor can leave his money sure of its safety, and receive a moderate rate of interest. The people seem to second all the efforts of the Government to make the post office the greatest of public blessings. For instance, a door to a house, store, or office would as soon be found without a knob or a lock as without an aperture into which the almost hourly postman may drop a letter.

The Bank of England, or "The Bank," as it is called by London people, is an immense institution, interesting and familiar to the



civilized world. In going through it you are reminded more of the United States Treasury than of a large New York bank. The bills of the Bank are printed, numbered, and trimmed in the building, but the machinery for doing all this work seems quite inferior to that used in Washington. The Bank is not a Government institution, but a private corporation. It does the financial business of the Government, however, and thus has a *quasi* Government character. It originated in the necessities of the Government, and was first opened for business on New Year's day in 1695. In its vicinity are many other banks of great variety and of immense capital.

The policemen of London seem to be omnipresent, active, and vigilant. A stranger in the city has occasion to ask of them innumerable questions, some no doubt apparently quite silly, but he will uniformly get a polite and intelligent answer.

Newgate prison was shown to us, through-out, on a permit from the Lord Mayor. This prison is probably as well known as any feature of London. Newgate and Old Bailey are familiar to all story readers. When seen they present a very quiet appearance as if they were never known in history and drama. The prison is a model of order and cleanliness. It was the remark of American visitors that they had never been in a prison before in which not the slightest taint or smell in the air could be discovered.

"Bunhill fields" is the name of an old burying ground in London, which is interesting as containing the graves of John Bunyan, Isaac Watts, and Daniel Defoe. Appropriate monuments mark their resting places. Opposite to this grave-yard stands the church in which John Wesley preached, and in its yard lie buried John Wesley and Adam Clarke, the founders of Methodism. Marble monuments perpetuate their memories, and the old church bears the name of Wesley. Some distance from the graves of Wesley and Bunyan, in another inclosure, is a simple headstone, scarce two feet high, almost overgrown with grass, on which you may decipher the name of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism. It is not in accordance with the Quaker faith to erect memorials of the dead.

Nevertheless we could wish that one whose influence on the world was only second to Wesley's might have an equally honored grave.

There are three, at least, notable clergymen in London—Dean Stanley, James Martineau, and Spurgeon. The first we heard in Westminster Abbey, of which he is in charge. Receiving his appointment directly from the Queen he is independent of the Bishop or Archbishop. His well known liberality of sentiment does not, it seems, detract from the high esteem, or separate him from the intimate society, of her Majesty. James Martineau is remarkable alike for his piety and learning. In personal appearance and as an eloquent speaker he is the superior of Dean Stanley. In theology they do not greatly differ. Both are eminent pillars of the "Broad Church." Spurgeon, except for his notoriety and for the immense audience he attracts, does not deserve to be associated with Dean Stanley and Doctor Martineau. But he is one of the objects of interest to travelers, as Beecher is in this country. Intellectually Spurgeon is greatly the inferior of Beecher, and by no means his equal as an orator.

The Zoological Garden in London is not more attractive in its rare and large collection of animals than by its extent and beauty as a garden of plants and flowers. Hours may be spent here in pleasant recreation without looking at the animals. Long walks amid groves of trees, or by the side of small lakes, with the choicest refreshments at hand, accompanied often by excellent music, make the place delightful, aside from the enjoyment and instruction afforded by the great variety and wonderful specimens of zoology. In one of the lakes mentioned we saw two monster elephants bathing playfully like two Newfoundland dogs, often hid from sight under water, excepting perhaps their mysterious projecting trunks. Many of the animals on exhibition were derived from America by purchase, gift, or exchange.

A great many jokes are perpetrated at the expense of London weather. During our stay there the atmosphere was as clear and bright as it is usually in America. But most the year the sun, it is alleged, is hid by

clouds and fog. When Horace Greeley first visited London he wrote home to his friends who might purpose following him: "Take a good long look at the sun before you leave home." The Shah of Persia probably had a similar experience when he was in London. An Englishman said to him at dinner, "I am told some of your people in Persia worship the sun; is it true?" "Yes," he replied, "and you would too, in England, if you could see it."

Paris is a show city, and as such, it makes it pay. Millions of dollars are every year left in that beautiful city only because it is "a show city." Our own Washington has the possibilities of becoming such a city. But we must enlarge our conceptions of our destiny as a nation before we shall have a capital worthy of it. The tomb of Napoleon, in Paris, cost more than all the monuments and statues America has raised to Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton during the last century. Are Republics ungrateful?

The streets of Paris, so wide, so well graded and paved, (largely with asphalt,) and so clean, are monuments to the great engineer, Haussman, who under Louis Napoleon was the original "Boss Shepherd." Paris and Washington are renovated cities, examples of good taste and fearless enterprise.

A review by President McMahon of 30,000 French troops on Sunday in the *Bois de Boulogne* seemed a painful exhibition of their inferiority to either the British, German, or Italian soldiers. The diminutive size of the French is at once apparent, whether seen on parade or off duty in the street. Yet the chief glory of France has been military. Will not the brilliant intellects of the great empire hereafter be more devoted to science, literature, and art than to war, and its muscle find employment in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce rather than in human butchery?

Traveling by private carriage or by diligence in other parts of France, away from its large towns and cities, the perfection of the common roads and the splendid bridges across the most ordinary streams will arrest the attention of every American observer.

Neither American art or American litera-

ture has yet found much favor in Europe. In one of the galleries of modern works of art in Paris, with over 6,000 pieces on the catalogue, there were but two American pictures, one "The Surrender of Cornwallis," in which La Fayette is a prominent figure, the other a portrait of Caleb Cushing! In Kensington Museum, London, there are quite a number of Benjamin West's works, including his own portrait.

But, as a rule, among the myriads of pictures seen all over Europe, there are none by American artists, and but few of American subjects. The latter are generally landscapes—no battle pieces or portraits. On the bookshelves of Great Britain almost the only American author who finds a place is Longfellow. Mark Twain's humorous works have some circulation; but in the best English book stores only "Longfellow's Poems" represent the United States.

You enter Italy by the Mont Cenis tunnel, a work that proves the Italians first among civilized nations in works of internal improvement. When the tunnel was proposed the French government was invited to participate in its cost as it would in its benefits when completed. The imperial power hesitated, and betrayed a lack of faith in the feasibility of the project, venturing only to offer a contribution of 30 millions of francs *to be paid on the completion of the work*. It is needless to say that France had to pay the money. But the credit of the enterprise belongs to Italy. Now another and greater tunnel is being built at the St. Gothard Pass. This will bring to Italy the travel and trade of Germany, &c., as Mont Cenis does France, &c. The latter is nearly 8 miles long; the St. Gothard will be three miles longer.\*

The Italian army appears to be not inferior to any in Europe. The officers are gentlemen—men of education, and from the best families in Italy. The rank and file are well formed, taller than the French, but not so large as the English. The Italian soldier is remarkable for his alertness—he generally marches on the "double quick." The officers and men are well uniformed, their clothes are of good quality, and well fitting;

\* The Hoosac tunnel is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  miles long.

another contrast to the French. It is also noticeable that the officers and employees of the railroads in Italy are a fine class of men, polite and intelligent. Of course the railroads are well conducted, regard being had to safety, comfort, and speed. Americans look with envy upon the spacious and well provided stations (or depots) on the roads, especially upon the excellent restaurants found in all the stations.

The railroad from Bologna to Florence is something marvelous in the way of engineering—48 tunnels occur in twice as many miles. In other places the steepest grades are surmounted by powerful locomotives. The character of the road requires a large number of employees of more than ordinary skill and prudence. Italy believes in the railroad as an educator. Superstition withers before it. We met here an agent of Pullman's palace and sleeping cars, who had just concluded a contract with the authorities to place on the roads those famous American cars. We may expect soon to see them all over Italy. We predict that the first ones will be named Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, &c. The "first class" cars now in use in Italy are quite splendid and comfortable. The Pullman, however, are expected to eclipse them.

Free schools abound in Italy, while monasteries are being suppressed. It is a notable fact that the Church of Rome has fewer privileges under the law in Italy than in the United States!

The interesting city of Florence is becoming a modern town under the rule of a progressive and enterprising Mayor. The new and magnificent boulevards, avenues, and streets springing into existence in various portions of the city, we are told, are his offspring. He seems to be of himself a "Board of Public Works." You cannot help feeling that it was a mistake to remove the seat of government from Florence to Rome. It is pleasant to find the United States well represented in this important city by a consul so well fitted to his office as Mr. J. Lorimer Graham.

Venice, the city of the sea, next to Rome, is the most remarkable of all the cities of Italy. But we are not writing a "guide

book," and so will not dwell on descriptions. During our brief stay in Venice we witnessed a grand ovation and serenade to the officers of the British fleet then in the port. It was indeed magnificent. The evidence it presented of a friendly feeling existing between the two diverse peoples, and the not less evident desire to cultivate pleasant relations in the future on both sides, are hopeful signs of a cordial union between two progressive free nations. The day when such union may be important is perhaps not distant. The secondary political position now occupied by the Pope must be as irksome to him as it is humiliating. Those nations which still maintain allegiance to the Pope are no less uneasy and dissatisfied than the Pope himself.

Milan, so widely celebrated for its grand Cathedral, is a lively city, wearing somewhat of an American aspect. Improvement was everywhere going forward in the town and a more business air pervaded its numerous stores than we had seen in Italy. Monks and priests seemed out of place here. Coming from Venice to Milan we passed through Verona, stopping there a few hours. The balcony from which Juliet saluted Romeo, and also her tomb, are pointed out to visitors. Ruins of the early centuries are to be seen in Verona, and its whole appearance is ancient. Milan seemed quite modern in contrast.

Lakes Como and Maggiore, too beautiful for description, are about thirty miles from Milan. The traveler who misses them is to be pitied. The lovely aristocratic villas dotting the shores of the lakes greatly enhance their natural charms.

Embarking at midnight in a *diligence* from Biasca, we proceed to cross the Alps by what is called "St. Gothard Pass." This is an adventure second only to crossing the Atlantic ocean. By terraces built at immense cost you rise up the mountain, nearly perpendicular, to a giddy height of 5,000 feet, descending, on the Swiss side a much more gradual declivity. The road on both sides of the mountain is all the way macadamized and in perfect order. The embankments and the coping on the borders of the road are of solid mason work and granite, not without architectural grace and style. The *diligences*



are the most substantial of vehicles, drawn up the steepest ascents by seven horses, whose intelligence and sagacity are the traveler's surest hopes of safety. The drivers are Jehus.

Entering Switzerland by Lake Lucerne, passing on the way through the scenes of William Tell's exploits, the American for the first time since he left home finds himself in a republic. He is unfavorably impressed, politically, by the number of soldiers he everywhere meets—a number quite disproportionate to the size of the country. The large hotels in Switzerland are kept by Germans. To what extent other kinds of business are absorbed by Germans we cannot say. The scenery of Switzerland, its lakes and mountains, can only fitly be described in poetry.\* In our own country we have all the glorious scenery, perhaps, of Switzerland, but it is separated by vast distances—from the White Mountains to the Yosemite Valley, from Niagara Falls and Lake George to the Mammoth Cave, while in Switzerland it is all in small compass. The myriads of people who resort here every year have given it the name of the "Play-ground of Christendom." Berne, its capital, is a quaint old city, but not devoid of beauty. Its public buildings are scarcely noticeable. To illustrate its name (Berne) it gives great attention to bears. A den of these animals has been for many years supported by the city as one of its institutions, and when the town clock strikes a procession of automaton bears passes out of the church tower. These exhibitions amuse the young people and even "children of a larger growth." Among the novel habits of the people of Switzerland we observed that their bank hours were 8 to 12 A. M. and 2 to 5 P. M. Similar hours are fixed for all government offices. Sand is universally used in writing instead of blotting paper. The railway cars of Switzerland resemble ours in that the entrance and exit are at the end and not at the side, as elsewhere in Europe. Only in the Swiss cars can the European railway conductor pass through his train inside the cars.

Geneva is the most important as it is the

handsomest town in Switzerland. It boasts of few "sights," but its natural beauties are scarcely equaled the world over.

Here Pere Hyacinthe attempted to raise a church, but it is equally impossible to sustain a "third party" in religion as it is in politics. Bonaparte said government must be Cossack or Republican—so in religion as the good Pere has found. Here Calvin three hundred years ago burnt Servetus because he was a Unitarian. The English mobbed Dr. Priestley two hundred years later, and he fled to America, on account of his religious sentiments, similar to those taught by Servetus. Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, and others became disciples of like faith. If General Washington had been a John Calvin he would have hanged Dr. Priestley before he disseminated his heresy.

The trade of Geneva, as all know, is chiefly in watches and jewelry. The American traveler salutes his country's flag flying above one of the largest buildings in Geneva. He learns that this immense building is the watch factory of Tiffany & Co., of New York. This firm is not only patriotic and enterprising, but humane and kind. The failure of Duncan, Sherman & Co. threw many tourists into financial distress. Their supply of money for daily expenses was suddenly shut off. In their dilemma they found in Tiffany & Co. friends indeed. Fortunately, a resumption took place in a few days on the part of Duncan, Sherman & Co., so far as "letters of credit" were concerned, relieving many an anxious traveler. Our consul at Geneva is Mr. C. H. Upton, formerly of Upton's Hill, Virginia. Being a loyal citizen, President Lincoln gave him the consulate at Geneva in 1863. Although an old man, he still fills the post as creditably as the meager salary will allow.

Geneva from being the fountain of Calvinism seems now to be the most *irreligious* city in Europe—we do not mean immoral—but a general neglect of the Sabbath and the forms of religion is noticeable, illustrating the swinging of the pendulum from one extreme to the other. The clergy in Geneva of the present day are largely Rationalistic, we were told by a Calvinist. The influence of Calvin on Geneva is more apparent in the city's

\*See Byron's *Childe Harold*, etc.

lack of ornament. His stern teachings discouraged art, so we find in Geneva no monuments or displays of architecture, no picture galleries, and but few statues.

Mont Blanc, although fifty miles distant, belongs to the scenery of Geneva. A day's ride by *diligence* takes you to the foot of the King of Mountains, whose wondrous beauty and sublimity balk all attempts at description. No European traveler can afford to miss Mont Blanc.

Basle is one of the most important towns in Switzerland. Its business is extensive. Its churches form a part of the history of the Reformation. Nevertheless it is a place of few attractions. Its "Munster" repays the traveler's attention, and the *Hotel Trois Roi* is a good resting place.

The falls of the Rhine, near by, seem tame to those who have seen Niagara or Trenton. From Basle, Basel, or Bale, to Baden-Baden, takes you into Germany. Baden-Baden is the Saratoga of Europe. The gambling which once made this delightful place so notorious has been wholly suppressed, and now it is simply a "watering place." As a summer resort it seems unrivaled. The hotels are solid structures of brick and stone, and are not expected to burn down every five years like our Saratoga hotels.

Probably a conflagration never occurred in Baden-Baden such as are so common at all American watering places. There are two interesting castles here, the "old" and the "new;" the latter was built in the fifteenth century, and is occupied at present by one of the royal family. Already you have seen enough German soldiers to be impressed by their manifest superiority to all other soldiers. This impression, it is true, is produced mainly by the officers whom you meet on the cars and at the hotels. Their athletic forms and gallant bearing are enhanced in appearance by the fine clothes with which they are uniformed.

Gambling having been abolished at Baden-Baden, music has become the predominant element in the life of the place. Out-door concerts of the highest order supplement the pleasant walks and drives which this charming place so abundantly affords.

Frankfort is the first city in Germany on

the way from Switzerland to the Rhine. This ancient and wealthy town is the birthplace of the Rothschilds, and the old house in which they first lived, and where they laid the foundations of their colossal wealth, still stands in the Hebrew part of the city.

Modern Frankfort has two delightful resorts for recreation and amusement—the Palm Garden and the Zoological Garden. Both places are enlivened by fine music, such as only Germans can produce. Here people of all ages and condition gather every evening or afternoon to listen to the exquisite music while partaking of refreshments.

Frankfort furnished the money to pay for the recent improvements of Washington. Some of her wealthiest bankers are Americans.

The Rhine, like the Alps, belongs to the realm of poetry. In its description both the poet and the artist have illustrated their genius. A pleasant steamboat (European steamboats are not always pleasant) at Biebrich takes the passengers who come from Frankfort at nine o'clock in the morning, arriving at Cologne before sunset. A day's acquaintance with this river of marvelous beauty and interest is all too brief. In America we have the Hudson and the northern Mississippi, scarcely less beautiful in their natural scenery, but they lack the ruins of ancient castles which attract the eye at every point on the Rhine—interesting of themselves and, still more, in their history. Legends and fairy tales, delightful to young and old, attach to almost every mile of this famous river. Nevertheless, we should be slow to admit that the Hudson is inferior to the Rhine.

Some hours of daylight remain after our arrival in Cologne. Its churches claim the earliest attention. The Cathedral, in size, ranks next to St. Peter's. It is somewhat larger than the Milan, being 511 feet long, 231 feet wide, and will be 520 feet high when the towers are completed. "The Church of Ursula" has a marvelous interest—here are exposed to the visitor the bones of the 11,000 virgins slain on the spot now occupied by the church, in the ninth century. These relics have been religiously preserved, and form a part of the decorations of the church—many of the

skulls have been embroidered with needle work by nuns. We not only saw these bones but handled them. The church also contains an immense and well executed picture of the massacre of the virgins. Rubens once lived in Cologne, and another church has one of his paintings on its walls. His house is still standing; in it died Maria de Medicis, whose heart is preserved in the Cathedral, which is remarkably rich in shrines and relics.

Cologne, the least interesting city we have seen, (aside of course from its grand Cathedral) has evidently no "Board of Public Works." Its streets and its sewers bear witness to this. The Cathedral, however, is sufficient to make the visitor forget the disagreeable features of the city.

Here is "a bridge of boats" across the Rhine nearly half a mile long. The boats are moored side by side, and a floor-way laid across them. Over this bridge there is an immense traffic both of carriages and pedestrians. It is also "a draw bridge," often called into play as such by the various craft plying the river. The "draw" is opened by five or six of the boats moving out of their places to the right and left, and closed as easily by the boats returning again to their moorings. From Cologne to Paris we pass through the thriving, busy little kingdom of Belgium. Immense chimneys pierce the sky all over its territory. Manufacturing of every species seems to be the occupation of the people.

Brussels, the capital of Belgium, is perhaps the *belle* city of the world. The residence of the Court, its buildings are all of an aristocratic order. Its streets are spacious and entirely clean, and its parks, beautiful and grand, challenge those of any other city. Indeed, among cities Brussels has no peer unless it be Paris, of which Brussels is sometimes said to be the *miniature*. Its beauty is not confined to the portions occupied by royalty and its court, but even in its suburbs it sustains all that has been claimed for it. The *Bois*, with its walks and drives of many miles, astonish and bewilder with their loveliness and extent. We were not surprised to find that our late Minister to Belgium, Mr. H. J. Sanford, still resides in Brussels a private citizen. Only a man of ample for-

tune, it is said, can afford to be Minister to Belgium. General Badeau, recently appointed to that position, has felt obliged to decline it.

Antwerp is remarkable for its fine churches, or rather for the rare pictures in the churches. Probably no other city, except Rome, contains such art treasures. Judging from the splendor of the churches—their bright, fresh appearance—we should say that Catholicism is flourishing in Antwerp, and not the decaying institution it seems in Italy and France. As a commercial city Antwerp is evidently prosperous and growing in importance. It was pleasant to see the American flag flying from so many masts in the harbor.

We entered Holland, or the Netherlands, at Rotterdam. Here quite a different order of civilization seems to prevail. The streets, the houses, the people all present a singular and unique appearance. But you soon come to like them all. Rotterdam, however, is much less interesting and agreeable than either The Hague or Amsterdam.

The Hague for quiet beauty rivals any city on the continent. Like Brussels it is a Court city still more exclusively. There are no manufactories, no trade and commerce to disturb the quiet of the place—its streets and squares are paragons of cleanliness—the dwellings out-do the rich quaker houses of Philadelphia, and the servants at the doors are pictures of neatness. Most of the small carts for distributing provisions of all kinds, at the houses, are drawn by dogs, women, or men, and partake of the same general character of neatness, order, and quiet that pervades the city. We wish we could speak with more emphasis of the magnificent park or *bois* which forms such a delightful part of The Hague. The music that is afforded almost every afternoon or evening in it is if possible more exquisite than that which makes the parks of Frankfort so famous.

An international Congress for the furtherance of the principle of arbitration in place of war was in session at The Hague during our visit, (August, 1875.) At a reception, given by the Queen in honor of the delegates, occasion was afforded to admire that accomplished and graceful sovereign. Able to speak nearly every language with entire



fluency she charmed her guests with her affability and grace. The first question she asked Judge Peabody, of the American delegation, was "Have they found Charley Ross?" The ancient buildings used by the two houses of Parliament are full of interesting associations, but architecturally do not add much to the beauty of the city. A museum of rare old paintings and a magnificent club house and some private galleries of art, easily accessible, are among the pleasant resorts of the traveler.

Amsterdam, the chief city of Holland, at once captivates the hearts of Americans especially. Its principal streets are two or three miles long and from two hundred to three hundred feet wide. In the center of the street generally runs a canal somewhat after the manner of Venice. This canal is not allowed to detract from the universal neatness and tidiness of the city. In Amsterdam, evidently, "cleanliness is next to godliness." The wealth, enterprise, and taste of its old merchants find a monument in the "town hall" built by them, in 1650. It cost what would now be equal to ten millions of dollars. Here again we find a large zoological garden, probably the finest in Europe. The beautiful park that adorns the city is private property. From Amsterdam we return to the less interesting city of Rotterdam, thence to Harwich by steamboat and to London by rail.

The people of Europe, men and women, old and young, we may here remark, drink wine or other stimulants habitually. An Englishman who lives one half the time in the United States told us that when he was in Boston or New York he had no relish for stimulants—rather repelled them. But when he was in Washington or Richmond his English appetite returned. So that "drinking" is in some degree a matter of climate. The people of Maine and Massachusetts may well be teetotalers and prohibitionists.

Tramways (as street railways are called) have been adopted in most of the cities of Europe to a moderate extent. London, at least, could lay down many more miles to great advantage, but there is yet some bigotry on the subject, or the omnibus

proprietors are more powerful than the public interest. This seems no less true in Paris. Generally tramways are used only in the suburbs of European cities. One in Geneva is peculiar in having three rails—the center to keep the car in place, the outside wheels having no flanges.

We left America on the 5th of May. It is now the middle of September and our passage home is engaged for the second of October. Scotland claims these few remaining days. Stopping a few hours only in the busy city of Manchester, a night at Carlisle, another at Melrose and its wonderful Abbey, wereached at mid-day the city of Edinburgh. As we become acquainted with its features it begins to assert itself as the handsomest city in Europe. We think of The Hague, of Brussels, and of Paris, and incline to dispute her claim. Before we leave we yield our partiality for two at least of Edinburgh's rivals and no longer marvel at the admiration travelers bestow on Scotland's truly beautiful city. The "old town" combined with the "new" heightens the interest of both—the one of the other.

The monument to Walter Scott in Edinburgh is not inferior to the more expensive "Albert Memorial" in London. It is a delight to the eye—so majestic and graceful. Another to Robert Burns, near Holyrood, is only less conspicuous and less costly. Monuments to Playfair and to Hume are noticeable. Much more interesting was one to the "Republican Martyrs of 1794" than the more pretentious column and statue erected in memory of a visit to the city by the King, which, with a statue of Pitt and another elegant fluted column surmounted by a statue of Lord Melville, grace the public squares.

The bank buildings in Edinburgh are magnificent edifices. Few public buildings in any city equal them. The same may be said of the banks in Glasgow. Good hotels, so necessary in every place, add to the pleasures of a stay in Edinburgh.

An unfinished monument to the soldiers of the Napoleonic wars on Calton hill\* is

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\* Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the half built monument to Washington that offends the eye at the American capital.

really more beautiful *incomplete* than if the original design were fully carried out.

The Castle, Holyrood Palace, monuments to Scott, Burns, Nelson, Dugald Stewart, and others already named, John Knox's house, the Church of St. Giles, the art gallery and museum, and many other interesting objects, give a pleasing variety to the "sights" of this picturesque city. We think there is no city in Europe that has so fine a cemetery as that we visited in the suburbs of Edinburgh. More poverty and intemperance are apparent in the "old town" than is seen in the cities on the continent. While jewelry and fancy stores line the streets of Paris, in Edinburgh book stores prevail. The old names of "The Edinburgh Review" and "Blackwood's Magazine" arrest the attention as we pass the publishing offices.

From Edinburgh to Stirling we pass through a fertile and beautiful country, not unlike New England. Sheep and fine cattle abound. Stirling is a point of great interest. Its castle, alone, repays a long journey. From its walls you may see the finest landscape in the realm. Added to its natural beauties are its historical associations. Here Wallace and Bruce achieved victories and suffered defeats. Bannockburn is in sight, and the river Forth, with its ancient bridges, is at your feet, and a rude monument to Wallace stands on the brow of a hill. The guide at the castle will tell you wonderful tales of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

From Stirling our route lies through the famous *Trosachs*, Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond, to Glasgow. Few more delightful excursions can be found in the world. Walter Scott's pen has made all the scenery of mountain and lake enchanting—of itself more lovely than words can fully describe. Only a day is occupied in the journey—too brief a time to satisfy even an indifferent spectator—sufficiently long, however, to travel by several modes of conveyance. From Callender by stage to and through the *Trosachs*, thence by steamboat across Loch Katrine to Stronachlachar, again by stage to Inversnaid, and again by steamboat through Loch Lomond to Balloch, and thence by rail to Glasgow. The current of travel along this route is great during the proper season—

Americans as usual contributing largely to it. The little steamers are adapted to their use, and much neater than boats generally are in Europe. The stages are comfortable—the fares high.

Travelers are constantly being surprised by unexpected objects of interest and beauty, however faithfully they may read their guide books. Glasgow surprised us by its elegance. What can be finer than George's square with its numerous statues and fountains! The Cathedral here is one of the most remarkable in Great Britain, in its size and in its good preservation. Protestant cathedrals, however, are much less attractive than the Catholic. The iconoclastic Puritans in the heat of the reformation stripped them of all ornament if they did not nearly demolish their very walls. In Glasgow we noticed advertisements in the newspapers reading—"Real Estate to be sold or leased." "Furniture to be sold at public roup." The Scotch dialect, when used in conversation, is often quite unintelligible to the born Yankee. Travelers, Americans at least, will, in looking for a good hotel, be attracted by the name "The Washington House," and they will not be disappointed in a trial.

Like the Wandering Jew we are impelled by time to "move on." Ayr, the birthplace of Robert Burns, is about 40 miles from Glasgow. The house in which Burns was born, the graves of his father, mother, and favorite sister, the old haunted kirk of Alloway, and the "brig of Doon" were all visited. Other scenes of Burns' poems lie all around. Near the "haunted kirk" is a fine and costly monument to the great poet. In it are preserved several interesting relics of his life and writings—among others the Bible he gave to his Mary when they "pledged their troth." The monument stands in a lovely garden of flowers about four miles from the town. Ayr and Ayrshire are inhabited by a thrifty people. Ayrshire cattle have a world-wide fame. A sheep fair was held in town during our stay. The great number of fine sheep we saw were not more interesting than the many well trained Shepherd's dogs accompanying their masters, and making a part of the fair.

Dumfries is about fifty miles from Ayr.

Here Burns died and was buried. The monument over his grave, like those at Ayr and Edinburgh, is worthy of Burns' memory, and honorable to his friends and admirers who erected it. Its interior, like the others also, is adorned with sculpture, tablets, and mementoes. Beneath it lie his own remains, those of several of his children, and of his wife, who lived thirty years after her husband's early death. At her request a poor letter-carrier was buried with the family, whose only claim was in having been one of Burns' chief boon companions in the poet's hilarious days. In the town you may visit the old haunts of Burns, and listen to many a tradition of his jolly but improvident life. Nothing of an intellectual phase is noticeable in Ayr or Dumfries. His inspiration came from nature alone. His democratic and liberal sentiments must have separated him from the aristocracy, who, to this day, regard him somewhat coldly.

Our visit to Scotland was during the

"equinoctial storm;" nevertheless, it was one of great enjoyment. The storm, however, at its height, prevented our crossing the channel to Belfast to see the Giant's Causeway, and to Dublin as we had intended. Instead, we devoted more time to Ayr and Dumfries—the scenes of Robert Burns' life and death. Thence we hurried to Liverpool to be ready for the "Bothnia." With one day to spare, we visited the old town of Chester, so famous for its ancient Roman wall, rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and still in good preservation. Roman baths used in A. D. 90, a Cathedral of the eleventh century, and other remains of the early centuries excite the wonder of the traveler. Crossing the river Dee we were in Wales. On this side of the river, opposite Chester, is the magnificent estate of the Duke of Westminster. The whole country is charming. Chester is 17 miles from Liverpool, connected by two railways, a part of which belongs to the first railroad built in England.

## SALARIES AND DEMAGOGISM.

It is of no use for public men to attempt to be other than they really are. Demagogism is a quality that will expose itself, and the tricks of the demagogue can be seen with half an eye in spite of the performer's attempt to pass them off as true statesmanship. At the Capitol, in this year of 1876, the most arrant set of tricksters that ever called themselves men are at work tinkering and bidding for votes. They imagine that they have discovered the high road to popularity. It is to cut down salaries. They are not going to look into the matter at all, and will ask no questions as to the effect it may have on the service, the right or the wrong in any given case, or whether they will allow fair pay for fair work, according to the times. The great Democratic party is to prove itself economical, and scorns to consider what is just, or what is best for the public service. The members think they can buy votes in this cheap way, as though the people had lost their senses, and become unable to distinguish between true statesmanship and shams.

The present rate of the salaries of the several classes of clerks was fixed by the Dem-

ocratic party in 1854. There was a Democratic Senate, House, and President, and a Democratic standing committee on "Retrenchment and Reform," and Mr. Adams, of Mississippi, a pronounced Democrat, was chairman. On the 16th of January, 1854, by direction of his committee, Mr. Adams introduced a bill to fix salaries of clerks at \$1,200 first-class, \$1,400 second-class, \$1,600 third-class, \$1,800 fourth-class. This Democratic bill for retrenchment and reform was read, and no Democrat objecting, it was ordered to a second reading.

On the 31st of January the bill came up again, and Mr. Adams for his Democratic committee made some interesting remarks, and asserted that clerks of a lower grade, if married, and having but a single child, could not, should the child die, pay the ordinary funeral expenses, but were dependent on the charity of their fellow-clerks for the means to give the dead a decent burial; and this was true.

The bill was passed in the Senate without any opposition, save a few remarks by John M. Clayton and John Bell, who contended that there should be some provision to pre-



vent the injustice of demanding the same amount and kind of service of a clerk of low salary that is required of one having a higher salary. Think of it! statesmen proposing to prevent injustice! The bill was approved by a Democratic President by the name of Frank Pierce, whose party fealty has never been called in question, and on the 22d of April it became a law to take effect on the first day of the previous July. Now, on this 22d day of April how did prices compare with to-day? Let us look at a few leading items retail:

	1854.	1876.
Beef, best cuts, per lb....	\$ 14	\$ 25
Flour, best family, bbl..	8.00	10.40
Coal, best, per ton.....	5.00	9.00
Pork, per lb.....	7½	15
Sugar, per lb.....	8	12
Milk, per qt.....	5	10
Coffee, per lb.....	19	45
Chickens, per pair.....	25 to 50c.	75c. to \$1.25
Rent, per month.....	\$20.00	
Same houses.....		45.00

It will be perceived that in the item of rent alone, which is nearly one-half the cost of living, there is an advance of more than 100 per cent., making a difference of just \$300 per annum, so that in point of fact a clerk of class one, salary \$1,200, only gets \$900, as compared with 1854, if we consider the advance in rent alone.

But let us compare the cost of living by items between the two periods. A man with a wife and two children, with economical habits and good health, can get on as follows, taking a moderate average, viz:

Rent per month, if lucky .....	\$45 00
General groceries.....	20 00
Meats at 92 lbs per month.....	23 00
Flour .....	3 00
Coal, and wood for kindling .....	10 00
Gas .....	3 00
Fruits and vegetables.....	4 00
Milk.....	4 00

112 00

Per annum.....\$1,344 00

Now add other necessary expenses:

Clothing for 4 persons \$100 each.....	\$400 00
Servant .....	120 00
Newspapers, magazines, and books..	20 00
Pew rent .....	30 00
Contributions, political and charitable	25 00
Repairs and depreciation of furniture	20 00
Doctors bills and medicine.....	20 00

Total annual.....1,979 00

In 1854 the figures were:

Rent per month, easy.....	\$20 00
Groceries .....	15 00
Meats .....	13 00
Flour .....	2 00
Coal .....	6 50
Gas .....	1 50
Fruits, and vegetables.....	2 00
Milk .....	2 00

62 00

Per annum.....\$744 00

Then add:

Servant.....	\$60 00
Clothing .....	300 00
Newspapers and books.....	20 00
Pew rent .....	20 00
Contributions .....	15 00
Repairs and depreciation furniture	20 00
Doctors bills and medicine .....	20 00

\$1,199 00

It will appear from these figures that in 1854 a clerk of class one, with a small family, could just make both ends meet, allowing nothing for amusements, or travel, or carriage hire, and other contingencies, and he could save nothing. It was this state of facts which led Mr. Adams to bring in his bill for an increase of salaries, and there was not demagogism enough in the whole of that Congress to oppose an objection to the measure, and it passed without opposition.

It will be perceived, also, that measured by what the pay will buy in necessary articles of living, the salary of \$2,000 in 1876 is only \$2 per annum more than the salary of a first-class clerk in 1854. Twelve hundred dollars in 1854 would purchase in necessary articles the same amount as \$1,979 will now.

It is a plain matter of arithmetic, and the conclusion is reached without allowing a penny for increased cost on account of a change in style of living. We take the identical quality of beef, pork, flour, &c., and the identical houses that were lived in then. The house which the writer hired for \$20 per month prior to the war is rented now at \$45, and called cheap at that, in spite of its increased years, and no improvements have been made on it either.

The members of Congress have discovered the changed figures as regards their own expenses, and raised their pay from \$3,000 to

\$5,000. This is right. The difference in the purchasing power of a dollar according to the prices given above is within a trifling fraction as three to five. The pay of the Democratic clerks of 1854 was equal, therefore, in the dollars now received by Republican clerks as follows :

1st class salary, 1854,	\$1,200;	in 1876 to	\$2,000
2nd " " "	1,400	" " "	2,333 $33\frac{1}{3}$
3rd " " "	1,600	" " "	2,666 $66\frac{2}{3}$
4th " " "	1,800	" " "	3,000

These latter are the salaries which clerks should receive now to make their pay what it was intended to be, and what in the judgment of the Democratic Congress of 1854 was right.

But instead of this the several classes of clerks actually receive but three-fifths the amount intended, and it is proposed to rob them still further to make capital for the Democratic party.

As compared with 1854, the salaries now are :

Chiefclks,	\$2,000;	purchasing power only	\$1,200
4th class,	1,800	" " "	1,080
3rd " "	1,600	" " "	960
2nd " "	1,400	" " "	840
1st " "	1,200	" " "	720

From these it is now proposed to take 10 per cent., and they will range :

Chief Clerks and Heads of Divisions....	\$1,000
Clerks of class four.....	900
Clerks of class three.....	800
Clerks of class two.....	700

Being exactly one half the value of the salaries as fixed by the Democrats for their appointees in 1854, and which will be absolutely less than the salaries paid at the commencement of this century.

The salaries of members of Congress in 1854 were \$3,000 per annum, and by the new bill they will be \$4,500, which is an increase of just one-half. If they desire economy, and it is right to deduct one-half from the salaries of poor clerks, why should not the deduction be made on the salaries of members as well? Does not economy demand it? Ah! Democratic Congressional patriotism stops just short of the Capitol, and number one must be cared for if times are hard, and people do demand economy. But the proposition shows the measure of statesmanship of the House majority, and how broad are the views of those men who have taken command of affairs for the time being.

## THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The essential business of Congress is at this date, (February 14th, 1876,) far behind. Since the close of the debate on amnesty the action in both houses has been desultory to a large degree. Proposals of all sorts are daily introduced, and either with or without discussion referred to the various standing committees. It is impracticable here to give more than a meager outline of the subjects which are brought to the attention of Congress—such as that of registered vessels; changes and corrections in the Revised Statutes; the disposition of public lands in the South and West; recovery of interest from the Pacific Railroad Company; the common unit of money with Great Britain; joint rules of the two Houses; the conduct of the Alaska Commercial Company; inquiry concerning officers of the army detailed for civil duty; concerning straw bids and the disposition of abandoned property; the purchase of silver coin; reform in the civil service; losses by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co.; Freedmen's

Saving and Trust Company; allegations in regard to the election of Senator George E. Spencer from the State of Alabama; proposal for improving the levees and the Mississippi basin; for agricultural schools; inquiry concerning the public printing for the War Department; concerning army officers employed in Washington, D. C.; concerning the appropriation for the Ute Indians, and their present hostile feeling; the memorial of women claiming the right of suffrage as citizens of the United States; a discussion on land entries, and the opportunities of fraud under the existing system; propositions and debates in regard to the finances; the currency and the banking system; proposed change of the law concerning third class mail matter; various memorials and propositions for internal improvements; a modification of the law prohibiting the sending of obscene matter through the mails; discussion on the decay of American commerce; a bill to prevent frauds in the prosecution of claims before the departments,

and to prohibit officers and employees of the Government acting as claim agents; memorial to regulate elections in Utah, and remedy their existing evils; proposition for the retirement of legal tenders; inquiry concerning the cash balances in the Treasury; concerning the award to the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos, and Colorado Railroad Company; proposal of more stringent legislation to suppress polygamy in Utah; protection to home industry; inquiry concerning the state of the Kansas Indian lands; proposed reorganization of the judiciary; removal of a Federal judge in Colorado; the payment of district judges for extra services; extension of time for the payment of Alabama claims; action of the Legislature of California proposing a change of our treaty with China so as to discourage the immigration of that people to our shores; inquiry concerning the management of the National Insane Asylum; concerning the work and disbursements of the New York post office building; proposal to prepare a form of government for the District of Columbia; proposed legislation for actions for damages to persons for injuries and death caused by the neglect or default of others; proposed repeal of the bankrupt law; proposed appropriation for the completion of the Washington monument; inquiry in regard to the affairs of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and many others of greater or less interest to the different sections of the country, to special classes, and to private individuals—when it is considered that each one, and all these subjects together, with many hundreds, and perhaps thousands more, consume the time of Congress, and then when the debates on topics of still wider national interest are added to the list some proximate conception may be formed of the labors imposed, and of the manner in which the two houses for the last month have been occupied.

#### PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

Mr. O'Brien, of the House, proposed the following amendment, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That the following be proposed to the several States as an amendment to the Constitution:*

#### ARTICLE XVI.

SECTION 1. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no minister or preacher of the gospel or of any religious creed or denomination shall hold any office of trust or emolument under the United States or under any State; nor shall any religious test be required as a qualification for any office or public trust in any State, or under the United States.

SEC. 2. No money received by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised nor lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations; nor shall any minister or preacher of the gospel or of any religious creed or denomination hold any office in connection with the public schools in any State, nor be eligible to any position of trust or emolument in connection with any institution, public or private, in any State or under the United States which shall be supported in whole or in part from any public fund.

#### CHANGE OF A RULE.

Mr. Cox reported the following change of a rule, which was adopted:

"That Rule No. 120 be so amended that all after the word 'progress' be stricken out and there be added the following:

"Nor shall any provision in any such bill or amendment thereto, changing existing law, be in order except such as, being germane to the subject-matter of the bill, shall trench expenditures."

In the discussion on this amendment the Democrats stated it to be their object to gain the power of decreasing the salaries of Government officials and employees. This on Monday, June 17th.

#### FURTHER PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

Mr. Springer of the House introduced the following, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee:

*Resolved, &c., That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, namely:*

#### ARTICLE.—

The Congress shall not pass any local or special laws in any of the following enumerated cases; that is to say, for—

Granting pensions, bounties, lands, or prize-money to any person or persons, or for correcting the records of any department of the Government in reference thereto;



Granting relief to any person or persons or authorizing the payment of any claim against the United States or any officer thereof, except appropriations in general laws to pay the judgments of courts or commissions authorized by law;

Remitting fines, penalties, or forfeitures, creating, increasing, or decreasing fees, percentage, or allowances of public officers during the term for which said officers are elected;

Granting to any corporation, association, or individual the right to lay down railroad tracks, or amending existing charters for such purpose by confirming any special or exclusive privilege upon such corporation or association which it does not already have;

Granting to any corporation, association, or individual any special or exclusive privilege, subsidy, immunity, or franchise whatever;

Regulating the practice of courts or conferring special jurisdiction in a particular case on any of the courts of the United States, or commissions for the auditing of claims against the same.

In all other cases where a general law can be made applicable no special law shall be enacted, and in all cases the courts may determine whether any special law could have been embraced in a general enactment.

Attempts were likewise made in the House to adopt some form of amendment to be proposed to the Legislatures of the States in regard to the term of the Presidential office, and the eligibility of ex-Presidents.

The Judiciary Committee reported Tuesday, February 1, 1876, a proposed article, making ex-Presidents ineligible. Mr. Frye of the minority of the Committee reported an amendment making the term six years, and any person who has held the office two years ineligible ever after. Mr. New called up his proposition on the same subject; after long debate, the whole subject was voted down. This on Wednesday, February 2, 1876.

#### EFFICIENCY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

Mr. Whitehouse moved the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service be, and is hereby, instructed to inquire into any abuses or frauds that may exist in the administration and execution of existing laws affecting any branches of the public service, with a view to ascertain what changes and reformation can be made so as to promote integrity, economy, and efficiency therein. And for the purpose of enabling said committee to fully comprehend the workings of said branches of the

public service the investigations of said committee may cover such period in the past as said committee may deem necessary for its own guidance or information, or for the protection of the public interest, in the exposing of frauds or abuses of any kind that may exist in any Department; and said committee are authorized to send for persons and papers, and report by bill or otherwise."

#### ARMY OFFICERS IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Banning moved the following, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be directed to furnish this House a statement of all pay and allowances of every kind and nature whatever made to officers of the Army stationed or on duty in this city of Washington since the 4th of March, 1869, giving in detail the name and rank of such officers, the duties performed, the length of time each has been stationed or on duty in this city, the annual pay and allowances of rent, fuel, quarters, forage, in value received by each, and the authority of law under which such allowances and pay have been made."

#### TEXAS PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

Mr. Holman, by unanimous consent, then submitted the following preamble and resolution; which were read, considered, and agreed to:

"Whereas it is alleged that improper and fraudulent means were resorted to to influence legislation in the passage of the act of Congress entitled 'An act to incorporate the Texas Pacific Railroad Company, and to aid in the construction of its road, and for other purposes,' approved March 3, 1871, by persons interested in the passage of said act, and that contracts and combinations were subsequently entered into by said company, in violation of the terms of said act: Therefore

*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into said allegations and report to the House whether improper or fraudulent means were resorted to in securing the passage of said act, and whether the said company has by its contracts and combinations with other companies done any other act which would justify the forfeiture of the franchises granted by said act, and to this end said committee may send for persons and papers."

Indeed, the Democratic majority of the House exhibit the most untiring zeal in making inquiry and examination into all subjects, great and small, upon the slightest suggestion, and from any quarter. There has been no lack of attention to anything of this sort which any party, however irrespon-

sible, may suggest; and the amount of work which these resolutions heap up on all hands is simply incalculable; of the time and expense thus consumed there is at present no visible end. But the Republicans do not object.

#### PACIFIC MAIL SUBSIDY.

Mr. Morrison submitted the following, which was adopted:

*"Resolved,* That the papers laid before this House by the Clerk thereof in relation to the testimony taken before the Committee of Ways and Means (of the Forty-third Congress) 'upon the question of the corrupt use of money to procure the passage of an act providing for an additional subsidy in the China mail service' be taken from the table and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions to inquire what action should be taken by the House in reference to the persons now members of this House charged with complicity in the said alleged corrupt use of money for the purpose aforesaid, or with giving false testimony in relation thereto, and report to the House."

This is simply carrying out the intention of the Forty-third Congress, whose Committee of Ways and Means went thoroughly into the exposure of this shameful fraud.

#### THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Senator Sherman moved to proceed to the consideration of a bill from the Finance Committee with an amendment, which was agreed to. This provides for the appointment by the President, with the consent of the Senate, of a commission of five persons, no one of whom shall hold other office under the General or any State Government, nor shall they be advocates of prohibitory legislation or total abstinence. The term of office shall not exceed one year. They shall investigate the liquor traffic and manufacture, having special reference to revenue and taxation, distinguishing as far as possible, in the conclusions they arrive at, between the effects produced by the use of distilled or spirituous liquors and the use of fermented or malt liquors, in their economic, criminal, moral, and scientific aspects, in connection with pauperism, crime, social vice, the public health, and general welfare of the people; and also as to the practical results of license and restrictive legislation, and the effect thereby produced upon the consumption of

such liquors; also to ascertain whether the evils of drunkenness have been increased or decreased, and whether public morals have been improved thereby. They shall also gather information and take testimony as to whether the evil of drunkenness exists to the same extent, or more so, in other civilized countries, and whether those foreign nations that are considered the most temperate in the use of stimulants are so through prohibitory laws; and also to what degree prohibitory legislation has affected the consumption and manufacture of malt and spirituous liquors in this country.

Section second provides for the employment of a secretary at a salary of \$2,500, while the entire expenses are not to exceed \$10,000. A report is to be made to Congress through the President.

Senator Boggy, of Missouri, opposed the passage of the bill. "Not," said he, "that I am an advocate of intemperance, for I am a temperance man myself to a certain extent." In this he spoke for the Democrats of the whole country. Let the hosts of temperance men take notice.

The next day (Tuesday, January 25, 1876,) the following action was had in the Senate:

Senator Christianity offered the following amendment to the amendment:

"For the purpose of obtaining information which may serve as a guide to the system of legislation best fitted for the District of Columbia, the several Territories of the United States, and other places subject to the legislation of Congress in reference to the question of revenue from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and fermented liquors, and the effect of the use of such liquors upon the morals and welfare of the people of such District, Territories, and places."

Which, after some discussion, was adopted by a vote of 28 to 18. The question was then on the passage of the bill as amended, and the result was announced—yeas 37, nays 20; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Booth, Boutwell, Bruce, Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Cameron, of Wisconsin, Christianity, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Dawes, Dorsey, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamilton, Hamlin, Harvey, Howe, Ingalls, Jones, of Nevada, Logan, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, of Maine, Morrill, of Vermont, Morton, Oglesby, Patterson, Sargent, Sherman, Spencer, West, Windom, Withers, and Wright—37.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Boggy, Caperton, Cooper, Davis, Dennis, Eaton, English, Gold-



thwaite, Gordon, Johnston, Jones, of Florida, Key, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Norwood, Ransom, Stevenson, and Wallace—20.

ABSENT—Messrs. Alcorn, Anthony, Burnside, Cockrell, Edmunds, Hitchcock, Kelly, Kernan, Merrimon, Randolph, Robertson, Saulsbury, Thurman, Wadleigh, and Whyte—15.

The friends of temperance throughout the country may as well know at this point who are their friends and who are their opponents in the Senate of the United States, and it would be well to keep an eye on the disposition of this bill in the House.\*

#### PUBLIC LANDS IN SOUTHERN STATES.

Senator Clayton proposed a repeal of that section of the revised statutes which lays restrictions on the disposition of the public lands in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida. It appears that by former legislation the citizens of these States, as well as others, are denied the provisions made in regard to the entry and purchase of other public lands, and the proposal now is to repeal these restrictions. It has occasioned considerable discussion in the Senate, which has brought out the fact that nine-tenths of these lands are unfit for agricultural purposes, but are chiefly valuable as timber lands; that they have been in the market for fifty years, and cannot find a purchaser at the low sum of 12½ cents per acre; that the repeal proposed would add wealth to the citizens of those States, furnish productive labor, increase immigration, and open up the means of supplying the vast prairie land to the west with lumber, while allowing those States the privilege of taxation on the lands which are now no benefit, but rather a hinderance to their development. It was objected, however, that this would suspend the benefits of the homestead law, and would rather increase than avoid the existing evils. Several amendments were proposed, and the question still remains undetermined in the Senate. This on Monday, February 14, 1876.

#### TREASURY ACCOUNTS.

On Wednesday, January 12, 1876, Senator

\*In this connection it may be a matter of interest likewise to know that the Honorable Mr. Ferry, the presiding officer of the Senate, has recently been chosen to the Presidency of the Congressional Temperance Society, and while his duties in the Senate will not permit him to give much time to the actual work, he has, with the fidelity of a true man, lent his moral support to the great cause, as he has also in his personal life and example.

Davis, of West Virginia, introduced a preamble and resolution, which declares there are discrepancies in the "statement of accounts, and provides that a committee of five be appointed to investigate the books and accounts of the Treasury Department with reference to the alleged discrepancies and alterations, and if any such be found to exist, to report the same and the extent and nature thereof, the years wherein they occur, by what authority made if any, the reasons that induced them, and generally such other and further information bearing upon the subject as to them may seem best, the committee to have power to send for persons and papers."

He endeavored to support his motion by a formidable array of figures and statements, to which Senator Boutwell, of Massachusetts, formerly Secretary of the Treasury, replied by a general explanation of the principles on which the business of that department is conducted, and by showing how it is that the apparent discrepancies are made to disappear. The subject was resumed January 18th, and Senator Boutwell proceeded to take up in order the items of difference alleged by Senator Davis. The first item of difference is \$3,271,970.43, which results from a difference in the manner of preparing the statements, and is clearly shown by a comparison of the accounts. The second item of difference alleged is \$1,437,925.02, which is explained by the different data included under the head of "net ordinary expenditures." The next item relates to pension expenditures, several amounts of which are given as discrepancies, but which are all explained by a reference to the different heads under which they were arranged for different years. The next item relates to errors in the statements of revenue collected, which were gross errors made by one of the accounting clerks, and were corrected in a subsequent report. Senator Boutwell made similar explanations in regard to the statements of the public debt from time to time. This was followed by a long and desultory debate by several Senators on the manner of keeping the books of the Treasury Department, and of making reports from them year by year to Congress and the country. The ques-



tion was at length raised as to the proper committee to which the subject should be referred. It was sent to the Finance Committee, whose chairman, Senator Sherman, on Wednesday, February 9, 1876, reported back the resolution of Senator Davis with an amendment, which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate, as soon as practicable, a statement of all balances due to the United States from public officers, and all such balances due from other parties no longer in the public service, distinguishing those whose accounts with the United States have been finally passed upon and adjudicated and those whose accounts are yet unsettled and subject to additional credits, stating the nature of such accounts and the credits in question; the statement to embrace the accounts of all such officers or parties in which such balances have respectively accrued since the 1st day of January, 1830, and to set forth respectively and as near as practicable the period over which the accounts extended and the amounts involved therein. Also to furnish a detailed statement of the stocks held by the United States in trust or to secure moneys paid, the character of such stocks, under what law or by what authority, and at what time the same were acquired, and on what amount thereof, if any, has there been a default in the payment of interest due thereon.

The matter is of no political significance whatever, and will prove one of the greatest labor and complication.

#### DISTRICT BONDS.

By former legislation it was provided that to meet the debts and liabilities of the District of Columbia 3.65 bonds should be issued. At the present time the bonds actually issued amount to between fourteen and fifteen millions of dollars. The interest was due on the bonds on the 1st of February, 1876. A joint resolution was introduced in the House upon this subject, and on Monday, January 24th, Mr. Buckner, from the District Committee, called up the question. The resolution directs the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to transfer to the Treasurer of the United States, for the payment of the interest due the 1st of February, 1876, on the bonds of said District issued

under the provisions of the act of Congress, approved June 20, 1874, entitled "An act for the government of the District of Columbia and for other purposes," the sum of \$222,797.50 from any unexpended appropriations heretofore made by Congress, or from any revenues derived by taxation on the property of said District of Columbia subject to the requisition of said Commissioners; provided that all certificates heretofore issued by the board of audit, including those converted into 3.65 bonds and those which have not been so converted, and all certificates hereafter to be issued by the board of audit, or their successors in office, shall not exceed in the aggregate the sum of \$15,000,000.

The proposition has provoked a long and detailed discussion, protracted through many days, and embracing a great variety of subjects more or less complicated with this indebtedness. The occasion has been improved by many members of both Houses to rake out from the rubbish of the past few years all the complaints and allegations against the action of the late District government, and of various prominent officials thereof. But still the fact remains that the debt stands, and the interest should be paid. The situation of the question before Congress at this date, (February 14th,) is that the resolution having passed the House, and then the Senate with some amendment, is now in the hands of a special joint committee with a view of harmonizing the conflicting elements, and meeting with honor the obligations of the Government.

#### THE MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATION.

This bill was taken up in the House for consideration, Wednesday, January 26, 1876. The bill proposes \$437,470; this being \$193,829 less than the estimates of the War Department. The debate upon this bill has called forth a large mass of figures and comparisons of accounts, and statements of expenditures for a series of years. The Democrats have lost no opportunity to slur the institution which before the rebellion was their own special pet, and from which so many rebel officers obtained the knowledge which they afterwards so shamefully misused. The Republicans, on the other hand,

have stood up manfully for the academy all through this running fire of debate. The bill with certain amendments passed the House January 31, 1876, being the first regular appropriation bill that has been sent to the Senate during the present session.

#### DIPLOMATIC APPROPRIATION BILL.

Tuesday, February 3, 1876, this bill was called up in the House. The innovations upon the past practice of the Government which the bill proposes may be summarized in two classes: first, a reduction in the number of diplomatic and consular representatives of our Government abroad; and second, a general reduction of salaries. It reduces the appropriation to \$922,847, being from that of last year a reduction of \$429,639. In the discussion which has followed some of the Democratic members (as Messrs. Springer and Cox) have taken occasion to be very witty at the expense of some of our foreign representatives; in fact, without apparently any regard to the time wasted and the delay of business, these gentlemen seem to imagine that a session of a Democratic House of Congress is mainly for the purpose of allowing them to prepare and deliver long fanfaronades and travesties of the Government and its officials for the amusement of their fellow members and the country. It is sometimes well to relax a little from the earnest work of life, and viewed in this light such buffoonery may be admissible. But it should not be vitiated by the bad taste of holding up to ridicule such a man as Minister Maynard as one who has been lifted up from "the material of effete Congressmen!" Mr. Cox should have remembered his own political history. The diplomatic bill is yet hanging in the House unfinished. This on February 14, 1876.

#### THE LOUISIANA SENATORS.

On Tuesday, January 18, 1876, Senator Thurman presented the credentials of Thomas B. Eustis, claiming to be Senator elect from the State of Louisiana, which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and on Friday, January 23, Senator Morton from that Committee reported:

"That in their opinion there is no vacancy in the office of Senator from the State of Louisiana, P. B. S. Pinchback having been

elected in January, 1873, to the term beginning on the 4th of March, 1873. They therefore recommend that the papers belonging to Mr. Eustis be laid upon the table."

This was contested by Senator Saulsbury, a member of the same committee, who claimed there was a vacancy in the Senatorship of that State. Prior to this, on March 5, 1875, Senator Morton had submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That P. B. S. Pinchback be admitted as a Senator from the State of Louisiana for the term of six years, beginning the 4th day of March, 1873."

It was now taken up as unfinished business, and the pending motion was on the amendment of Senator Edmunds that the word "not" be inserted before the word "admitted." On this motion Senator Morton made a long argument, referring to the documents of the case, and contending that the question should have been decided long ago, and that the Senate should now admit Mr. Pinchback to his seat. He quoted from a recent speech of Mr. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, made before the members of the Legislature of that State and a large assembly of the people.

The question was again brought up Monday, February 7, 1876, when Senator Thurman made a strong opposition to the admission of the claimant.

He, too, went largely into the old history of the case, citing from documents and reports, and contending that the claimant had no title to a seat in the Senate. Senator Howe replied with great force and effectiveness to the main positions taken on the other side. Here the question rests in the Senate. It ought to be decided at once. The credit of the Senate as well as justice to the claimant and the State is deeply involved in this matter.

#### EULOGIES ON THE DEAD.

The death of Hon. Mr. Starkweather, a member of the House from Connecticut, which occurred during the last month and after an illness of but a few days, has only been announced. No time is yet fixed for the addresses usual in Congress on these occasions.

The eulogies upon Vice President Wilson, both in the Senate and the House, were pronounced on Friday, January 21, 1876; in the Senate by Messrs. Boutwell, Hamlin, Cragin, Cameron, Stevenson, Ingalls, Bogy, Anthony,



and Dawes; in the House by Messrs. Warren, Harris, Kelley, Knott, Clymer, Kasson, Banks, Lynch, Hurlbut, Reagan, Joyce, Lawrence, Lapham, and Blair.

The eulogies on Senator Ferry, of Connecticut, were pronounced on Tuesday, February 8th, 1876; in the Senate, by Messrs. Eaton, Sargent, Bayard, Howe, Frelinghuysen, Thurman, Wadleigh, and English; and in the House by Messrs. Phelps, Seelye, and Garfield, who read the address of the late Hon. Mr. Starkweather, prepared for the occasion just before his own brief sickness and sudden death, which occurred on Sunday, February 6th, at Willard's Hotel. The Christian sentiment breathing through these orations are a proof of a deep-seated faith in the hearts of many of our public men respecting the sublime doctrine of our religion. If no other flower grows upon the grave of the distinguished dead, this would be enough almost to reconcile us to the great mystery.

#### THE CENTENNIAL APPROPRIATION.

This subject has given rise to the most able, eloquent, and lengthened debate which has marked the course of affairs in Congress since that on amnesty was closed. On Monday, January 17th, 1876, Mr. Hopkins, of the House, from the Committee on Appropriations, called up the following bill, and gave way to Mr. Hardenbergh, of New Jersey, who supported it by a sensible, straightforward speech, giving an account of the inception of the idea of the celebration, of its progress to the present time, and of the part which the Federal Government should take in it.

The preamble sets forth the preceding acts of Congress and of the Executive in relation to the Centennial, and the bill reads as follows:

*"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of \$1,500,000, to complete the Centennial buildings and other preparations, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of any moneys in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which shall be paid on the drafts of the president and treasurer of the Centennial board of finance, one-third immediately after the passage of this act, and the remainder in four equal monthly payments: Provided, That in the distribution of any*

moneys that may remain in the treasury of the Centennial board of finance after the payment of its debts, as provided for by the tenth section of the act of Congress, approved June 1, 1872, incorporating said Centennial board of finance, the appropriation hereinbefore made shall share equally with the holders of the said Centennial stock, and a like per centage thereon be paid into the United States Treasury as may be paid to the holders of the said stock: *Provided also, That the Government of the United States shall not, under any circumstances, be liable for any debt or obligation of the United States Centennial commission or the Centennial board of finance, or any payment in addition to the foregoing sum."*

Upon this proposition very many of the leading speakers and orators in both Houses have delivered addresses more or less elaborate. The humorists and wits of Congress have illustrated their peculiar talents, and the stoics and cynics have not lost their opportunity. The constitutional constructionists had full swing. Two amendments were adopted. Fifty speeches were made, some of them very eloquent, for and against. But the patriotism of the House prevailed, and the bill as amended was then adopted by the following vote, Tuesday, January 25, 1876:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, George A. Bagley, William H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Banning, Barnum, Bass, Blaine, Blair, Bliss, Bradley, William R. Brown, Burleigh, Cason, Caswell, Chapin, Chittenden, Clymer, Crapo, Crounse, Cutler, Danford, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbin, Dunnell, Eames, Egbert, Ellis, Farwell, Forney, Foster, Freeman, Frost, Frye, Garfield, Gause, Gibson, Hale, Hancock, Haralson, Hardenbergh, Benjamin W. Harris, Harrison, Hathorn, Abram S. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Hoge, Hopkins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlburt, Hyman, Jenks, Thomas L. Jones, Kasson, Kelley, Ketchum, King, Lamar, George M. Landers, Lane, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Levy, Luttrell, Edmund W. Mackey, Levi A. Mackey, Magoon, Maish, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Meade, Miller, Money, Monroe, Morey, Morgan, Mutchler, Nasb, Norton, O'Brien, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, William A. Phillips, Pierce, Piper, Plaisted, Platt, Powell, Pratt, Purman, Rainey, Randall, Reagan, John Reilly, John Robbins, William M. Robbins, Roberts, Miles Ross, Sobieski Ross, Sampson, Schleicher, Schumaker, Seelye, Sinnickson, Slemmons, Smalls, A. Herr Smith, Strait, Stowell, Swann, Tarbox, Teese, Thompson, Throckmorton, Martin I. Townsend, Washington Townsend, Van Vorhes, Waddell, Alexander S. Wallace, John W. Wallace, Walls, Ward, Warren, Erastus Wells, G. Wiley Wells, Wheeler, Whitehouse, Whiting, Wigginton, Andrew Williams, Alpheus S. Williams, Charles G. Williams, Wishire, Alan Wood, jr., Fernando Wood, Woodburn, Woodworth, and Young—146.

NAYS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, John H. Bagley, Jr., John H. Baker, Beebe, Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, John Young Brown, Buckner, Horatio C. Burchard, Samuel D.



Burchard, Cabell, John H. Caldwell, William P. Caldwell, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Cate, Caulfield, John B. Clark, of Kentucky, John B. Clark, jr., of Missouri, Cochrane, Collins, Conger, Cook, Cowan, Cox, Culberson, Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Evans, Faulkner, Felton, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, Andrew H. Hamilton, Henry R. Harris, John T. Harris, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Hendee, Henderson, Henkle, Hereford, Goldsmith W. Hewitt, Holman, Hooker, Hoskins, House, Hunton, Hurd, Frank Jones, Joyce, Kehr, Kimball, Knott, Franklin, Landers, Lewis, Lord, Lynde, McFarland, McMahon, Metcalf, Milliken, Mills, Morrison, Neal, New, Phelps, John F. Philips, Poppleton, Potter, Rea, Rice, Riddle, Robinson, Rusk, Savage, Sayler, Seales, Sheakley, Singleton, William E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stevenson, Stone, Terry, Thomas, Thornburgh, Tucker, Tufts, Turney, John L. Vance, Robert B. Vance, Waldron, Gilbert C. Walker, Walling, Walsh, Whitthorne, Wiike, Willard, James Williams, James D. Williams, William B. Williams, Willis, Benjamin Wilson, James Wilson, and Yeates—130.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Durand, Ely, Robert Hamilton, Hays, Lynch, Odell, Packer, Parsons, Payne, James B. Reilly, Starkweather, Charles C. B. Walker, White, and Jeremiah N. Williams—14.

The bill then went to the Senate, and was taken up Wednesday, February 9, 1876. Senator Morrill, of Maine, supported it by a strong speech. He showed a list of the nations that had been invited to the Exposition, numbering thirty-six—all having accepted the invitation, and had read the acceptance of Russia, Germany, and Turkey as specimens of the rest. A general debate then followed, during which Senator McCreery offered the following substitute:

"That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble, on the 4th of July next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, in their respective cities, towns, villages, neighborhoods, or wherever they may be, publicly to testify their joy at the one hundredth return of that auspicious day, by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayer and such religious exercises and ceremonies as may be appropriate to the occasion and sanctioned by their own consciences."

He followed it with a speech, to which Senator Cameron replied in the following happy strain:

"Mr. President, I am inclined to think that the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky is a good one. I like very well the idea of the Senator from Kentucky, and I will join with him if he will make his proposition a separate bill. I shall be very sorry to see any amendment to this bill, but I like the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky and I will vote for it as a separate bill; for I cannot imagine anything better than to

have a jollification in every village and in every town and in every city in this broad country on the coming Fourth of July. I will go down to Owensborough and see my friend in the blue-grass country, because I know he will treat me kindly and with great hospitality; he will treat me and everybody else who comes there with the hospitality which I well know will be extended by Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to every one who goes there. The celebration at Philadelphia is to last for months; but why can we not have a village celebration everywhere, and have the fiddle and have the old contradance—none of your new-fashioned affairs, but the old dance which was danced in the time of the Revolution? I would have all that revived. I would during the coming year revive everything that was jolly; and I would make everybody happy that I could make happy; and I am sure that the Senator from Kentucky would be the most delighted of all delighted people to see everybody around him happy. He is not opposed to this exhibition, I am sure, but he believes that the people ought to have another opportunity—all the people. He says that will cost nothing. Does it not cost a day's work lost by everybody who goes to have a country frolic? Let him look at home; every laborer who quits his workshop, every mechanic who leaves his place of business, every merchant who leaves his store to go and have a jollification loses a day's work surely, and the money he spends besides. Why should they not have an opportunity to do so if they desire it? I am for giving everybody that opportunity. But that does not argue that we shall not have a great international exhibition where everybody is coming, and where it is our duty to treat everybody well when he does come. It is no longer a question whether people will come; the invitations have gone out, and the host must be prepared to receive his guests, and receive them in such a way as will not only be creditable to him, but to those he invites to come and see him.

"I will only repeat, that after this bill is passed, as I trust it will be, if the Senator from Kentucky will bring up his proposition as a separate bill I will vote for it, and I will contribute out of my own purse to pay for part of it."

The substitute was rejected by a vote of 45 to 12—15 not voting.

Senator Edmunds made an ineffectual attempt to strike out the preamble of the bill.

Senator Eaton was violent against the appropriation, and in the course of his remarks said the whole debt of the American people

was at this time \$8,000,000,000, on which they had to pay an annual tax of \$730,000,000 for interest and other expenses. He disclaimed the meanness and dishonor imputed to the opposers of the bill. He was for paying not one single dollar!

On Friday, February 11th, 1876, the subject was again called up, and the discussion proceeded. More than thirty Senators spoke upon the question—some of the speeches being very elaborate and eloquent. Senator Edmunds proposed a division, and that the vote be taken on the body of the bill. The yeas and nays were ordered, and the result stood 41 to 15, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Boutwell, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Caperton, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Daves, Dennis, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamlin, Harvey, Hitchcock,

Ingalls, Jones of Florida, Jones of Nevada, Kelly, Logan, McDonald, McMillan, Maxey, Mitchell, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Oglesby, Paddock, Patterson, Randolph, Ransom, Robertson, Sargent, Spencer, Wallace, and Windom—41.

NAYS—Messrs. Alcorn, Cooper, Eaton, Goldthwaite, Hamilton, Howe, Kernan, Key, McCreery, Merrimon, Stevenson, Thurman, Wadleigh, Whyte, and Withers—15.

ABSENT—Messrs. Boggy, Booth, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Wisconsin, Christianity, Cockrell, Davis, English, Gordon, Johnston, Norwood, Saulsbury, Sherman, West, and Wright—16.

The preamble was then adopted by a vote of 37 to 16. So the bill was passed. This makes the contribution of the Government to the great celebration. The fine and glowing sentiments of the orators cannot be here reproduced. But the million and a half thus appropriated is after all the most eloquent speech of all. May the hopes of the nation not be disappointed!

## REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

### NATIONAL POLITICS.

...The situation remains unchanged, except in so far as the folly of the Confederate Democracy in and out of Congress continues to open the eyes of peaceful liberty-loving people. It is astonishing to observe how one crisis reproduces the features of another. In many respects the situation is the same as in 1856. Twenty years—1876—and we are again confronted by a pestilent political abstraction—State sovereignty, not State rights—being used as a potent instrumentality to mould and knit into re-cohering force a sectional South, led and directed by one party and one set of leaders. The real issue is still one of sovereignty; the real purpose is that of control. In some respects the present struggle for the success of the political abstraction which dominates the Democracy presents features more dangerous than did the contest of twenty years since and later. It is even more disintegrating in its essential characteristics. The doctrine of State sovereignty was then put forward as an excuse and argument for the defense of slavery, and as the ready cloak under which the subsequent slaveholders' rebellion was sustained and made respectable. The economic value as well as the political and administrative interests involved in the system of slavery were sufficient to lend great

coherence to politico-social theories which are essentially destructive and disintegrative in character. Slavery has passed away. It will never return—in the form of personal chattelism at least. But the doctrine of State sovereignty and primary State allegiance has been glorified by the civil war. It has become the symbol and shibboleth of a "Lost Cause," to be historically sustained by its renewal as a political agency, and to be vindicated only through its successful conquest of a controlling vantage ground *within* the Union. The civil war made the Union a visible national entity; the would-be rehabilitated sectional South seeks to return it to the position of a confederation; of a compact between "independent" States, having, according to the Lamar theory, sovereign power only in its relations to foreign nations, delegated and limited powers derived, not from the whole PEOPLE, but from the corporate polity or ideal body or bodies known as the STATE or States within the Federation. The Confederate Democracy have uncovered their hands too soon. They are caught in their own snare.

...The bold course pursued by the Republican minority in the House has compelled them to put their real purpose foremost, and to-day we see that the old tactics, the ancient purposes, are being pursued and intended.



Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, pronounces for Calhounism; Mr. Hill declares THE SOUTH, as a section, is here and to stay; and that its staying means a defiant determination to rule on that basis of sectionalism; Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, and Mr. Cox, of New York, show how subservient the Northern Democracy can again be to the behests of a sectional Democratic South; while Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, and R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, frankly avow in and out of Congress their own and associates desire to obtain control of the national or "Federal" purse, (as they would prefer to call it,) to rebuild the fortunes of the South, by means of subsidized railroads, Mississippi levees, and the many thousand war claims whose payment would require hundreds and perhaps thousands of millions of dollars, in order that thereby the South may become again the dominating power in or out of the Union. This bold and daring policy has been pursued by successive steps up to the present standpoint, when its comprehensive character and defiant attitude can be seen very clearly by whoso chooses to look through the mists of debate. There are several marked eras or steps in the progress of renewed Southern sectionalism. Foremost among these are the following:

The plans of murder, violence, and organized intimidation whereby the several Southern States have been dragooned into a renewed alliance with the Democracy. This system was first successfully organized and carried out in the States wherein the whites were a majority; and wherein, if let alone, there was every probability of a considerable body making cause with the colored voters. These States are Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, and, finally, Arkansas. The second step is seen in the outrages which were perpetrated in South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi—Florida may be left out for the present. In Alabama ballot-box stuffing supplemented intimidation. The periods in which this course was most thoroughly pursued were from 1838 to 1871, and again from the fall of 1873 to the close of 1875. The first was that of the Ku-Klux conspiracy; the second is that of the White League movement. There is an essential

difference between the two—at least in the pretenses put forth for their existence. The first was an avowed terrorism designed to destroy the fruits of the war and put the South into the hands of its old leaders. The second is cloaked by pretenses of reform and good government. Essentially the spirit and purposes are identical. The difference in effect consists in the fact that there has been an intervening period of defamation and slander.

Public opinion sustained and demanded repressive legislation in 1871 against the Ku-Klux conspirators. The astute Confederate leaders saw that they could not achieve their purpose of making a sectional unit of the South unless they turned the tide of feeling on the Southern situation in their favor, instead of allowing it to continue against them. They succeeded in part in doing this: First, by the nomination of Horace Greeley in 1862, and a formal abandonment of civil inequality as based upon the existence of color, race, or former condition. This "tub to the whale" accomplished the second fact—which was the securing of Northern friends in the press and on the forum. A brevet Democracy was created. The so-called "Liberal" press worked up the crusade against Southern Republicans by wholesale defamation and the perversion of effect for cause, where the writers and defamers were in part honest. Under the reaction thus produced, which was powerfully aided (through the same unjudicial journalism) by the honest efforts of Republicans to get rid of and correct abuses which had grown up as a natural result of the war expansion and of the system of speculative operations that unsettles all values and removes from the minds of ambitious men the idea of productive toil and honest rendering of efforts before achieving substantial results.

... Under these two processes—organized intimidation and outrage at the South, combined with social ostracism—the Confederate Democracy have been enabled to break down Republicanism there, while the brevet Democracy of the North succeeded on their behalf in changing public opinion for a brief period; long enough, however, to enable the Democracy to carry several States, and elect



a majority of the House of Representatives. The same processes have enabled the White Leaguers to pretend to be the representatives of the tax-payers *vs.* the tax-eaters; of the plundered *vs.* the plunderers; of intelligence and public virtue *vs.* public vice and ignorance.

It is an impossibility, however, for such masquerading to be maintained, and intoxicated with what they really deem their approaching triumph, the Confederate Democracy have shown their plans too fully. The election of Mr. Kerr as speaker was the significant opening of the campaign. Mr. Randall had been a soldier early in the civil war on the Union side. He had voted for all war supplies. He represented as vigorously as is possible for a Democrat the idea of national unity. Mr. Kerr had been, on the other hand, an avowed sympathizer with the South. He was among the ablest and most untiring of the Bourbon leaders North while in Congress, from 1865-'6 to 1872-'3. He believes in and defends a sectional South, and as a corollary is in full sympathy with the policy by which two or three Northern States are to be carried, and control of the National Government thereby obtained at the coming Presidential election. Wisdom would have dictated an avoidance of the second step or steps in the movement. These were the attempt to reopen the Louisiana question; the debate on amnesty; and lastly, that revival of Calhounism which attended on the Centennial discussion. But it was not to be. The North has been or is being aroused to the trouble before it, and will, if it does not already, clearly see the danger of trusting the Union into the hands of those who have no faith in its vital characteristics, and no desire to see it live unless they can control its forces and policy.

...The situation resolves itself into an impossible struggle for control. There is no attempt made to conceal the Democratic belief that their party will carry every one of the former slave States, (including West Virginia,) except South Carolina. To do so is to organize violence sufficiently extensive and vigorous enough as to insure that the 20,000 Republican majority in Louisiana, the 35,000 in Mississippi, the 10,000 in Ala-

bama, the 9,000 in North Carolina, and the 3,000 or more in Florida shall be overcome. One method of doing this is to cripple the Administration in all the avenues looking to the enforcement of order, the working of the courts, and the execution of the laws—revenue, justice, or otherwise. Hence the cry for ‘reform and retrenchment.’ It can be readily seen that if the former slave States can be White Leagued into a united Democratic vote, that it will not take many Northern States to insure a Democratic and sectional triumph, and make the Confederate Democracy masters of the next Presidency, and the administration under it. The problem is a simple one. The sixteen States that were formerly slave territory give 138 votes in the electoral college. The twenty-two (including Colorado) which embrace the free Territory cast in all 231 electoral votes. Therefore, 185 votes are necessary for a choice. The Southern vote, if cast solid, would need 47 Northern votes to elect their Presidential ticket. These votes they expect to obtain from Indiana, (15,) New York, (35,) Connecticut, (6;) in all 56 votes. By leaving out South Carolina, (seven votes,) they would still have two majority. They also believe in their ability to lose Florida and Louisiana, (12 votes,) and to carry New Jersey and Oregon at least, in addition to those named. But the fact that needs remembrance is not only the possibility, but the probability, from this stand point, of their ability to carry 131 electoral votes solid from the States formerly slave-holding and rebel, and in which the doctrines of sectionalism and State sovereignty have their chief abiding place. Should this be so, the campaign will turn on the three States of Indiana, New York, and Connecticut, whose fifty-six votes will decide whether or not there shall be a continuance of national progress and security, or a bitter and revolutionary reaction likely to end only in another outbreak. Perhaps this is the real design.

...The country, the intelligence of the masses, as well as the great interests that are to be affected by such a result are not likely to remain idle in the presence of an emergency which threatens to open such a

very Pandora box of evils as this. The way to defeat it is to arouse a combative and patriotic public opinion. For the first time in its history the South is sensitive to this power. The good-will of the loyal people must be actively brought to bear upon those who are struggling to create and build up the new order which free labor and equity in law and rights demand. The stern indignation that has before been evoked must be re-aroused to repress the disorder and violence that has so long existed, and threatens to break out again with renewed power.

## STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

...On the 22d of February State conven-

tions will be held at Indianapolis, (Ind.,) Chicago, (Ill.,) and Madison, (Wis.,) Delegates will be nominated for the National Convention, as well as declarations of principles, &c., made for party purpose. The probability now is that the Indiana delegation will be instructed to present Senator Morton's honored name as their choice for President. Illinois will offer the name of the gallant John A. Logan, while Wisconsin now seems likely to instruct for the Hon. James G. Blaine, the sagacious and able Republican leader in the House of Representatives. Indiana and Illinois Republicans are preparing for a very vigorous campaign.

## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

## THE EXECUTIVE.

## GENERAL GRANT'S RECEPTION.

The President's third evening reception will be held on Tuesday evening, February 22d, from 8 to 10 o'clock.

## VICE CONSULS.

The President has recognized Augustus Norton as vice consul of Uruguay for New York, and William Lamb as vice consul of Sweden and Norway at Norfolk.

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

## STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The recapitulation of the statement of the public debt of the United States for the month of January, 1876, is as follows:

Debt bearing interest in coin:	
Bonds at 6 per cent.....	\$1,012,721,850 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	687,884,750 00
	<u>\$1,700,606,600 00</u>

Debt bearing interest in lawful money:	
Navy pension fund at 3 per cent,	\$14,000,000 00
Debt on which interest has	
ceased since maturity.....	9,269,760 26

Debt bearing no interest:	
Old demand and legal-tender	
notes.....	\$371,341,607 50
Certificates of deposit.....	40,600,000 00
Fractional currency.....	45,864,382 16
Coin certificates.....	34,601,400 00
	<u>\$492,410,389 66</u>

Total debt.....	\$2,216,286,749 92
Interest.....	<u>\$28,140,231 33</u>

Total debt, principal and interest.....	<u>\$2,244,426,981 25</u>
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Cash in Treasury:	
Coin.....	\$73,601,361 41
Currency.....	11,992,580 04
Special deposit held for redemption of certificates of deposit as provided by law.....	40,600,000 00
	<u>\$125,193,941 45</u>

Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
February 1, 1876.....	\$2,118,233,039 80
Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
January 1, 1876.....	<u>2,119,832,195 27</u>

Decrease of debt during the past month.....	<u>\$1,599,155 47</u>
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Decrease of debt since June 30, '75,	<u>\$10,455,636 52</u>
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Bonds issued to the Pacific Railway Companies, interest payable in lawful money—Principal outstanding, \$64,623,512.00; interest accrued and not yet paid, \$323,117.56; interest paid by the United States, \$30,141,513.06; interest repaid by transportation of mails, etc., \$6,669,033.76; balance of interest paid by the United States, \$23,472,479.20.

## THE REDEMPTION AGENCY.

The average amount of national bank notes received for redemption and legal tenders returned is now about \$1,000,000 a day. The bulk of the receipts are of notes fit for circulation. These are sent back to the banks of issue as soon as assorted. The clerks in the redemption bureau are now quite expert. The banks in large cities find it inconvenient to handle the large accumulations of bank notes, which do not count in the deposit reserves, and they like to exchange them at every opportunity for legal tenders, which are more desirable.

## TREASURY DECISIONS.

The Treasury Department has decided that sirup valued at from thirty-five to sixty cents per gallon and of a quality fit for table use, whether manufactured from sugar or molasses, is embraced in the codified tariff schedule "G" as assimilating in general appearance, quality, value, and the uses to which it is put, to sirup of sugar cane. Sirup of a lower grade, made from a residuum known to refiners as sugar-house molasses, should be classified as a-similating molasses.

## RATE OF DUTY ON GOODS WITHDRAWN.

Hereafter duties on goods withdrawn from warehouse, or for consumption under the privilege of the penal bond, previous to the date of a decision of the Treasury Department raising the rate of duty on similar goods, will be liquidated at the rate prescribed by the Department in any decision existing at the time of such withdrawal.



## TRANSPORTATION OF MERCHANDISE THROUGH CANADA.

Article 19 of the Regulations of March 30, 1875, Treasury Department, which requires that goods shipped from one point to another within the United States, partly by land and partly by water, shall be accompanied by a special manifest which shall be retained by the master of the vessel or conductor of the car, and shall accompany the merchandise throughout its entire trip until its return to the United States, is modified as follows, as regards shipments which may be divided during transit for convenience of transportation :

When merchandise transported by water is to be transferred to cars or other vehicles for transportation by land, if the transfer to the car or vehicle be not immediately made, the customs official supervising such transfer will retain the manifest accompanying the goods, and check the cargo into a storehouse, to be under customs lock or seal.

At the time of the loading of the merchandise on the cars or other vehicle a special manifest will be prepared for each car or vehicle, and certified, and forwarded therewith; and the quantity of goods loaded upon each car or vehicle will be indorsed on the original manifest arriving with the vessel, so that such manifest will show that the whole shipment has been forwarded. The original manifest will accompany the last shipment of the goods to their destination.

At the port of final destination in the United States, the inspecting officer will check off the portions of the invoice as they arrive upon the copy of the manifest forwarded by mail from the port of original departure, and, on arrival of the last portion, such copy will be compared with the original manifest arriving with the merchandise.

These regulations have been concurred in by the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

## ECONOMY IN TELEGRAM TOLLS.

Commissioner Pratt has issued a circular to collectors and other internal revenue officials prohibiting the use of the telegraph in communicating with the office when the mails will answer if letters are sent without any delay.

## WAR DEPARTMENT.

## CONFEDERATE WAR RECORDS.

The Secretary of War has written a letter to the Secretary of the Southern Historical Society at Richmond, regarding the existence of records of the late war, and to the incompleteness of the Confederate records in the War Department, as compared with those of the Federal Government, which is owing to the fact that the Department has only those of the former that were captured,

and the Secretary is gratified to learn of the disposition of certain parties holding Confederate records to place them at the disposal of the Department for use in a publication of the records of the war. The Department is anxious to receive every official report, letter, telegram, or order emanating from either side during the late war, and has no thought of discriminating in favor of one section or against another in their publication.

## ARTILLERY MANUAL.

General Order No. 3 from the Adjutant General's Office directs that the manual for serving and working heavy artillery, published in appendix No. 2 of the tenth edition of Lieutenant Colonel Roberts' 'Hand-book of Artillery,' be adopted for the United States army until a regular and more comprehensive system of instruction for siege and the sea-coast artillery has been authorized.

## NAVY DEPARTMENT.

## NAVAL NEWS.

The United States supply ship *Supply* is ordered from New York to proceed to Civita Vecchia, where she will receive on board the monument to be erected here to the memory of those in the naval service who fell in defense of the Union. Also such contributions as American artists wish to send to the Centennial exhibition. She will then proceed to Leghorn, to take on board contributions from artists in that section. On her way home she will touch at Tangier, in Morocco. No vessel will be sent to the north of Europe to receive articles for the exhibition. The *Supply* will probably reach Civita Vecchia in about thirty days, and will return to Philadelphia early in April.

## COST OF STEAM WAR VESSELS.

In answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives of January 5, the Secretary of the Navy has sent in a report of the chief of the bureau of construction, giving information with regard to the cost of building eight steam vessels of war authorized by the act of February 10, 1873. The statement is as follows: The *Adams*, 615 tons, \$331,509.72; built by contract; nearly ready for sea. *Enterprise*, 615 tons, \$306,205.01; built by contract; requiring outfits to be ready. *Essex*, 615 tons, \$324,906.52; built by the Government; nearly completed. *Alliance*, 615 tons, \$389,687.94; built by the Government; ready for the officers. *Ranger*, 541 tons, \$294,126.69; built by contract; requiring outfits. *Huron*, 541 tons, \$307,024.54; same as *Ranger*; in commission. *Alert*, 541 tons, \$307,139.13; same as *Ranger*; in commission. *Trenton*, 2,343 tons, \$801,499.84; hull built by the Government; receiving machinery. Total tons, 6,426. Total cost, \$3,062,101.39.



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Vol. VI.—No. 4.

APRIL, 1876.

Whole No. 38.

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# THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL, 1876.

No. 4.

## JENKS' BABY.

Ginx's baby cried so piteously in England that the English, in a moment of maudlin compassion, sent its father to the British Parliament. That baby was the ruin of its parent. It turned his head. He is to-day the butt of the House of Commons, where no progenitorial merit is tolerated unless it "hails" from Windsor Castle—or "*reigns*" there.

There is another Jenks, who is envious of his namesake's political renown. He is in the House of Representatives. He, too, has been brought to bed of a baby. He calls it a Statement. Appended to it is the "testimony" of the men on whom he relies to prove that, as the Southerners say, he has a "sure-enough baby this time." This Jenks, too, has had his head turned. Turned to the rebels—in wooing mood. Will they kindly consent to make him their tool? That is his high ambition. To secure this favor he is ready to throw suspicions of fraud on honest and loyal men, who are honestly, and in a loyal spirit, doing their duty to the honest and loyal men who were wounded in driving back the rebels whose smiles cravenly he craves.

Leaving the Confederates, who *created* our vast pension list, who sent three hundred and sixty thousand of our soldiers into untimely graves, to do as they please with, to use or to abuse this their willing vassal, it becomes a public duty to arraign him as a bearer of false witless against the faithful servants of the Government which they so earnestly sought to destroy.

Mr. Jenks' statement is No 93 of the House Miscellaneous Documents. The reader who is in possession of it should carefully

compare it line by line with this review. For the author is a man of such exact, extensive, and explicit misinformation that an exposure, to be effective, should follow every sentence of his essay on "The Transfer of the Pension Bureau to the War Department." Necessarily the answer must be longer than the charges, for his report is a sort of Leibig's Essence of Errors. It is a compact sample of every form of misstatement—by misconception, by direct assertion of what is not correct, and by ingenious indirection and implication.

I. His first misstatement is by the implication that the accounts of the Pension Bureau are not carefully kept. He says:

"\$2,885,189 are claimed to be paid on arrears of pensions granted during the year, of which no separate account is kept."

"*Claimed to be!*" That is, it is probable that this amount is not correct—that the officers of the Bureau misrepresent the sum total, or embezzle it, or so complicate the accounts with others that it is impossible to discover any fraud—if there is fraud. It shows looseness of administration. That is the inference. What are the facts?

The truth is that arrears of pensions are not "separate accounts" by the very nature of them. When a pension is granted it dates back to the period prescribed by law. The first payment to the pensioner includes the total amount that he is entitled to from the date of his pension, precisely as if the payments had been regularly made each quarter, during the whole of the time. The payments of these arrearages, that is to say, are made in the same way, the accounts are kept in the same way, and all the business is

conducted in the same way—by the same officers, with the same forms and with the same vouchers given—as the regular quarterly payments of all pensions. To keep a separate account of arrearages would only involve addition clerical work, while no new security and no further checks would be given, and no practical purpose would be served by it.

II. Mr. Jenks' second point is ingeniously involved, and is a jesuitical example of indirection. He says:

"\$488,580 is paid to the officers and employees of the Bureau proper; \$40,000 to the detection of fraud; \$33,800 to contingencies in the office; \$57,291 to examining surgeons; \$427,257 to fifty-eight disbursing agencies; and \$23,278 for stationery and postage of the agencies, of which \$10,448 is for postage. While by law it is provided that a fee of twenty-five cents on each voucher shall be in full compensation for all services, including postage, for mailing vouchers and checks, the amount of fees paid annually by the Government for those vouchers to the several agents is \$214,523."

This is masterly both in its indirection and misstatements, both in its sins of omission and commission. Let the reader note the effect of these statements in his own mind before reading the reply. A Democratic paper thus translates it:

"This item (of \$10,448) is outrageously large in view of the law which prescribes a fee of 25 cents on each voucher as full compensation for all services, including postages, for making vouchers and checks. But notwithstanding this provision of the law the agents charge postage, and the Government pays them in fees for these vouchers \$214,523 annually."

Now here is the impression left on the mind of any reader not familiar with the facts, that the Government is robbed out of three distinct amounts: 1st, \$10,448 for postage; 2d, of \$23,278 for stationery; and 3d, of \$214,523 for agencies every year. This was obviously the intention of Mr. Jenks in thus presenting the statements.

What is the truth?

The items for stationery and postage, "of which \$10,448 is for postage," are *not* on account of "vouchers and checks" mailed to pensioners, as Mr. Jenks could easily have ascertained, but are exclusively on account of the general correspondence and work of

the agencies outside and independent of the business of "mailing vouchers and checks." The Bureau has the charge of 234,821 pensioners, all of whom, from time to time, have more or less incidental correspondence with the agencies. The agencies also communicate regularly with the Commissioner of Pensions, with the Third Auditor, and with the Second Comptroller. Previous to the repeal of the franking privilege the official correspondence of the pension agents with the Government Departments passed through the mails free of postage. Now such correspondence involves a nominal charge for postage. That is, the Treasury is charged, and the Post Office Department is credited with \$10,448, and this postal account, it will be seen, is nominal rather than real. It costs the Government very little to carry this correspondence, because all the machinery of the post office must run whether there are many letters or none.

The postage of the agencies for mailing vouchers and checks is paid by the agencies—not by the Bureau; but exclusively from the fees allowed by law "for mailing vouchers and checks." Now, it is evident that the impression sought to be created is that the sum of \$214,523 is paid to the pension agents *in excess* of the amount authorized by law. The truth is, that it is \$67,262.20 *less* than the amount authorized by law. It would interest the reader to figure out this result—for no such result was ever before possible in America. No Democratic bureau ever spent less or took less than the law allowed. When salaries are due the Democrats are very loyal. They yield ready and full obedience to every statute that authorizes them to take money from the treasury.

There are 234,821 pensioners. They are paid quarterly. This involves the posting of four times that number of vouchers annually, and an equal number of checks, or 1,878,568 letters. The Revised Statutes (*Sec. 4782*) authorize the agents to collect, not 25 cents, but 30 cents for each voucher. Multiply 939,284 by 30 and the result is \$281,785.20; while the agencies charge the Government only \$214,523, or \$67,262.20 less than they are legally entitled to demand!

III. Without omitting a single word, the



next succeeding sentences of Mr. Jenks' statement are these :

"These officers of the pension service are 58 in number, who, by law, are entitled to an annual salary of not exceeding \$4,000 each, and by a subsequent enactment 25 cents for each voucher paid by them. Each of these agencies, on an average, costs the Government about \$7,700 annually, while several of the agents disburse less than the average salary. The income of many of these agencies exceeds \$10,000, and quite a number almost reach \$15,000, exclusive of contingencies."

No merchant ever heard of anybody paying a voucher; but Mr. Jenks, perhaps, has a wider knowledge of commercial transactions. But let that pass. Let us look at the separate misstatements of this passage:

"Several of the agencies disburse less than the average salary."

Does the reader observe how ingeniously constructed this sentence is? One would think that whereas the average salary is \$7,700, many of the agents received, at least, \$4,000 for disbursing less than that amount.

This is not only not true, but it is impossible.

All the money for pensions and salaries and allowances are sent to the pension agents, and their accounts are audited by the Treasury Department. They cannot retain amounts they are not entitled to, because they are disbursers and not collectors of public money. Indeed, they are not paid a salary at all; but [*Sec. 4781 Revised Statutes*] "two per centum on all disbursements made by them to pensioners." Here is the section:

"Sec. 4781. Agents for paying pensions shall receive two per centum on all disbursements made by them to pensioners. There shall be allowed, however, over and above such compensation, to every pension agent disbursing fifty thousand dollars annually, not exceeding five hundred dollars a year for clerk-hire, office-rent, and office expenses; to every agent disbursing one hundred thousand dollars annually, not exceeding seven hundred and fifty dollars a year; and for every fifty thousand dollars additional, not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars a year for like purposes. But in no case shall the aggregate amount of compensation to any one agent, paying both Army and Navy pensions, exceed four thousand dollars a year."

Now, unless the disbursements made by a

pension agent amount to \$200,000 he does not receive \$4,000, but only 2 per cent. on the amount actually disbursed—which for \$50,000 would be one thousand dollars, with \$500 added for clerk-hire, office-rent, and office expenses. If, on the other hand, he disbursed a million of dollars his compensation would be no more than \$4,000, with a small allowance for clerk hire and other contingencies. If, therefore, the nominal "income" of any pension agent is \$10,000 it represents, not compensation, but the fees allowed by law for preparing and mailing checks and vouchers—which is no more, or but little more, than the cost of postage, additional clerk-hire, and other expenses.

IV. Mr. Jenks, after thus raising a spectre by the old and black art of misstatement, thus, with wizard wisdom and face grave as the skull of Mr. Yorick, deceased, proceeds to explain how the dread phantom may be sent back to its sepulchre.

"By having the pensions paid from the Bureau this whole branch of the service, involving an expense of \$449,541, could be dispensed with without material detriment to the service, which, if we may judge by the past history of the Bureau, might easily be done without any increase of force; as since 1866 the force has been increased from 175 to 420 in 1875, exclusive of the disbursing agents, while the labors done by an inverse ratio has diminished in about the same proportion."

Before following the conjunctive Jenks, (who joins error to error as if afraid that each would fall if left unsupported,) into the discussion of the methods needed to secure exactness, which he opens in the last clause of this sentence, let us examine the preliminary error in this extract, and admit that "this whole branch of the service could be dispensed with, and without any great detriment to it." Why? Because the 58 agents and their clerks, or an equal number of officers, could be stationed in Washington, and the pensions could be transmitted through the Washington post office by money orders. But does not Mr. Jenks understand that there are two fatal, or at least Democratic objections to this system? Their dread names are—Centralization and Benjamin F. Butler! General Butler proposed that method, and it was rejected by Congress.

Observe : all the clerical force in the Pension Bureau in Washington is fully employed. The number of clerks should be doubled. Seventy thousand cases stand unadjudicated for want of force to examine them. Further on, Mr. Jenks says :

"Of the 70,000 applicants standing before this tribunal, hundreds, and perhaps thousands are now paupers, maintained at public charge, a standing monument of disgrace to the country which permits the wheels of justice to move so slowly."

It is even so. And the disgrace is one which Mr. Jenks now seeks to perpetuate by reducing the force under the pretext of reform. This charge will be pointed out again, and clinched, after examining a number of Mr. Jenks' other errors.

So, also, are all the pension agents kept busy, and many of them over-worked. Now, if these offices were abolished, their officers would have to come to Washington. It is only a question of locality. The work they do must be done by some one, and somewhere, and whether it shall be at Washington in one building, or in different cities, is simply a consideration of convenience.

But this is the new system of reform that Mr. Jenks has invented ; for he recommends it again in his plea for the transfer of the Bureau to the War Department.

V. Before examining his great plan of economy by taking money out of one pocket and putting it into another, it seems to be expedient to expose his additional preliminary misstatements. After the preceding question, not yet fully answered, he says :

"What should be an exact duplicate of the rolls kept at these agencies is now kept in the office of the Pension Bureau and in the office of the Third Auditor of the Treasury, thus involving triplicate labor, with no appreciable advantage to the Government or the pensioners."

This "duplication of the rolls" which so troubles the uninformed mind of Mr. Jenks is but the smallest portion of the necessary work of the financial department of the Pension Bureau. This branch of the service, which Mr. Jenks in his ignorance alike of the laws of his country and of the existing system of checks and balances devised for the security of public accounts, would peremptorily abolish upon the fictitious plea

of "economy," is established under the requirements of section 3622 of the Revised Statutes, as follows :

SECTION 3622. Every officer or agent of the United States who receives public money which he is not authorized to retain as salary, pay, or emoluments, shall render his accounts monthly. Such accounts, *with the vouchers necessary to the correct and prompt settlement thereof*, shall be sent by mail, or otherwise, *to the bureau to which they pertain*, within ten days after the expiration of each successive month, and *after examination there*, shall be *passed to the proper accounting officers of the Treasury* for settlement. \* \*

Without this "triplicate labor" there would be no guarantees against fraud or blunders. Does Mr. Jenks desire to remove checks in the hope that his party will succeed in the next election ?

VI. Mr. Jenks now moves up his artillery. He says ;

"In the Pension office in the year ending June 30, 1866, with a clerical force of 175, about 50,000 original cases, or their equivalent, were adjudicated, being an average of about 284 to each employe. During the year ending June 30, 1875, with a clerical force of about 420, about 12,800 original claims, or their equivalent, were granted—being an average of about 31 to each employe, while 66,000 original and about 7,000 increase claims are awaiting action."

Before noticing Mr. Jenks' statement of the cause of these evils, let the facts be examined, not in the light of partisan disingenuousness, but of the published Pension Bureau records.

In 1866, as he states, there were about 50,000 cases adjudicated. But he forgets to add that the war had then just ended, and that the requirements of the law were few and simple, and that the evidence was easily accessible. These cases were mostly for gunshot wounds, and very few papers were needed—one from the War office showing that the claimant was enrolled in the service; another from the Surgeon General's office showing that he was wounded in the service; and a third from an examining surgeon defining his present disability. It was easy for a clerk to dispose of several such cases every day, especially as nearly all the States had agencies in Washington, which furnished most of the evidence without the aid of the Bureau, or in co-operation with it.

Difficult and doubtful cases were pigeon-holed to await action, when the Bureau should have more time to make careful examinations. As time went on the laws became more exacting in their demands for evidence. The State agencies disappeared, and inadmissible claims multiplied to an extraordinary extent. Rigid examinations became necessary.

In 1875, it is true that only 12,800 original cases were *granted*; but (and here Mr. Jenks shows his disingenuousness) it is *also* true that *ten thousand* cases were *rejected*, each rejected case involving even more examination than an admitted case, and that upwards of 70,000 additional claims were examined, corresponded with, and passed through a greater or less number of the stages that the law requires as leading to a final adjudication.

In 1866 most of the cases consisted of three papers. Now, before a case is settled or *can be* adjudicated without danger of fraud, the evidence often accumulates until it would fill an octavo volume. As time goes by it becomes more and more difficult to obtain trustworthy evidence—for now come up the complicated questions of marriage and divorce, of the legitimacy and identity of children, of the qualifications and honesty of guardians, of the dependence of surviving relatives on the dead soldier's services when he enlisted, as well as the necessity of ascertaining the medical history of the volunteer before and after he entered the army. The laws require these facts to be known before a pension can be granted. In addition to all this new work it should be remembered that every case, from the first to the last, settled or unsettled, is under the charge of the Bureau; that deaths and other events are all the time changing the character of the settled cases, and require, therefore, constant watchfulness and work. From Mr. Jenks' statement it might be inferred that the 50,000 cases adjudicated in 1866 were settled in every way—that they were not adjudicated only, but that they needed no further care, nor superintendence, nor work. The truth is, that every case admitted, whatever its character, is an addition to the work to be done by the Bureau.

It should be remembered, also, that most of the evidence now demanded is wholly outside and independent of any papers to be found in any Department of the Government, and that it must be examined and tested by educated, skillful, and trustworthy men; while the voluminous and constantly increasing correspondence and the routine work of the Bureau take up the entire time of the lower class clerks and copyists, who constitute the numerical majority of the force in the offices.

VII. Mr. Jenks then states that the delays arise from the location of the Bureau and the mode of its administration. They arise from one cause only—the want of an adequate force in the Bureau. He recommends the transfer of the Bureau to the War Department, “the source from which the greater part of the evidence comes.” Now, to begin with, this is not the fact; and, in the second place, wherever the Bureau shall be situated, not a line of copying nor other work can be saved by any transfer of it. The “weight of the evidence on which each claim is or should be granted or rejected” is *not* to be found in the War Department or the Surgeon General's office at all; the questions now to be settled are not wholly military, but *chiefly* legal questions; and even if the Bureau was *in the same room* in the War Department in which the “rolls” and “records” are kept, the evidence required in *every* case would have to be copied just as much as if it were a thousand miles away, because every case must contain, *not* references to other papers, but the complete record in itself. There is no other plan even *possible*, with a list of over three hundred thousand cases on file. An hour's examination in the Bureau will convince any business man of this fact—at least any competent and honest man of affairs—that when Mr. Jenks asserted that “the duplicate labors now performed by the War Department and the Surgeon General's office can be avoided” *in any way*, he showed an ignorance of the methods absolutely necessary to “insure efficiency, integrity, and intelligence,” which was not only complete and exhaustive, but dishonorable and unworthy as well, because to make it he was led to charge fraud and in-



competency on men with personal and official records which need fear no comparison with his own or with those of any other member of either house of Congress.

VIII. Even the military records that are "mainly relied on" to grant a pension are not on file in the War Department, but those found in the pay-rolls that are kept in the Second Auditor's office in the *Treasury* Department! So that Mr. Jenks does not even know where the evidence exists. Shall the Pension Bureau be removed to the Treasury? His logic demands that course where it is confronted, not with his statements, but with the facts. Nay, more; after having been removed to the War Department because "pensions are military affairs," the Bureau should next be split in two, and one-half sent to the Navy Department because sailors are pensioners; then joined together again, and forwarded with care to the Treasury, because the chief military records are there,\* and because pensions are also financial affairs; and then again it should be transferred to the Department of Justice, because most of the questions to be decided require judicial examination. To satisfy Mr. Jenks it would be a bureau on wheels!

IX. Having shown that Mr. Jenks is a living encyclopedia of useless misinformation, it remains to prove that his remedies are as puerile as his statements are erroneous. The Department of the Interior was established to incorporate under one executive direction such bureaus as the Government needed which yet did not especially appertain to any of the older Departments. The Pension Bureau has relations with four Departments—War, Navy, Treasury, and Justice; but not one of them covers its whole field of work and inquiry, and not one of them is adapted by its organization to do the service that is needed for a proper discharge of the special duties that the rebellion created toward our disabled soldiers and their orphans and other dependants. If the Pension Bureau was attached to any other Department it would necessarily become an independent bureau, over which the head of the Department would have only a nominal supervision. Each of them is already large

enough or its machinery is too expensive. No one thinks of transferring it to the Department of Justice, and therefore objection need not be urged to such a proposition. Every one knows, who knows what our Government is—we do not say that Mr. Jenks is aware—that the Treasury Department is now too cumbersome, and has too many interests to control, to be available for the pension service.

How is it with the War and Navy Departments? Mr. Jenks states as one having authority and knowledge, that "The duplicate labor performed by the finance division of the Pension Bureau and the pension agencies can be done by the Paymaster's Department of the army with very little addition to its present force."

Having already shown that no duplicate labor can be saved in adjudicating claims by any transfer, it remains to consider whether the army paymasters could do the duties and avoid the expense of pension agencies. Army paymasters are now stationed chiefly at military posts on the frontier—far away, for the most part, from the residences of pensioners, who chiefly live in the States where there are few soldiers and rarely a regular garrison. The transfer of the duties of the pension agencies, therefore, would require the appointment of a large number of additional paymasters, who must perform their duties according to the methods of the War Department, which were not adopted for such a service, and are entirely unfitted for it. They are so little adapted, indeed, for this duty that the War Department itself does not employ them for the payment of bounties, but uses the Post Office Department for that purpose. It can be demonstrated that it would need at least one hundred and fifty new paymasters to fill the duties of the fifty-eight pension agencies, and that each paymaster would cost the country more money than the average compensation of the pension agents. Nor is this all. Paymasters are life appointments, whereas pension agents can be removed at any time.

Mr. Jenks could easily have ascertained these facts, and in all probability knows them. It is not ignorance nor a desire for reform that has urged this change. There is

too much method in the madness to justify a plea of political insanity. The purpose is twofold. By reducing the force of the Pension Bureau the arrearages will increase so much and so fast that the country, it is hoped, will one day be willing, in order to secure justice to its heroic wards, to add to the pension rolls the men who were wounded or otherwise disabled in fighting to destroy the Republic. This is the hidden purpose of this specious plan. Again, by appointing paymasters the Confederate Democracy hope, if they can carry the coming Presidential election, to appoint to life offices a large number of ex-rebel soldiers and their allies in the North. This is the plot. It is in truth an insidious attack on the loyal pension system.

X. Mr. Jenks by elaborately erroneous evidence having convicted the Bureau of inefficiency—to his own satisfaction—ventures, but this time gently, to accuse it of deliberate fraud. "In some instances, at least," he says, "fraud prevails." But when he begins to specify he confines himself to cases of alleged inefficiency, which arise, he says, "from the want of experience in the head and employees of the office consequent upon the Bureau being administered as a political one." He then says that with each Congress new appointments must be made—that the most experienced are discharged to make way for new ones.

Supposing that this allegation were true, —it is not true, but let that pass—does not Mr. Jenks know that the same reason would require him to remove all the Treasury, Department of Justice, Department of State, and Post Office employees to the War Department? For all these Departments—and all the State governments in the United States—are administered as "political" institutions. It happens to be the American system of Government. It may be bad—Austria, Russia, and other European nations may have wiser methods—but the people of this country prefer their own system, and Mr. Jenks will find that he cannot convince them that a permanent Bureauocracy is desirable. The army by its nature is organized on despotic principles, and therefore it is filled with officers having life appointments. But the

people would not tolerate this necessary evil to be made the rule in the civil departments.

Mr. Jenks states that a large number of discharges have been made since the 4th of March last, and, a few lines afterwards, complains that the number of clerks employed is larger than the law allows, and that they were not proportionally of the classes provided by law. Nothing will satisfy him. By increasing the number of lower-class clerks to hasten the adjudication of pending claims, (without thereby increasing the expense,) the Bureau, he asserts, has infringed on the law, and yet he depreciates the large and constantly augmenting number of arrearages! Again: the recent discharges have been mainly made by the present Secretary to improve the force—by the elimination of clerks who were reported to him as incompetent. But the changes are not chiefly attributable to the action of the heads of Bureaus or Departments. It requires business talent of a high order to be an efficient clerk, and many men who come well recommended and are otherwise able, prove incompetent when brought to the test. They must resign or be discharged. Others accept clerkships, and some find that they can command higher salaries in business, and leave the Bureau for that reason.

But how comes it that a Democrat should complain of rotation in office? What party first unfurled that banner? Who was it that declared the axiom that to the victor belongs the spoils? Why, it is a cardinal principle of Confederate Democracy. Who was it that turned out the crippled soldiers in the Capitol?

Mr. Jenks' illustrations of inefficiency are uncommonly ill-chosen. He solemnly declares, as if he had discovered a new outrage, that Mr. Atkinson confessed "with great frankness" that he had no experience whatever in the duties of Commissioner *prior* to his appointment. "Oh, my!" This is a novelty. What experience as a Congressman had Mr. Jenks himself *prior* to his election? What experience has any officer *prior* to his appointment? What experience had Captain Boynton as a swimmer before he went into the water? No man can have ex-

perience in an office before he is put in it. The question is, is he competent? Mr. Atkinson's evidence as brought out by Mr. Jenks shows that he *was* competent and did credit to the President's selection of him. As the one instance of Mr. Atkinson's incompetency Mr. Jenks says that he appointed Governor Furnas, of Nebraska, as a special detective. This is a cowardly mode of attack. It insinuates that Governor Furnas was not competent. Now, the truth is, that the ex-Governor has been one of the most efficient officers that the Bureau has ever commissioned. Mr. Jenks does not dare to deny this fact. The Commissioner, he says, turned off a number of skilled and experienced hands. The truth is, some were discharged for incompetency, and some resigned on account of the reduction of salaries, and that none were "turned off" without cause.

Mr. Jenks makes another general specification:

"The duties a number of others performed were very uncertain and ill-defined; but when they seemed as far as human observation could detect to be doing nothing, they would be found to have been detailed in

the secret service division of the Department."

This is false. This response may seem rude, but it represents the fact.

But Mr. Jenks gloats over the discovery that two clerks were employed for a short time by the Republican Congressional Committee. This offense consists in rendering political service to a party when in Government employment. There is a Scripture which saith "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye," and there is a member of Congress from Pennsylvania by whom it should be studied. He receives \$5,000 a year, payable monthly, for devoting his whole time to the service of the Republic. He goes home after the session is over, and then, like an honest man, does he study daily the questions that demand solution in Congress? No! he attends to his own private business, and renders partisan service for months and months:—but he draws his pay regularly once a month. This honest and consistent patriot is struck with horror on discovering that a \$1,200 clerk gave a part of his time to party service! The name of this saint in Congress is—JENKS!

## TREASON ON WHEELS.

BY JAMES REDPATH.

Now that the tumultuous shouts of indignation evoked by Mr. Davis have died away, will you permit me, an old abolitionist, to point out the vital issue which the old chief of the old South presented in his letter—an issue of transcendent national importance that has been entirely overshadowed by the transient personal question that was intertwined with it? I do not care to waste time nor to arouse angers by asking whether Mr. Davis was or was not responsible for the cruelties of the Confederate prisons. That is a question for the courts and for history. The action of our Government announced the verdict of "*not proven*." As a loyal citizen, I abide by it.

JEFFERSON DAVIS AS A REPRESENTATIVE MAN.

But Mr. Davis in his famous letter showed that he is still entitled to be regarded as the representative of the present ruling power of the South; for in it he reaffirms the doctrine of State Sovereignty, which Wade

Hampton, Ben Hill, Robert Toombs, James B. Gordon, Beverly Tucker, Alexander H. Stephens, and nearly all the other conspicuous Southern politicians have reannounced as their creed since their disabilities have been removed. The offense of Mr. Davis hath this extent—no more.

Mr. Davis wrote:

"The Southern people have forgotten much—have forgiven much of the wrongs they bore. If it be less so among the invaders it is but another example of the rule that the wrong-doer is less able to forgive than he who has suffered causeless wrong."

This language is not insolent, but logical. For, if the theory of State Sovereignty is right then the Nation *was* an invader and the South *was* wronged. Now, this theory rules the Southern States to-day, and it must control our Government if the Democracy succeed in electing the next President of the United States.

It sits personified in the Speaker's chair—



for State Sovereignty has no abler advocate than Mr. Kerr, nor has any disciple of that school a longer or more consistent record.

Mr. Davis, therefore, Mr. Toombs, and (less offensive in his history and his method, but equally emphatic in his utterances,) Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, each of them distinguished men, have rendered the southern people and the Nation a greater service than they dreamed of rendering, when they came out from behind the thick curtain of silence that had been drawn around them.

#### THE TRANSCENDENT ISSUE.

For, we must clearly comprehend the Southern creed, not in hostility, but calmly, before a peace that will endure can be made between the Nation and the recently insurrectionary States. And this is the transcendent issue of our age. Economy, the currency, the tariff, swift and trans-continental transit; taxation of ecclesiastical real estate, and even the greater issue of compulsory education—all these are important questions, worthy of the most serious study by every citizen; but they are, each and all of them, dwarfed into Lilliputian disputes in the presence of the Southern problem. These other issues will pass away and be forgotten, and leave little sign; but the future character of the whole country will be influenced for good or evil, as we shall deal to-day with Southern political pretensions.

This issue takes precedence, also, because it involves the question of the power to decide the others.

#### "THE SOUTH" AS A POLITICAL POWER.

Talk with any honest and intelligent Southern voter, not of the ruling class, and you will find that the term "the South" is used at one time to denote the political organization (so potent once, and now struggling to reassert itself) which was called the Slave Power, and again as indicating the People of the South—for the most part the white people of the South—who were the greatest dupes and victims of that Power. Here lies the error which is the spring of all the misapprehensions that still retard the progress of reconciliation.

"The South," as a compact political power, founded on the theory of State Sovereignty—sometimes euphemized as State rights—

should have neither courtesy nor mercy shown to it. It deserves neither pity nor respect. Its history is one long lurid chronicle of crime. It extended, defended, and "sanctified" slavery with all its wrongs and cruelties, and its rebellion. It forbade free speech, a free press, free schools in every Southern State. It kept four millions of blacks, not in slavery only, but in the most brutish ignorance. It grasped all the rich lands, and drove the poor whites to the sand hills. It kept them also in mental and social degradation. It ostracised and drove out—often murdered, oftener outraged—every Northern man who visited the South, unless he was a sycophant or a convert to their system. *That* "South" cursed both the North and the South. *That* South the Nation crushed. *That* South, now again rearing its hydra head, must be driven back into its cave at any cost. Half a million of men lie mouldering in their graves to-day by reason of the insurrection of this malevolent power. It has had human sacrifices enough.

#### THE SOUTH AS A PEOPLE.

The Southern People have the sympathy, and respect, and hearty good-will of the Nation. There is no hatred of them. They are entitled to our kindest consideration—but, the Spirit of Gush willing or not willing, no further and no longer than they disclaim the pretensions of the politicians who are trying to re-establish the power that has already drenched their land in blood. Northern men must be treated as well when they chose to live in the Southern States as Southern men are treated when they settle in the North. This is not the fact to-day. Nowhere in the North is the Southern man or woman, whatever may be his or her creed, treated with discourtesy, or socially ostracised. The statement is often made that Northern men *are* well treated in the South "when they don't interfere in politics." But the American who does not take an active part in politics, when there are vital principles in dispute, is unworthy of his citizenship, and voluntarily degrades himself when he permits any social power to keep him from the exercise of the franchise.

In fighting the evil power that calls itself "the South" we are fighting the battle of

the People of the South, black and white, and rich and poor; for all classes of men there, and all conditions of society, have been cursed by it, and are blighted by it to-day. No rapid or real progress is possible in that regal region of our national domain until it is rescued from the grasp of this political despotism. "Intimidation," which, as Mr. Toombs boasted, keeps the negro from voting, is equally effective in keeping the capitalist from investing.

Bearing in mind the broad distinction between the South as a political power and the Southern people as citizens of the Nation—not a distinction only, but an antagonism as well—let us examine the first great project for translating the creed of "the South" into facts, as presented by the cautious, conservative and scholarly Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, and see how he re-echoes, in more decent and decorous phrase, the sentiments of Hill and Toombs, of Georgia; and in less exceptionable and irritating terms the opinions of Davis and Gordon.

I refer to his letter in favor of

#### THE TEXAS AND PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Mr. Hunter addresses his letter to Representative Lamar, of Mississippi, who had expressed some interest to know his opinion. He recognizes Lamar "as the man to whom the South seems to be turning its eyes as a leader to aid her with counsel, and protect and prosecute her interests in legislation."

#### LAMAR'S THEORIES.

Mr. Lamar used to argue, last winter, in conversation with friendly opponents, that while Republicans might be personally honest men, yet their system necessarily bred corruption by its comprehensive schemes of internal national improvement, which were always, more or less, productive of "jobs." Democracy, on the other hand, fettered by its theory of State sovereignty, while it might sometimes or often oppose plans by which the Nation might be benefited, did not afford the opportunities for frauds or peculations on the Government.

This theory has only the facts of our history for half a century—during the whole career of Democracy regnant—to oppose it:

"Just so much, and nothing more."

It will be interesting to note how the rhe-

torical professor will explain it away when he is called on to advocate a scheme—the most stupendous job of the session—which is bottomed on the antagonistic theory. For he is relied on to "put through" the Texas and Pacific railroad job—now, if he can, or if he dare; but after the Presidential election if prudential considerations shall restrain immediate action.

#### THE COST OF THE JOB.

The *New York Times* has shown that this scheme, sooner or later, in all likelihood, will saddle the Nation with a debt of four hundred millions of dollars, and Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, has declared that "the South" expects Congress to adopt it.

In view of this magnificent project for proving the sincerity of the Democracy on their favorite and vaunted virtue of economy, too little attention has been paid to the arguments of its advocates, and especially to the masterly plea of Mr. R. M. T. Hunter.

#### STATE SOVEREIGNTY AS A RELIGION.

Mr. Hunter's letter is an elaborate plea for the prosecution of this scheme by the Federal Government, as a measure by which "the South"—not as an indivisible member of the national body, but as an independent section and an antagonistic entity—may regain its lost political power; and, therefore, it is addressed chiefly to the consideration of the theory of State Sovereignty as it affects this important project, or as it might influence the votes of its votaries. He says that he himself voted against this measure in Congress, but that although he still believes that "the harmony of the country requires the adoption of the old State rights theory," still his general views have been "modified by further experience and the results of the war." He then goes on, in sometimes indistinct but in always intelligible rhetoric, to argue that the Southern members should not let their principles stand in the way of their interests, especially on this measure—which, he says, is "one not only of a large pecuniary interest, of trade and commerce, but of empire also."

Empire—of what? of the Nation?

Hardly of the Nation; because he takes especial pains to reiterate the creed which brought it to civil war. He says:

"I hope I need not say that I mean no reproach to States' rights now, even to the Pharisees of the school, if true and sincere. I have neither the heart nor the right to cast reproach on any such. *I regard the followers of this school as the soldiers of the true Cross, politically speaking*, if I may use the term in this sense without irreverence, which I surely do not mean, and God forbid that I should cast a word of ridicule or condemnation on any, even the least of them."

Thus does the advocate of railway construction reiterate the ideas of national destruction!

Again, he says, and this time shows a cause why the truesoldier of the cross should sometimes stoop to conquer:

"The hold of States' rights principles in the South ought not to be weakened, if it be practicable to prevent it, by interposing them unnecessarily to the accomplishment of an object so necessary to restore that section to its just share of power in the Government and its fair share of influence on the public opinion of the country. For upon these two things will depend the safety and prosperity of the South hereafter. To suppose that the contests for power or of interest between the different sections of this Union will not be continued, not by arms, it is true, but by policy and fair appeals to public opinion, is chimerical indeed. Here is a great and fair field for enterprise which it had been well if it had been more wrought heretofore. To maintain and nurse the political power and influence of the South in the common Government is a fair subject of aspiration for her representatives."

Still, always, everywhere—"the South," never the national welfare is considered. Still, "the South," as a "section," is to "maintain and nurse" a separate political power. Why, pray, should Virginia have more interest in Texas than in Minnesota? As a loyal State of the Union she has no more interest in Texas; but as a talon of the political "South" her greater interest in Texas is evident enough.

#### PLEA FOR THE SOUTHERN OLIGARCHY.

In speaking of "the South" these men never mean the Southern People—but only the oligarchy which brought on the rebellion and all its woes. Mr. Hunter makes this fact clear in another passage:

"The Texas Pacific road presents an instance in which by its completion the South will be vastly strengthened in capital and resources to develop its people, their industry and enterprise, and also increase in political

power, not only in influence, but in voting power to protect its people and their rights through the action of the common Government. Does she not need this protection and all this assistance for her material development? Is anybody caring for her now? Has she influence or power enough in the Government to enforce a demand for the supply of her very necessities?"

What rights of *all* the people of any State does the Federal Government invade? It has not even done its duty in protecting the 60,000 Georgia voters whom "the South," as Mr. Hunter defines the oligarchy, intimidated and disfranchised at the last election. It has not prevented the violence and terrorism that prevailed in Mississippi, and resulted in the election of a Democratic delegation from that State. He goes on:

"Would that be the case if Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and the whole of the rich country along the line were settled, and teeming with the resources, agricultural and mineral, which such a population would develop? The levees of the Mississippi, thrown down during the war, which for so long withstood its tide and secured from the waste of its waters vast tracts of fertile country for the use of man, are still down, and there seems to be no sufficient interest felt in the subject by those who control the Government to justify the hope that they will restore them. The moral bulwarks which are the defenses of good order in all civilized society have been prostrated as low in South Carolina and Louisiana, and, indeed, for a time, in all the old slave States, as the restraints upon the Mississippi, and the waste of its worst elements on the face of society, upon which they have been turned, from its surface to its depths, is as wild and as frightful as that of the great Father of Waters himself. Would it not be of infinite value if we had enough political power to secure the correction of these evils? Give us this, and we would right the wrong ourselves. Until this is the case, is it not probable that these or similar evils will continue to occur? What measure has yet been proposed so likely to build up the power which might insure protection as this Texas Pacific railroad, and what State or person is robbed of any power if the General Government should execute it?"

#### THE SLAVE-PEN VERSUS THE CARPET-BAG.

The "overthrow of the moral bulwarks of society" in South Carolina and Louisiana, singularly enough, has made it impossible in those States for men to traffic in human flesh and blood; and has, somehow, with a



God-like beneficence, enabled the black mother to clasp her babe to her bosom without the fear of the auctioneer's hungry clutch. It has built schools, and taught both the black and white children to understand their duties and their destiny. It has made it possible, in every State, for Americans, of every color, whatever their creed, to utter their opinions with some safety. It has begun to abolish the hell on earth—the reign of merciless and rapacious power—which Hunter and his horde of the barbarians of civilization “nursed and maintained” in all the Southern States.

Do these advocates of State Sovereignty suppose that we have forgotten what the South was under *their* rule? Do they imagine, because we may believe that the negro politicians are sometimes sneak-thieves, that we have forgotten that *they* were red-handed robbers—sparing neither the cabin of the black laborer nor the cradle of his child? And does he believe that we consider it would be of “infinite value” to let the ruffians who slew our sons correct “*these evils*”—the “wrong” of establishing political approximations to just government in the South? Whatever may be the sins of the carpet-bagger they are as white as snow compared with the crimes of the oligarchy who went before them. “The South” had better not compel us to remember its history.

#### A DISUNION ARGUMENT.

Not satisfied with flaunting the bloody banner of State Sovereignty in our faces again, Mr. Hunter has the superlative folly to suggest, that, in the future, the construction of this Texas Pacific railway may cause a wedlock which shall produce a “vast Southern Empire,” of which it shall be the “umbilical cord.” That is to say, in non-medical language, he wants the Confederate Democrats in Congress to vote for this measure—first, because it will give “the South” greater immediate political power; second, because it will so consolidate “the South” by the creation of new States that the negro and loyal vote may be overwhelmed; and finally, because in the future these new States, backed by the power of the older Rebel States may be strong enough to secede from the American Union!

Here are his words:

“The prospect for the future, which in my opinion promises not only of harmony but of progress in the country, is that of an affiliation of friendly republics, united in the pursuit and protection of common interests and engaged in the development of peculiar interests and ideas, without let or hindrance from the common Government or the intrusion of opinion on the part of other societies, whether friendly or otherwise, to the exclusion of their own. The development of physical and moral ideas is likely to be more extensive, and the pursuit of them will be far more energetic and efficient under the influence of such friendly rivalries than if guided and directed by ideas in which the people who are most concerned do not sympathize.”

This is the general principle—here is the application:

“But there is another point of view in which this question excites what has been called the ‘land-hunger of the Anglo-Saxon,’ by which I do not mean the ‘union of the Roman and Sabine,’ the rape of conquest, but a connection through the bonds of lawful wedlock, brought about through the easy and insensible intercourse of trade and daily social communion. *The construction of this route, it is said, will establish intimate relations of trade and commerce between eight or ten of the northern provinces of Mexico and the people of the American territory through which it will pass. A vast Southern empire may thus arise, holding new relations with the rest of the world, helping to maintain justice and create large common interests amongst the members of the present Union; or perhaps establishing a new point of departure and a new balance of interests on the North American continent.*”

And again:

“But, above all, it must be generally admitted that its effects would serve to redress the present unequal balance of power between the sections to an extent which I do not propose to measure. And all may be done, in my opinion, without an invasion of the rights of the States. For all these reasons I would give a vote, if I had it, to secure the assistance of the General Government to a route from Marshall, in Texas, to San Diego, on the Pacific. I would require the road to ‘prorate’ on fair and equal terms with all that connected with it, and all should be allowed to do so. But if the Federal Government should undertake to carry the road nearer to the Atlantic it should require it to connect with Vicksburg, Memphis, or New Orleans. *The consequence of such a measure I do not pretend to predict or describe. This road might prove to be the umbilical cord through which a nascent empire may derive its nourishment and support from these vast and fruitful wastes, until,*

*matured into organized being, it loses the embryo state, and they bear it, like the wild mother of the forest, without a throe or a pang."*

#### HOW TO BAFFLE THE PLOTTERS.

This is the scheme we are called on to adopt, and this the reason why we are expected to aid "the South" to re-establish its power!

The boldness of it recalls the days when the Southern leaders obeyed the summons of President Johnson, and came to Washington from their Provisional Governments. They coolly said then that they would never pay a national debt incurred in suppressing their insurrection; that they would be willing to pay our soldiers pensions if we would put their invalids on our rolls; but as for consenting to enfranchise the colored loyalists they would see us—but their language was not parliamentary, and it is not essential to report it. They declared with emphasis enough, and some to spare, that they would never consent to it.

And now in the Democratic ranks in Congress we no longer hear the language of the Prodigal Son, but boasts of "carrying the South solid," and denunciations of the party that saved the Nation.

It is idle to sneer at these men as "abstractionists" and "theorists." They are *concretionists*, of the most practical type, when Colonel Tom Scott is at their head; and when the negro voter is to be overawed or assassinated, or when the Northern man is to be ostracised or whipped, they are realists such as the dark ages never surpassed in stern barbarity.

We must meet the issue that all these blind leaders of the blind have raised, and before quarreling over soft or hard money settle once and forever the issue of allegiance. They always claimed—they claim still—that allegiance is primarily due, not to the Nation, but to the State; that, therefore, it was not the hero of Nashville, General Thomas, of Virginia, who was loyal, but Robert E. Lee, the Virginian; because Thomas did not follow his State, whereas Lee anticipated her secession, and was loyal to *her*. General Thomas was loyal to the Nation, and therefore he was a traitor to the State!

This idea underlies all Southern politics. Until it is suppressed there can be no peace. What is virtue with us must of needs be vice to them in every national controversy. Their theory teaches them to believe that the Nation invaded the States, not that the States rebelled against the Nation.

Senator Gordon, who lately tried to break the force of Mr. Toombs' declarations, is as outspoken in what we of the North regard as treason as the more vulgar Georgian has ever been or as he is to-day. He is an honest,

candid witness, and this is what he said, under oath, to an investigating committee:

"We did not believe that the act of secession was treason. I do not believe it now. I do not expect ever to believe it.—(p. 334.)

"Question. When you surrendered did you not think you had been guilty of rebellion and treason?

"Answer. No, sir; I never had such an idea.

"Question. Did you not think that you were amenable to the law?

"Answer. No sir; not a bit of it.

"Question. As a matter of fact, did not the people of the South understand that they had been guilty of rebellion and treason, and were amenable to the law?

"Answer. No, sir.

"Question. That was not the impression in the public mind of the South?

"Answer. Not a bit of it. I do not believe there was an intelligent man in the South who believed then, or believes to-day, that he was guilty of treason, or anything that smacked of treason.

"Question. As a matter of fact, you do not think that the people down there regarded their immunity from trial and punishment, the restoration of their property, and their protection under the law, as manifestations of great clemency on the part of the Government to men who had been fighting for years to destroy it?

"Answer. No, sir, I do not think so."—[See "Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States"—Georgia, Vol. 1, page 342, 1872.]

We are told that although there are twenty-two Congressmen who now hold their seats by having overawed the negro vote, we are utterly powerless to help ourselves, or to protect our citizens thus cheated, because these wrongs were inflicted on them under the dread sovereignty of their States. But we are not *quite* powerless. Let no Republican vote a single dollar to any Southern scheme—good, bad, or indifferent—until the heresy of State Sovereignty is abjured, and until the poorest negro or the most hated native Republican is as free to cast his ballot everywhere as the ex-rebel or the copperhead is in Massachusetts or New York. If our army cannot bring unrepentant traitors to terms, our treasury has arguments that can fetch them to their knees. If muskets are unconstitutional, and it is criminal to interpose bayonets between loyal breasts and the bowie knives of the banditti, we *have* the constitutional power to refuse to aid these defayers of the national will in carrying out their plots or plans of any kind by money taken from the national Treasury. The War Power abolished slavery; let the Purse Power protect the loyalist. It is strong enough for this beneficent service!



## REPUBLICAN EXPENDITURES—DEMOCRATIC RETRENCHMENT.

It may be well to remind the critics and carpers that the business of a government, speaking of it in its administrative capacity only, is not to save money, but to expend that with which it is entrusted economically and wisely. The cry of "retrenchment" is accepted by those who take the personal view of governmental action as a sure precursor of reform. A government is a trust, not a wealth-maker; it expends, but does not produce. It may be that unwise retrenchment will prove to be a very extravagant policy. Especially is this to be feared where the policy is dictated by mere greed of partisanship, and chiefly aims at crippling the administration of public affairs in order that a two-fold result may perhaps be achieved—the saving of certain sums in current appropriations, and the raising of a cry of inefficiency, when a crippled executive is unable to perform needed work in a proper manner.

The Democratic majority in the House of Representatives are engaged in a wholesale "rule and rote" process of cutting down salaries, and the administrative force required to do the necessary work of Government. As usual with that party when attempting any so-called reform, the beginning is seen in an attack on labor. The plan upon which they are proceeding seems far better adapted to promote inefficiency than it is to produce economy. Take, for instance, the proposed reduction of salaries. The highest and the lowest are to be treated alike. The efficient but poor first class clerk now receiving \$1,200 per annum is to lose ten per cent equally with the official who receives from \$3,000 to \$5,000 income, and even upwards. The laborer at \$720, and the lady copyist, or counter, at \$900 salary, are to lose proportionately the same amount as the head of the department in which they are employed. Then as to the reduction of the civil service staff. This policy again appears to be aimed at crippling the Executive much more than it does to the saving of money.

The efficient Representative from the Fifth

district of Maine, Hon. Eugene Hale, who has served for several years on the Appropriation Committee, made in the early part of the present session of Congress an exhaustive statement and defense of Republican legislation and policy in the matter of appropriations and expenditures. His facts and figures were marshaled with irresistible force. The speech gives a great deal of incisive information.

A good deal of ink as well as breath is wasted annually in Democratic criticisms of Republican extravagance. Most of this is based upon the annual estimates that are required by law to be laid before Congress. These estimates always exceed the appropriations, as actually made, by from twenty to thirty millions of dollars. It should be borne in mind, however, that administrative and executive officers are charged with continuous functions. They are often required to estimate in advance for work laid out or indicated but not yet begun. This is the case, for instance, with regard to river and harbor improvements under the direction of the army engineer bureau. Surveys are ordered to be made by every Congress, the engineer making the survey estimates, of course, for its cost. In this way the annual amount asked for swells to large proportions. The criticism of expenditures based therefore on such estimates is willfully or ignorantly at fault.

Mr. Hale claims, and justly too, credit for the Republicans in Congress, since the war, of largely reducing taxation, and also of lessening expenses, separating also to the apprehension of the public mind the expenditures created by the slaveholders' war and those directly related to the normal and current necessities of Government. How great the reduction of taxation has been may be seen by the fact that in five years, from 1863 to 1868, the American people paid in national taxes alone over \$2,200,000,000.

A valuable table of expenditures covering twenty years, from 1856 to 1875, is given. The culminating point of expenditures was in 1865, being \$1,297,555,224.41. Ten years



after, 1875, it was \$274,623,392. The ratio of decrease from 1865 has been very great, as the figures show:

Year.	Net ordinary expenditures.	Year.	Net ordinary expenditures.
1856.....	\$69,571,025 79	1866.....	\$520,809,416 99
1857.....	67,795,707 66	1867.....	357,542,675 16
1858.....	74,185,270 39	1868.....	377,340,284 86
1859.....	69,070,976 74	1869.....	322,865,277 80
1860.....	63,130,598 39	1870.....	309,653,560 75
1861.....	66,546,644 89	1871.....	292,177,188 25
1862.....	474,761,818 91	1872.....	277,517,932 67
1863.....	714,740,725 17	1873.....	290,345,245 33
1864.....	865,322,641 97	1874.....	287,133,873 17
1865.....	1,297,555,224 41	1875.....	274,623,392 84

General James A. Garfield, when serving as chairman of the Appropriation Committee in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congress, presented an analytical statement and exhibit of the cost of that civil war, and of how large a proportion of the necessary appropriations are due to that source alone. The expenses growing directly out of the war include payment of interest on the public debt; of pensions; of collecting the internal revenue, (a system unnecessary before the war,) and of the claims for supplies, damages, &c. This class forms the first portion of our national expenditures. The second classification covers the military and naval establishments, and the third is that of the civil service proper. Mr. Hale presented in a table of expenses by years both the total and the per centage in each class or group, as follows:

	1875.	1874.	1873.	
	\$147, 882, 034 75	\$154, 171, 130 50	\$157, 262, 415 81	FIRST GROUP.
	53.7	53.3	54.	Amount paid directly on account of the late war.....
				Per cent. of whole for each year.....
	48, 314, 499 50	58, 693, 305 69	53, 998, 982 25	SECOND GROUP.
	17.5	20.4	18.	Army and Navy.....
				Per cent of whole for each year.....
	78, 426, 858 59	74, 263, 473 57	79, 083, 847 27	THIRD GROUP.
	28.6	25.9	23.	Civil service proper.....
				Per cent. of whole for each year.....
	274, 623, 392 84	287, 133, 903 76	290, 345, 245 33	Total.....

The reductions above shown are the work of Republicans. Examining a little closer, and it will be seen that a Republican Congress had provided for the covering of unexpended balances into the Treasury at the end of each fiscal year; prohibited the use of any appropriation but for the definite purpose indicated; abolished indefinite appropriations in most instances where the practice had been handed down from Democratic days took action to prevent deficiencies, and to otherwise improve the service. These were all genuine reforms in the interest of both efficiency and economy.

The following table gives even a clearer view of the reductions that were made by the Republican majority in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses. The figures justify Mr. Hale's claim for the initiation of retrenchment and reform. The items are those of the civil service estimates proper, and while the purposes are not named, the amounts being given, the necessary comparisons are made complete:

Third session Forty-second Congress—fiscal year 1874.	First session Forty-third Congress—fiscal year 1875.	Second session Forty-third Congress—fiscal year 1876.
\$6,636,074 61	\$5,797,234 88	\$5,224,275 36
9,888,147 42	10,591,847 56	8,906,452 29
3,743,243 87	3,769,984 13	3,417,437 42
1,874,515 00	3,454,965 92	1,420,272 30
490,660 00	490,547 34	455,513 03
976,620 31	1,494,491 11	1,407,433 43
280,685 57	298,655 86	301,315 89
36,732,025 17	24,429,522 37	30,301,332 93
22,498,620 55	20,813,946 70	17,263,100 33
6,468,977 44	7,148,174 54	5,874,558 28
30,480,000 00	30,355,000 00	30,075,000 00
20,057,132 00	14,817,306 56	8,025,542 59
6,102,900 00	5,463,000 00	6,793,517 50
1,899,000 00	904,000 00	895,000 00
1,982,979 59	2,014,457 70	1,855,409 99
6,496,602 00	6,222,842 00	7,390,205 00
15,674,164 29	16,951,781 53	18,103,574 47
172,290,700 82	155,017,753 20	147,714,940 81

In an elaborate table recapitulating the acts under, and purposes for which appropriations were made at the Third session of the Forty-second and at the First session of the Forty-third Congress, Mr. Hale contrasts the character of the reductions made. For the fiscal year 1875 the appropriations were reduced for "deficiencies" from over eleven millions, the preceding fiscal year, to but little over four millions. The army appropriation was reduced over five millions; the

Indian by one and three-quarter millions; for forts and fortifications the reduction was over two millions, and proportionally in other instances. The following were the totals reported, and as amended and passed:

	Total Reported.	As Amended.
Appropriations for the fiscal year 1874, passed at the 3d sess. of the 42d Congress.....	\$172,290,700 82	\$170,424,900 82

Appropriations for the fiscal year 1875, passed at the 1st sess. of the 43d Congress.....	155,030,491 27	151,106,128 27
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These totals include for 1875 appropriations for postage and various definite sums heretofore embraced under the general head of indefinite.

In the following table, carefully rearranged from Mr. Hale's figures, so as to present both contrast and summary, the reader will be able to see at a glance the difference between estimates and appropriations:

<i>Estimates Over Appropriations.</i>			
	Appropriations 1876.	Estimates 1877.	Excess of latter.
Public works.....	\$16,755,062 10	\$23,591,410 30	\$11,836,348 20
Military establishment.....	28,554,587 79	33,697,178 50	5,142,590 71
Naval establishment.....	17,516,396 90	20,871,666 40	3,355,269 50
Miscellaneous.....	10,534,857 66	13,881,185 79	3,347,328 13
Postal service.....	8,576,206 00	9,281,662 19	905,357 19
Indian affairs.....	5,123,627 00	3,787,735 64	662,108 64
Judicial establishment.....	3,463,250 60	3,463,450 00	200 00
	90,066,296 45	115,514,288 82	25,447,992 37
<i>Appropriations Over Estimates.</i>			
	Appropriations 1876.	Estimates 1877.	Excess of appropriations.
Pensions.....	\$30,000,000 00	\$29,593,500 00	\$406,500 00
Executive establishment.....	19,034,365 76	18,717,045 10	317,320 66
Legislative establishment.....	3,963,563 10	2,866,378 50	987,184 60
Foreign intercourse.....	1,412,985 00	1,352,483 00	60,502 00
Permanent appropriations.....	148,681,068 26	149,623,910 76	942,842 50
	193,093,881 12	192,093,320 36	1,000,560 86

It will be observed that the second table or division shows a positive reduction from the service standpoint of \$1,001,560.86. The increase or excess in estimates for the ensuing year over the current appropriations,

large as it may seem, is almost entirely in the class of estimated expenditures which legislation has required the several departments to report, but which it often happens, as is the case at present, there is no pressing necessity for meeting or undertaking. Of this class the item under head of "public works" is in proof. This alone comprises one-half of the seeming increase. The military and naval establishments are likely to have the pruning knife applied with severity, whether wisely or not, is a question to be settled with the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. But examination of the estimates will show many items which come under the same category as that of public works, useful things to be done, but not absolutely required. The discretion as to appropriating rests with the legislative branch of the Government; the administrative only obeys existing laws in presenting estimates of the probable cost of either initiating or completing such matters. Under the several heads of "Miscellaneous," "Postal Service," and "Judicial" there is probably good reasons to the public service for presenting enlarged estimates. This goes without telling, if the would-be critic reflects a moment as to the nature of the duties covered thereby.

On the whole, then, there is no honest grounds for assaults on the Republican policy in any preceding Congress or in the current estimates presented by the Executive Department upon the score of extravagance or the want of a spirit of retrenchment and economy. "Spigotry" is not a safe policy. To cut down the rations of professors, and deprive poorly paid clerks of their lawful salaries is a mean and contemptible way of saving the public moneys, especially when for the purpose of organizing a partisan raid on the Executive a Democratic House spends more in paying shorthand writers and in printing investigation reports than all that can be saved in the spigot fashion. It is cheap thunder this, manufactured behind the scenes with a sheet of iron and a mallet.

When the totals are made up for the present Congress it will be found that the Republican party will not suffer by comparison. Very probably the sum total appropriated this session will be much less than the foregoing figures, but this reduction will be so recklessly made as to necessitate a large deficiency bill at the next session, as well as impair the present efficiency of the service.

## THE TARIFF—DOES PROTECTION PROTECT ?

The proposition of free trade is, that unrestricted trade will secure better results—that is, more wealth—to this country than protection; or, in other words, that protection does not protect. In proof, the free-trader asserts that under protection one thousand bushels of wheat will purchase but fifteen tons of iron, when without protection, or were there no duty, one thousand bushels of wheat would purchase twenty-five tons of iron; so that we lose by protection ten tons of iron or the value thereof on every thousand bushels of wheat. This has the appearance of a mathematical demonstration, and many people are deceived by it. Were it true, the argument would be ended right here; but it is not true, and to show it is untrue is the task of the protectionist.

On the assumption of the free-trader, the ten tons of difference is the duty—that is what causes it, and that is what it is. The first fallacy is in assuming that this is lost. It is not lost. It has gone into the national treasury, and has saved raising an equal amount from the citizen by direct taxation. Taking the nation as a whole, it has received for the wheat exported fifteen tons of iron and the value of ten tons of iron in gold. This is self evident, and disposes of the proposition that the nation by imposing a duty on iron sacrifices the value of ten tons on a thousand bushels of wheat. It explodes the mathematical demonstration at the start.

But this is not all. There is another self evident proposition, which is: That the cost of transporting the wheat across the ocean, the loading, wharfage, port charges, cost of ships, officers, sailors, port charges, wharfage and handling in the foreign port, and freight to the consumer abroad, and the same items of cost on the return cargo of iron, are all so much tax on the wheat and iron, but principally on the wheat, and are a dead loss to the country, except that portion of the service which may be done by citizens of the country. To these must be added all the risks of the ocean, all the losses by the sinking of ships and cargoes, and all the money made by foreign insurance companies on the whole

of the export and import trade. These burdens have to be supported by the producers of the wheat and iron, and are so much loss to the property of the countries which make the exchanges. No other source for payment of these costs and losses can be imagined, and hence this consideration also explodes the theory of profit laid down by the free trader. No country can make as much by sending its wheat abroad to get iron, or cloth, or manufactured wares as by manufacturing them at home.

There is still another and stronger consideration in the case to be mentioned, which bears directly on the question of national wealth, though its relations naturally are very complex. What does a bushel of wheat represent? The answer depends on circumstances. If wheat is selling for one dollar, and the farmer having a surplus bushel lives at such a distance from market that it costs a dollar to transport the wheat, it represents nothing, and is valueless. Where the wheat commands a price which is paying, where the farmer can exchange a thousand bushels for twenty-five tons of iron, the wheat represents the labor which went to make the iron. That labor was embodied in the mind and hands of the human beings who dug the ore and manufactured it, and those human beings imply hatters, tanners, shoemakers, cloth-makers, tailors, and all sorts and kinds of mechanics and artisans and laborers. The wheat sustains the life of the iron-maker, and the iron-maker employs the hatters, shoemakers, tailors, cloth-makers, and laborers—hence the wheat represents the producing power of all these classes, amounting in value to the worth of twenty-five tons of iron per one thousand bushels, or one thousand dollars, more or less, expressed in coin. A thousand bushels of wheat represent, therefore, so much producing power in human life, or machinery, which is the product of human life. In other words, so much property.

Bearing this in mind, it is apparent that the country which raises its thousand bushels of wheat and sends them to a foreign country in exchange for twenty-five tons of



iron, after the exchange has only the value of the iron left, while the country which exchanges its wheat for home-made iron has both the iron *and* the wheat, the latter being represented in the producing power of the hatters, shoemakers, and other operatives who have supplied the wants of the iron-maker. It ought not to require any argument to show that the building and operating of a manufactory of any kind, except ardent spirits, is a positive source of wealth to a country ; but the free trade proposition denies this, and contends that it is more profitable to import goods than to manufacture them. We are purposely leaving out at this point all questions between the farmer and manufacturer and laborer in order to meet the free-trade proposition squarely on its national aspect, unembarrassed by any class interests, real or supposed. The proposition we are combating concerns the nation as a body, and however individuals may fare it cannot be true that national wealth is promoted by having its goods made abroad.

So far from the proposition being a mathematical demonstration, it becomes self-evident that the farmer and manufacturer can do better near together than wide apart, and the nation which secures all its business at home will accumulate faster than by dividing it with another nation.

The idea of protection is to build up home business. The making of hats, boots, cloth, tools, machines, and all kinds of wares is what creates business, and so far as our supplies come from abroad that amount of business at home is killed. To meet this objection the free trader says : "No ; we will raise so much more grain that we will make up for the amount lost." This is pure assumption. We won't do any such thing. No purely grain-growing country ever did that, and it cannot be done. It cannot be done because of the extra costs and charges of foreign transportation ; because of the fact that in exchanging commodities across the ocean there are immense losses which fall upon the producers ; and because that in the exchange we part with an equivalent which, on the home theory, is retained.

There are other reasons why it cannot be done. An agricultural country cannot de-

velop and utilize its producing force : never did and never can. A good portion of the men born into the world have no taste for agriculture, and never amount to much as farmers. There are feeble men and boys and girls who can accomplish much in the mechanic arts, who earn nothing on the farm ; and it is only by diversified labor that the full producing power of the community can be called into exercise. As national wealth can only result from producing power and power that is exercised, it follows that an agricultural community which cannot possibly utilize its full working force must fall behind other countries in wealth. The example of England in manufacturing shows this on a large scale, and the purely farming towns in New England show it on a small scale. Philosophy and fact agree on this.

In shipping agricultural products abroad there is also a process of exhaustion of the soil going on which, though slow and inappreciable, amounts to an immense loss in time. Our richest lands ultimately wear out, and tracts which not many years ago were exporting wheat are now buyers of flour.

We have now said enough to explode one of the leading assumptions of free trade and to establish the necessity of manufactures as essential to the highest prosperity of the community. The experience of the country coincides with this view, as we will show further on.

In order to make the most profitable exchanges of products possible the producers must be near together. The man who sells grain needs cloth, and the man who sells cloth needs grain, and they both are benefitted by being near each other. The country has to have both to insure prosperity ; and this for yet another reason: the contiguity of the tradesmen with the farmers enables them to assist each other in building and maintaining highways, bridges, schoolhouses, churches, and all public works ; the operatives assist in paying the taxes, which otherwise must be paid by the farmer alone, and they create a demand for a great variety of agricultural products, vegetables, and small fruits which cannot be exported, and whose value to the farmer must be lost without this home market.

To make the nation prosperous we must produce both the wheat and the iron, and everything else in our power, because only thus can we find employment for all varieties of talent.

It requires no argument to prove to a shoemaker that the importation of a large quantity of English shoes will aid to glut the market and deprive his craft of employment to the amount of the importation. These foreign goods take the place of the same quantity of American goods, and lessen American production and property to the same extent. It superadds foreign competition to home competition, as all can see, and breaks down the home artisan and manufacturer just to the extent that the importation takes place of any article which the home artisan can supply, be it shoes, hats, cloth, tools, or wares of any kind.

At this point free trade says: "Well, the effect of importation is to lessen the prices of goods; and while it may also lessen the wages of the workman he will be compensated by being able to buy his goods cheaper, and he can live enough cheaper to make up for the reduction of wages." This position is not sustained by facts. The price-lists under our protective tariffs show that goods have fallen in price and wages have kept steady.

The most prosperous years this country has known were those succeeding the protective tariffs from 1824 to 1834, from 1842 to 1848, and after 1863 to 1873, and the most unfortunate years have been those succeeding the revenue tariffs of 1832 and 1848 and the tariff reductions of 1872. The facts, therefore, do not sustain the proposition, that in consequence of cheap goods imported from foreign countries the laborer can make himself whole for the loss in wages. It is not so, and we have the reasons why: 1. Because labor is the first to suffer from a fall in prices, and the last to recover. Since September, 1872, work has been scarce, and wages low, but beef, pork, flour, and rents remain nearly the same—the concessions have been trifling, as all laboring men are aware. 2. Because the effect of heavy importations of manufactured goods of the same kinds as made in this country is not so much

in the reduction of wages as in throwing the workman out of employment, so that he is deprived of the means to buy at *any* price, no matter how cheap goods may be. He remains idle for a time, and finally must take up some new calling, something he does not understand, or is not expert in, and so is put at a great disadvantage compared with his former condition. Experience has settled this. 3. If we concede that a fall in prices follows a reduction of the tariff, the benefit of that fall enures to the consumers of the kinds of goods on which the fall occurs. These goods are the finer and more costly kinds, such as are not used by laboring men and their families, and consequently the benefit of the reduction enures to the wealthy classes almost exclusively, and the revenue has to be made up by taxing the necessities of life, tea and coffee, which are used as much by the laboring classes as any other. The theory and the facts agree. The laborer under free trade, granting that goods can be purchased cheaper, finds taxes increased, and ability to pay diminished. He may possibly buy a three-dollar hat for two dollars, but if he cannot find employment he cannot get the two dollars, and then the price of hats is immaterial to him. Work is what he needs, and without it he can have no hat. The importation of the foreign hat has driven the home hatter into the labor market as a competitor of the laborer, and thus wages have been depressed.

And this process has enured to the benefit of the non-producer. The merchant, lawyer, schoolmaster, professor, and retired capitalist can all buy their clothes and all other goods cheaper, they can hire their help cheaper, their servants, coachman, gardeners, and mechanics who build and repair their stables and houses. The supposed interests of these non-producing classes make them favor low wages, for low wages make cheap goods, and also make them opponents of protection. On the other hand, the interests of the laboring man require protection, for the plain reason that no possible cheapening of goods can compensate him for the loss of employment, which is sure to follow large importations of manufactured goods. The fall in wages and lost time will always exceed

the gain to him by the cheapening of goods.

Passing now from the general effect of a protective tariff upon national wealth and the interests of the laborer, we will consider the argument as presented to the farmer. The free trader tells the farmer that he sells 1,000 bushels of wheat and the money received for it will buy fifteen tons of iron, but adopt free trade, and he will get for the same wheat not less than twenty-five tons of iron, and other goods in proportion. This is pure assumption. There is not a particle of truth in it. No such thing would happen. It could not possibly happen except for a very short period of time, and under exceptional circumstances. The argument is, that the price of wheat to the farmer is governed by the price in Liverpool, representing the manufacturing centers whose population demands food, and that by reducing our tariff so as to invite importations of goods not only would the goods become cheaper to the farmer, but the ability to buy food on the part of the operatives in foreign countries would create an increased demand for breadstuffs and other farm products. This argument flies in the face of the proposition that manufacturers add to the general wealth of the country. This cannot be, and it also be true that it is better to get our supplies of goods from abroad. One or the other proposition must fall. We have shown affirmatively that our proposition is true, and why, and will now try to show why the counter proposition is false.

This is shown in part by the fact which we have already made plain that the amount of the duty is not a total loss but has gone into the treasury and the farmer has paid it on iron, when otherwise he would have paid it on something else. This, however, does not meet that part of the case where it is alleged that the duty has increased the price of the domestic article to the same amount of the foreign, because then no duty has been paid. But this latter statement as to increase of price is also an assumption not proved, but is contradicted by the free trader himself; for in his appeal for a tax on tea and coffee he confidently asserts that the added duty will not enhance the price a particle; and if

not in the case of tea and coffee, which cannot be grown here, it certainly will not raise the price on goods which can be produced here and are subject to both home and foreign competition. In assuming that the growers of tea and coffee will pay all the duty imposed on those articles so that the price will remain the same to the consumer the advocate of free trade destroys his own assumption that a duty on manufactured goods necessarily or really compels an advance of price. The free trader disposes of his own proposition, and we are not obliged to meet an argument that has been abandoned. Nevertheless, suppose we admit that a protective duty does add to prices, as it doubtless does in some cases, does the farmer suffer in consequence? We answer, no! There is no possible loss under any conceivable state of things in the long run that is not fully compensated under the operation of the tariff. The farmer, like every business man, must look at the effect of things, not merely for a day but for a period. When the farmer plants an orchard he does not expect to sell apples from it the first year, nor the second, but he is laying the foundation for profit to come some years in the future. For the first few years there is a certainty of loss. So with a tariff. The first year or two there may be a disadvantage in some cases, but in the end never. The farmer secures compensation for his first loss or sacrifice by securing the building up of a market near at hand, where he can sell various products which will not bear long transportation: milk, fruits, poultry, eggs, wood and timber, staves, and a great variety of things which are worthless without a home market. He is compensated also by the home market, because it makes him independent of the fluctuations and influences that operate on foreign markets. The home market is his own. The foreign farmer can never come in and take it from him by underselling. The mechanics and laborers are his sure customers, and he has only the one danger, that Providence will give a larger crop than he prays for, so as to break down the price of corn. Having a home market he can diversify his productions and not be entirely dependent upon wheat and corn, beef and pork. Should



there be an immense crop abroad so that it will not pay to ship grain, the home market is always there to buy his produce and supply him with money to meet his obligations. The home market is always the better of the two, for it buys vastly more, and can buy nowhere else. The farmer is sure of it all the time. If the farmer is shrewd he will not destroy or damage his best customer. That is suicide.

In showing the effect of protection upon business there is of late years the difficulty of separating the influences due to railroads, steam power, and improved machinery from those due to protection, but by going back to the years succeeding 1820 there is no such embarrassment, for there were no railroads then, and the other influences had not begun to operate in any large measure. The protective tariffs most complained of were passed in 1824 and 1828. Business had been bad, and growing bad for three years. In a report made to the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1823 it was stated that there was going on "ruinous sacrifices of landed property at sheriff's sales, whereby lands and houses have been sold at less than half their value—forced sales of merchandise, farming stock and utensils, at prices far below the cost of production, by which numerous families have been deprived of the necessities of life and the implements of their trade." Pennsylvania was then an agricultural State. On the 24th of February, 1824, Mr. Carter, of South Carolina, made a speech in Congress, and said: "In all that region which stretches from the shores of the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico, where all the arts of civilized life once triumphed, the arm of industry is now paralyzed. Large and ample estates, once the seats of opulence, which supported their proprietors in affluence and comfort, are now thrown out to waste and decay." "The farmer of the grain-growing States will tell you that he has large annual surplusses of grain which he is doomed year after year to see rot and perish on his hands." Mr. Garnet, of Virginia, said, "desolation is spread over the country." The Charleston, South Carolina, *Memorial* of February 24 says: "A feeling of gloomy despondence is beginning to prevail everywhere in the lower country."

To meet this universal depression which prevailed in New England and Ohio, as well as in Pennsylvania and the South, a tariff was proposed, and the free traders declared that it would complete the ruin of the country. Mr. Tatnall, a representative from Georgia, exclaimed: "Are you prepared by passing this infernal bill to add to a poverty which is already wearing one portion of our country to the bone for the purpose of supplying the appetites of a few pampered nabobs?" Such was the view taken of the tariff bill, but they passed it, nevertheless, and now let us look at consequences:

In 1821 Government securities were selling at seventy-five cents.

In 1830 the same class of securities sold for ninety-four cents.

In 1822 the United States Bank had on hand less than four millions of gold.

In 1830 the United States Bank had on hand ten millions eight hundred thousand in gold.

In 1822 the debt of our people to England exceeded \$50,000,000.

In 1830 the English were in debt to us.

In 1822 the Government borrowed five millions to meet interest on the public debt.

In 1831 there had been paid all the interest, and sixty-six millions of the principal of the public debt.

The average increase of capital in manufactures from 1824 to 1830 was seventeen millions per annum.

In 1822 the exports of cotton were 134,000,000 pounds.

In 1830 the exports of cotton had reached 264,000,000 pounds.

In 1822 the exports of rice were 87,000 tierces.

In 1830 the exports of rice reached 171,000 tierces.

In 1822 our tonnage was 1,311,000 tons.

In 1830 our tonnage had reached 1,741,000 tons.

In 1823, the last year of low tariff, our exports were \$47,000,000.

In 1830, after five years of protection, our exports reached \$74,000,000.

In 1823 our imports were \$77,000,000.

In 1830 our imports were \$70,000,000, thus bringing the balance of trade in our favor.

The customs revenue went up in the same time from \$19,000,000 to \$21,000,000.

In 1822 we exported more specie than we imported by..... \$6,440,000  
In 1829 we imported more specie than we exported by..... 3,083,000

Difference in our favor..... 9,523,000

And this is the way the ruin went on in all branches of business. The result of it was that in the agricultural districts, where the paupers in 1821 were one to every 128 of the people, in 1831 they stood one to 344 of the population. Allowing one able-bodied man to five of population, in 1821 every 26 men had a pauper to maintain, while in 1831 there was only one pauper to 69 able-bodied men in the agricultural districts.

These figures show a general increase of business in all departments, agriculture, manufactures, banking and commerce; and they not only indicate, they prove an advance from a state of general depression and poverty to a condition of buoyancy, hope, comfort, and prosperity. The evils predicted by the free traders did not happen, the expectations of the friends of the tariff were more than fulfilled. Under the operation of the measure we became exporters of manufactured goods instead of importers; we paid the national debt instead of borrowing money to pay the interest of it; and it was done so easily that a large surplus revenue was accumulated which in 1837 was distributed among the States, amounting to \$37,000,000. So manifest was our condition that the administration of General Jackson, which was reaping the benefit of the good times, became immensely popular, and in his annual messages he never failed to speak of the "cheering evidences of general welfare and progressive improvement" in a way that indicated the most perfect complacency at the situation.

All this prosperity came to an end, however, when Mr. Clay's compromise measures began to produce results. The reductions by that bill permitted foreign goods to come once more in competition with our own manufactures, and in 1837 our industries were completely prostrated and did not recover until the passage of the protective tariff of 1842.

And from these reasons, supported by these facts, it is concluded that protection does protect notwithstanding the ciphering of the "Parsee" and Mr. David A. Wells.

And now, what is the attitude of the Democratic party on the question? The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means has prepared a bill whose main purposes seem to be the same as was accomplished in the compromise of 1832. If carried, instead of a revival of industry we may look with positive certainty for a deeper and more permanent depression.

NOTE.—In regard to the matter of price as affected by duties, it turned out that after the passage of the tariff of 1824 prices on foreign goods on which increased duties were levied did not rise, but in most cases fell, and the same happened again in 1828. Mr. Samuel D. Bradford, a leading importer of Boston at that time, said: "My house are large operators, and our commercial connections are extensive in Great Britain, Russia, and India, and we imported freely in 1828, and can truly say that nearly every article we imported was actually worth less to us than in the previous year under the old duty." Other great merchants said the same, among them Windsor Fay, Grant & Seaver, Henry Gassett & Co., Horner & Dorr, F. & R. Thompson, of Philadelphia, and numerous other well-known houses. There was a decline in broadcloths, bookings, kerseys, serges, vestings, flannels, Russia goods generally, cottons, worsteds, hosiery, and blankets. Casimeres which cost importers \$1.60 per yard under the tariff of 1824 were sold under the tariff of 1828 at \$1.55. For several years ending 1827 the duty on molasses had been 5 cents per gallon, and molasses sold for 37½ cents. The tariff of 1828 raised the duty to 10 cents, and for the three years ending 1830, that is 1828, '29, and '30, the average price of molasses was but 27 cents per gallon. Thus do facts show how utterly false is the assumption that duties add to the cost of goods to the consumer.

SQUARING THE OLD ACCOUNT.—At the breaking out of the rebellion Democratic officeholders from the South squared accounts with Uncle Sam by running away with the balance of money and property in their charge. Now that Democracy has got possession of the House of Representatives it proposes to restore to Uncle Sam an amount about equal to the shortcomings of its early *ante bellum* appointees. The method proposed is an easy one. Take from the salaries of Republican officials from ten to twenty per cent., and cut down the necessary appropriations to an amount equal to the amount stolen by Southern Democrats and the accounts are squared. There is something sublime in the impudence displayed by the Democrats in carrying out their novel plan of restoration, but they will find out in the Presidential campaign that the taxing of Republicans will not cover up the sins of Democratic officials.

## RELATIONS OF THE STATE TO RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

ANALYTICAL SUMMARY OF ALL THE PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES; ALSO THE PROVISIONS OF LAW IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND OF THE SEVERAL TERRITORIES BEARING UPON THE CHURCH, THE STATE, AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In the present condition of the public mind and the wide-spread interest felt in the questions at issue, no apology is necessary for the presentation of the several Constitutional requirements now existing by which the present status of the public schools, and of the several religious sects, in their attitude toward Nation and States are defined. This presentation will be found invaluable to the editor, writer, and speaker. The student will not fail to note also the manner in which this summary illustrates the growth of public opinion to a more purely secular method of dealing with these issues than was manifested in earlier days. The only provisions to be found in the Constitution of the United States which bear directly upon the subject-matters are the following:

Article VI, Section third, directs the taking of an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution, to be taken by United States Senators, Representatives, *the members of the several State Legislatures*, all judicial and executive officers, "but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." In the amendments the Constitution provides "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion.—Art. I.

The argument has also been made that Article IX, which reads as follows: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people," allows the States to do what the first amendment prohibits the Union from doing, viz: establishing and maintaining a State religion. It would seem as if this interpretation was either hastily made, or obviously strained, as the Union would not be likely to stipulate that the States might, in detail, each for themselves, do that which both States and People (taking either view that is held as

to the source of Federal power and Constitution) prohibit the whole—the collective States or National Unity—from doing:

PART I.—*Taxation of Church Property.*

Houses used exclusively for public worship shall never be taxed.—*Ark.*, 1868.

Property used for religious purposes may be exempted by law.—*Fla.*, 1868.

Taxation shall be uniform on all species of property taxed.—*Georgia*, 1868.

Property used exclusively for religious purposes may be exempted from taxation by general law.—*Ill.*, 1870.

Property used for religious purposes may be exempted by law.—*Ind.*, 1851.

Property used exclusively for religious purposes shall be exempt from taxation.—*Kansas*, 1859.

The General Assembly shall have power to exempt from taxation property actually used for church, school, or charitable purposes.—*La.*, 1868.

All taxes upon real estate assessed by authority of this State shall be apportioned and assessed equally, according to the just value thereof.—*Maine*, 1820.

Taxation shall be levied on such property as shall be prescribed by law.—*Mich.*, 1850.

Property used exclusively for religious purposes may be exempt from taxation.—*Minn.*, 1857-8.

Taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State. All property shall be taxed in proportion to its value, to be ascertained as directed by law.—*Miss.*, 1868; *Cal.*, 1879; *La.*, 1868.

The property of corporations formed for religious purposes may be exempt from taxation by law.—*Nev.*, 1864.

All property subject to taxation ought to be taxed in proportion to its value.—*Mo.*, 1865.

The General Assembly may exempt from taxation property held for religious purposes.—*N. C.*, 1868.

Burying grounds and houses used exclusively for public worship may be exempted from taxation by general law.—*Ohio*, 1850, 1851.



Property used for religious purposes may be exempted from taxation by law.—*Oregon*, 1857.

Churches and burying grounds are exempt from taxation.—*S. C.*, 1868.

The Legislature may exempt from taxation property used exclusively for religious purposes.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

All property in this State shall be taxed in proportion to its value, &c., except such property as two-thirds of both Houses of the Legislature may think proper to exempt from taxation.—*Texas*, 1869.

The Legislature may exempt all property used exclusively for religious purposes.—*Va.*, 1870.

Property used for religious purposes may by law be exempted from taxation.—*W. Va.*, 1861.

The rule of taxation shall be uniform, and taxes shall be levied upon such property as the Legislature shall prescribe.—*Wis.*, 1848.

The property of corporations shall forever be subject to taxation the same as property of individuals, except corporations for educational and charitable purposes.—*Ala.*, 1868.

No man, or sect of men, are entitled to exclusive public emoluments or privileges from the community.—*Conn.*, 1818.

No man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive separate public emoluments or privileges from the community but in consideration of public services.—*Ky.*, 1850.

Every person in the State, or person holding property therein, ought to contribute his proportion of public taxes for the support of the government, according to his actual worth in real or personal property.—*Md.*, 1867.

The property of corporations shall forever be subject to taxation the same as property of individuals.—*Neb.*, *Church Property*, 1867.

Provision may be made by general laws for securing the title to church property, so that it may be held and used for the purpose intended.—*W. Va.*, 1861.

The quantity of land which may be held by any religious body corporate, in connection with a house of worship or a parsonage, shall not exceed five acres in the county or one acre in a town or city.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Property can only be held by such body corporate through a board of trustees selected by themselves.—*Mo.*, 1865.

The General Assembly may secure the title to church property to an extent to be limited by law.—*Va.*, 1870.

No charter of incorporation shall be granted to any church or religious denomination.—*W. Va.*, 1861.

Religious corporations cannot be established except by general law.—*Mo.*, 1865.

The General Assembly shall not grant a charter of incorporation to any church or religious denomination.—*Va.*, 1870.

#### PART II.—*Devises and Successions.*

The gift, sale, or devise of land to ministers or religious sects or orders, or for the support of, or in trust for, any minister or preacher of the gospel, as such, or for any religious denomination or order, shall, except as above limited, be void.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Every gift or sale of goods or chattels to go in succession, or to take place after the death of the seller or donor, for such purposes shall be void.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Devises of goods or chattels for such purposes, or to any person in trust for such purposes, are void.—*Mo.*, 1865.\*

Any devise or conveyance of land or other property to ministers, as such, or for the support of any religious sect, without the sanction of the Legislature, is void, except not exceeding five acres of land for church, parsonage, or burying ground.—*Md.*, 1867.

No special provisions respecting the taxation or exemption of property held for religious purposes are found in the following constitutions:—*Del.*, 1831; *Iowa*, 1857; *Mass.*, 1780; *N. H.*, 1792; *N. J.*, 1844; *N. Y.*, 1846-'67; *Pa.*, 1838; *R. I.*, 1842; *Vt.*, 1793.

*A summary of provisions respecting exemption from taxation of property held for religious purposes.*

Churches are exempt.—*Arkansas*.

Churches and burying grounds are exempt.—*South Carolina*.

Churches and burying grounds may be exempted by general law.—*Ohio*.

Property used exclusively for religious purposes shall be exempt.—*Kansas*.

The Legislature has special power to exempt by general law in the following States:—*Fla.*, *Ill.*, *Ind.*, *La.*, *Minn.*, *Nev.*, *N. C.*, *Oregon*, *Tenn.*, *Va.*, *W. Va.*

The Legislature may prescribe the property on which taxes may be levied.—*Cal.*, *La.*, *Mich.*, *Miss.*, *Mo.*, *Texas*, *Wis.*

Exemptions apparently not authorized in *Ala.*, *Conn.*, *Ky.*, *Md.*, *Neb.*

The constitutions are silent in *Del.*, *Iowa*, *Mass.*, *N. H.*, *N. J.*, *N. Y.*, *Pa.*, *R. I.*, *Vt.*

*In the Territories and District of Columbia.*

The legislative assemblies of Colorado, Dakota, and Wyoming shall not make any

\*These provisions are in the main retained under the constitution adopted in 1875, an instrument on which, however, only a minority of the suffragans in the State cast their ballots.

discrimination in taxing different kinds of property, but all property subject to taxation shall be taxed in proportion to its value.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 1925.*

In Washington Territory all taxes shall be equal and uniform, and no distinctions shall be made in the assessments between different kinds of property, but the assessments shall be according to the value of the property.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 1924.*

*Limitations upon amount of property which may be held for religious purposes.*

No corporation or association for religious or charitable purposes shall acquire or hold real estate in any Territory, during the existence of the Territorial Government, of a greater value than \$50,000, and all real estate acquired or held by such corporation or association contrary hereto shall be forfeited, and escheat to the United States.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 1890.*

#### *District of Columbia.*

All churches and school houses, and all buildings, grounds, and property appurtenant thereto, and used in connection therewith in the District, and any cemetery therein, held and owned by a religious society, having a known and regular place of worship, or by any incorporated association, shall be exempt from any and all taxes or assessments, national or municipal.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, District of Columbia, Sec. 147.*

Societies or congregations formed under the general incorporation act of May 5, 1870, for the purpose of religious worship may receive by gift, devise, or purchase a quantity of land not exceeding one acre for the erection of buildings, &c.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, District of Columbia, Sec. 533.*

The quantity of land authorized to be conveyed and held for the use of religious congregations prior to May 5, 1870, and subsequent to June 17, 1844, was fifty acres in the county of Washington, and three acres in the cities of Washington or Georgetown, and such property "shall not be held by the trustees of such congregation for any other use than as a place of public worship, religious or other instruction, burial ground, or residence of their minister."—*U. S. Revised Statutes, District of Columbia, Sec. 456.*

#### *Part II—School Funds.*

The school fund shall remain a perpetual fund, and the interest shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of the public or common schools throughout the State, and for the equal benefit of all the people thereof, and no law shall ever be made authorizing said fund to be diverted to any other use than the encouragement and support of public or common schools among the several school

societies, as justice and equity may require.—*Conn., 1818.*

The permanent fund for the support of public schools shall remain a perpetual fund for that purpose, and shall not be borrowed, appropriated, or used for any other purpose, under any pretense whatever.—*R. I., 1842.*

The school fund shall remain a perpetual fund, and the interest shall not be used for any other purpose than the support of public schools under any pretense whatever.—*N. J., 1844.*

The capital of the common school fund shall remain inviolate, and the revenue shall be applied to the support of the common schools.—*N. Y., 1846-'67.*

The revenues from the school fund and school lands shall be faithfully applied.—*Wis., 1848.*

Shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools.—*Cal., 1849.*

The principal of all funds granted or intrusted to the State for educational and religious purposes shall forever be preserved inviolate and undiminished, and the income arising therefrom shall be faithfully applied to the specific objects of the original grants or appropriations.—*Ohio, 1850-'51; Neb., 1867.*

All school funds, however derived, shall be inviolably applied to the specific objects of the original gift, grant, or appropriation.—*Mich., 1850.*

School funds and moneys raised by taxation for the support of common schools shall be held inviolate, and shall be applied to no other purpose.—*Ky., 1850.*

The income of the common school fund shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools, and to no other purpose whatever.—*Ind., 1851.*

All moneys raised by taxation in the towns and cities for the support of public schools, and all moneys which may be appropriated by the State for the support of common schools, shall be applied to, and expended in, no other schools than those which are conducted according to law, under the order and superintendence of the authorities of the town or city in which the money is to be expended.—*Mass., 1855, (amendment).\**

The income of the school fund, and such other money as the General Assembly may provide, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools throughout the State.—*Iowa, 1857.*

All public school funds shall forever be preserved inviolate, and the income shall be

\* This provision was defeated in 1855 by a pro-Catholic combination, engineered by the Democrats. It was afterward resubmitted and ratified.



faithfully applied to the specific objects of the original grants or appropriations.—*Minn.*, 1857-'8.

The common school fund shall be separate and irreducible, and the revenues shall be exclusively applied to the support and maintenance of common schools in each school district, and purchase of suitable libraries and apparatus therefor.—*Oregon*, 1857.

The increase of the school fund and such other means as the Legislature may provide, by taxation or otherwise, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools.—*Kansas*, 1857.

The interest of the school fund shall be annually applied to the support of free schools throughout the State, and to no other purpose whatever.—*W. Va.*, 1867.

All school funds are solemnly pledged for educational purposes, and shall not be transferred to any other fund for any other uses.—*Nevada*, 1864.

The school funds shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and maintaining the free schools and university, and for no other uses or purposes whatever.—*Mo.*, 1865.

The school fund of the State shall be kept inviolate, and appropriated only to the purposes of education.\*—*Md.*, 1867.

School funds shall be inviolably appropriated to educational purposes, and to no other purpose whatever.—*Ala.*, 1868.

And for no other uses or purposes whatever.—*Ark.*, 1868.

The interest of the school fund shall be exclusively applied to the support and maintenance of common schools.—*Fla.*, 1868.

The school fund shall be sacredly preserved as an irreducible educational fund, the annual income of which, together with so much of the ordinary revenue of the State as may be necessary, shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and perfecting in this State a system of free public schools, and for no other purposes or uses whatever.—*N. C.*, 1868.

The income of the school fund, together with such other means as the General Assembly may provide, shall be faithfully appropriated for the purpose of establishing and maintaining free public schools, and for no other purposes or uses whatever.—*S. C.*, 1868.

The school funds shall remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated for the support of free schools.—*Miss.*, 1868.

\* It will be perceived that this provision does not prevent the appropriation of school moneys to private schools or for sectarian purposes.

Shall remain inviolate.—*La.*, 1868.

The common school fund shall be a perpetual fund, and no law shall be made authorizing said fund or any part thereof to be diverted to any other use than the support and encouragement of common schools.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

The public school fund, and the school taxes provided for, shall be a perpetual fund, and shall be applied exclusively for the education of all the scholastic inhabitants of this State; and no laws shall ever be made appropriating such fund for any other use or purpose whatever.—*Texas*, 1869.

#### *Religion in the Public Schools.*

No religious or other sect, or sects, shall ever have any exclusive right to, or control of, any part of the school funds of this State.—*Ohio*, 1850-'51; *Ark.*, 1868; *Neb.*, 1867.

The school moneys shall never be appropriated to any religious sect for the maintenance, exclusively, of its own school.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1855.

No religious sect or sects shall ever control any part of the common school or university fund of the State.—*Kansas*, 1859.

No sectarian instruction shall be imparted or tolerated in any school or university that may be established under this Constitution.—*Nevada*, 1864.

No appropriations shall be made by the General Assembly for the support of any private school or any private institution of learning whatever.—*La.*, 1868.

No religious sect or sects shall ever control any part of the school or university funds of this State.—*Miss.*, 1868.

No religious sect or sects shall have exclusive right to or control of any part of the school funds of the State, nor shall sectarian principles be taught in the public schools.—*S. C.*, 1868.

Neither the General Assembly nor any county, city, town, township, school district, or other public corporation, shall ever make any appropriation, or pay from any public fund whatever any thing in aid of any church or sectarian purpose, or to help support or sustain any school, academy, seminary, college, university or other literary or scientific institution controlled by any church or sectarian denomination whatever; nor shall any grant or donation of land, money, or other personal property ever be made by the State or any such public corporation to any church or for any sectarian purpose.—*Ill.*, 1870.

Neither the General Assembly nor any county, city, township, school district, or other municipal corporation shall ever make any appropriation, or pay from any public



fund whatever anything in aid of any creed, church, or sectarian purpose, or to help, support, or sustain any school, academy, seminary, college, university, or other institution of learning, controlled by any creed, church, or sectarian denomination whatever, nor shall any grant or donation of personal property or real estate ever be made by State, county, city, town, or such public corporation, for any creed, church, or sectarian purpose whatever.—*Mo.*, (amendment,) 1870.

[NOTE.—This amendment was ratified by the people, November 8, 1870, by a majority of 115,329. It is embraced also in the constitution of 1875.]

PART III.—*Public Support of Religious Institutions.*

No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of religious societies or religious or theological seminaries.—*Wis.*, 1848.

No money shall be appropriated or drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious sect or society, theological or religious seminary, nor shall any property belonging to the State be appropriated for any such purpose.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious or theological institution.—*Ind.*, 1851; *Oregon*, 1857.

Nor shall any money be appropriated for the payment of any religious service in either House of the Legislative Assembly.—*Oregon*, 1857.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious societies, or religious or theological seminaries.—*Minn.*, 1857-S.

The several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies shall have the exclusive right of electing their own public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.—*N. H.*, 1792.

All religious societies shall have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and contracting with them for their support.—*Me.*, 1820.

Religious societies shall ever have the right to elect their pastors or religious teachers, to contract with them for their support, and to raise money for the erection of houses for public worship and the maintenance of religious instruction.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1833.

## THE TRUTH OF HISTORY AND THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

With no desire to arouse vindictive feelings or bitter memories are the following facts reproduced. Memories most sad, sufferings most intense, attend every page and incident of the black record. But there is a duty to be performed. The men who defended slavery, and in so doing sought to rend the American Union, have, through the mouths of their chosen representatives and their accepted leader—in the interest of a new and more dangerous movement to conquer what they failed to destroy—defiantly denied the justice of a verdict once rendered. They now seek to add insult to injury by declaring the National Government responsible for the atrocities of Andersonville, and as being guilty of greater crimes against the rebel soldiers in his hands as prisoners of war than were perpetrated in that and kindred pandemoniums.

The extracts herewith given are from a letter written by one who was a private soldier at the time, but whose education and character fitted him for a much more responsible position. Mr. Wallsh was an important

witness at the trial of Wirz. The testament to which allusion is made was a small pocket volume, on the margins of whose pages Mr. Wallsh pencilled a diary, some extracts from which are here given. On his release he transcribed these notes literally, and now possesses the sacred book and the manuscript one in which his notes were written. The statements bear the stamp of truth.

It is worthy of note, at this point, that the defense of insufficient supplies, as against the charge of premeditated starvation of our men, is set at rest by the fact that during the very year in which Mr. Wallsh and his comrades were so cruelly treated, General Sherman's army of about sixty thousand men marched through the State of Georgia, one wing of it passing within fifty or sixty miles of the prison pen, and subsisted entirely from the country through which they moved.

### ABUNDANCE OF PROVISIONS IN THE CONFEDERACY.

A recent letter from North Carolina, written by one who was in the Confederacy throughout the rebellion, and with ample

facilities for knowing, calls attention to the following facts :

"That it was well known that there was such an outcry against the planting of so much cotton that in some cases it raised a suspicion of loyalty (that word was a very popular one in the South during the rebellion) against those who, as before the war, planted nearly all their land in cotton. The corn and pork crops were immense, and particularly so in the latter years. Money was, of course, drawn away into the rebel army. In the western part of this State, (North Carolina,) there were very plentiful crops of wheat raised. This was the case, too, in northern Georgia. Sherman found very large quantities of supplies for his army in his 'march to the sea.' It is well remembered here that it was the boast of the Confederates—the warm war ones—that upon a suggestion of the high prices of provisions in their paper money, the reply was very promptly made that the gold would bring forth any quantity of provisions, and at low prices.

"When Schofield's army came through here (1864-'5) they found vast quantities of provisions and forage, and that, too, where there had been loud talk of a scarcity when the Confederate tithing officers were round. Schofield was largely supplied as he went along. And yet provisions could not be had for Andersonville in all Georgia and Alabama—the plantation States. We here know that is all 'bosh,' if Jefferson Davis and his cohorts assert it till their tongues turn as black as their nefarious principles.

"As further evidence of the fact that there was no scarcity, let it be remembered that the accounts rendered for supplies taken by the Union armies have been many in number, and ample in amount. The Quartermaster General's office has received very many. Others have been presented through another channel. Very many are still held back, awaiting the advent to power of a different influence, when these, too, will be presented. They will reach from this locality alone many hundreds of thousands of dollars—all of them, too, for supplies to the Union army."

The evidence on this and kindred topics is overwhelming. But to return to Andersonville, what follows will bear careful perusal:

#### A PRISONER'S NARRATIVE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 29, 1865.

COLONEL EMERIC ZABAD, late A. D. C., Third Army Corps.

COLONEL :

\* \* \* \* \*

You desire a history of my prison life while in the so-called Confederate States. I did not intend that such misery should be-

come manifest to the world; the dictates of humanity should cast the veil of oblivion over those days of suffering, cold, hunger, and want, but as you wish it I give a few of the incidents. I fear you will find me but a poor chronicler of those days of mortal misery, awful and premeditated persecution.

About three o'clock on the morning of the 27th of November, 1863, I was captured at Brandy station, Virginia, by the notorious Mosby. He was accompanied by over one hundred of his gang, all dressed alike in our uniform. I was robbed of six months' pay which I received the day before.

\* \* \* \* \*

We reached Richmond, Virginia, on Sunday, 29th November, where our misery commenced. At the Libby prison we (twenty-six prisoners) were stripped of our clothing, and underwent a rigid search. Over five hundred dollars were taken from my fellow prisoners, after which our clothing was restored, and in our worn-out and destitute condition we were consigned to Pemberton prison, opposite Libby.

For the first fortnight we lived tolerably well, thanks to the sanitary commissioners who supplied pork and hard tack (biscuits.) We were then informed that the supply was out, and we had, therefore, *nolens volens*, to subsist on prison fare—a small piece of corn bread daily, alternately receiving in addition some filthy, sour, and unpalatable brown soup.

I had not changed my shirt during the three months while at Richmond, and we had no soap.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 22d February, 1864, four hundred of us prisoners left Richmond, each receiving a loaf of half baked bread.

We reached Andersonville, Georgia, on the 29th February; some of our party died on the road, and we were turned into that celebrated stockade like so many cattle put into a pound.

On our journey to Andersonville we never received more than three coarse biscuits per diem; no meat, and we had to stand up in the (freight) carriages the entire journey, occasionally being turned into a field to stretch our wearied limbs whenever the train ran off the track.

There was no preparation made for us at our destination; the stockade was not provided with either shed or shelter in any shape or form, and we had to shift for ourselves as best we could. There were not two thousand prisoners confined there at this time. Two cooking utensils only were allowed to every ninety men, and each one had to wait his turn to cook his little ration of corn meal and bacon. I have often had my breakfast, in consequence, so late as ten o'clock at night.



Captain Wirz commanded the prison, than whom does not exist a more despotic and desperate tyrant, and for the most trivial offense, real or supposed, he would stop our entire rations for the day. I have often had, in consequence, to fast for thirty-six hours at a time.

In July there were

#### THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND PRISONERS

in the stockade, which was then only enlarged by ten acres, making in all twenty-six acres, including seven acres of swamp. The swamp was converted into a black, muddy soil by the deposit of human excrement; it was literally a moving mass of maggots. The exhalation from it was truly awful.

I have seen many men shot at by the guards. It was not unusual for me to see, when I went daily to fetch water from a course which ran through the swamp, the sentry with his gun at the ready to shoot down the first man who ventured to lay his hand on the rail of the dead line; and I have seen them aim, fire, and kill. I shall never forget seeing the heart's blood of a prisoner (he had but recently arrived) crimson that stream. It was no unusual nightly occurrence to hear five or six shots fired, nor the like number during the day. Numbers were shot down in this manner.

During the months of June and July, 1864, I have seen many men

#### FALL DOWN AND DIE ABOUT

the camp, and also in the swamp; and during the month of May, before the hospitals (as they were called) were removed outside of the stockade, many weak and sickly patients fell into the sinks which were provided for their accommodation by their fellow prisoners, and smothered in the filth before assistance could be rendered.

The food we received was wholly insufficient, and it was equally repugnant. We suffered bad treatment at the hands of some of our fellow prisoners, desperadoes from the army and navy; men were coolly and deliberately robbed and murdered at night by these parties. Lynch law was enacted, and I saw six of these malefactors strung up together and hanged within the stockade.

I was paroled in August last, and assigned to duty in the office of Surgeon Isaiah White, where I succeeded Dorrance Atwater in keeping the official record of our dead.

I believe the late General Winder did not take command at Andersonville until the month of May, 1864, when he had those formidable fortifications and batteries erected

#### OVERAWING THE PRISON.

I have seen the General very often. Captain Wirz called upon him daily on official matters, but independent of any instructions he might have received from the General the

man himself was equal to any emergency, any brutality that the Devil might prompt him to, or the monster's own bad heart might suggest.

The innumerable and indescribable diseases occurring among the prisoners were caused principally through want of proper food and cleanliness, combined with harsh and unmitigated cruelty.

I am aware that reports went forward to Richmond stating that the inclosure (the stockade) was quite inadequate to afford accommodation for one-third of the prisoners, and that the food was not alone improper but insufficient in quantity; and I have heard that the callous and heartless answer received from Richmond to such and the like remonstrances was that if more prisoners arrived to "cram them in."

\* \* \* \* \*

Chief Surgeon White, Surgeons Stevenson, Hearndon, and Rowsie did everything in their power that professional skill could devise or humanity dictate to provide for the sick, as well in the hospital as in the stockade, where the daily mortality was equal; but in the face of insuperable obstacles and barriers, and

IN THE ABSENCE OF PROPER MEDICINES, save those indigenous to the soil, what could they do to obviate their suffering, or prevent the awful daily mortality.

I subjoin the particulars of the mortality which occurred at Andersonville, Georgia, from the opening of the stockade, February 24, to November 15, 1864. They are authentic, and may be relied upon. I copied them from the official books kept at Andersonville.

I was released at Savannah, Georgia, November 20, 1864.

Of the four hundred prisoners who left Richmond with me I venture to say fifty are not now alive to indorse my statement.

1864.	Deaths.
March.....	283
April.....	576
May.....	708
June.....	1,201
July.....	1,952
August.....	2,992
September.....	3,217
October to 15th November, 1864.....	1,151

Total..... 12,080

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS WALLSH,

Late of Company F, 74th New York Volunteers.

#### A PRISON DIARY.

The following extracts are copied from the Testament kept by Thomas Wallsh while a prisoner of war :



1863.

Nov. 27. Captured by Mosby at Brandy station, Virginia, three o'clock. A. M.

Nov. 28. Arrived at Gordonsville.

Nov. 29. Arrived at Richmond.

1864.

Feb. 9. One hundred and nine officers escaped from confinement in Libby. It is said Colonel Straight also escaped.

Feb. 17. First batch, four hundred prisoners, left for Andersonville.

Feb. 18. Second batch four hundred prisoners.

Feb. 21. Third batch four hundred prisoners. Changed our prison quarters from Pemberton to Crew's, next adjoining. Two hundred prisoners from Belle Island joined us. They give a terrible account of that place. We expect to leave for Georgia tomorrow.

Feb. 22. Monday. Left Richmond at an early hour this morning; each prisoner received a loaf of corn bread; it was only half baked. I was very ill during the day; we traveled during the entire day and night; had to stand up during the journey. Fifty prisoners were crammed into each carriage.

Feb. 23. The train ran off the track within one mile of Raleigh, North Carolina, left the cars about five miles west of Raleigh, and camped in the woods. The guards here were kind to us. Eight small biscuits for a day's ration.

Feb. 24. Left Raleigh; received eight biscuits.

Feb. 25. Charlotte; cars again ran off the track; received two crackers (for twenty-four hours) rations.

Feb. 26. Received a corn-dodger; a piece of cooked beef about the size of a dollar piece; night cold.

Feb. 27. Intensely cold; embarked on trucks; left Charlotte; six poor fellows interred here; about three P. M., arrived at Columbia; changed trucks for cars; colored people offered cakes and pies for sale; guards drove them away.

Feb. 28. Traveled all night, and arrived ten o'clock Sunday morning at Augusta, Georgia, and received two biscuits each. There was a good deal of excitement here, young boys and old men were being drilled. On leaving this place we were served out with to-morrow's rations, six crackers and two slices of bacon.

Feb. 29. At two o'clock arrived at our destination, Camp Sumter, Andersonville, Georgia, and received two crackers. The prison contains sixteen acres of ground, but the inclosure is not yet completed. The change from Richmond appears to be a decided improvement. The place is simply a pound on an extensive scale. No shelter

whatever to keep us from the inclemency of the weather.

In Georgia State, in rebeldom, there stands, Amidst pestilential air and swampy lands, A prison—a place more fit for Southern dogs Who raised its lofty walls of pine wood logs.

Mr. Wallsh makes reference to Dorrence Atwater, now United States consul at Tahiti. Fortunately this gentleman has not only preserved an authentic record, but he is himself now on his way home upon leave, and will be able to testify in person to the facts, of the brutal details of which he had abundant opportunity of knowing. Mr. Atwater published, it will be remembered, a list of Union soldiers who died at Andersonville, Georgia, and was afterward with Miss Clara Barton, the noble American woman whose patriotic services in our war, and afterward to a common humanity during the Franco-Prussian contest, entitle her to as undying fame as that which clusters about the name of Florence Nightingale, occupied in arranging and naming the graves in the national cemetery at Andersonville.

Mr. Atwater says, in a preface to the list referred to, that he was taken prisoner July 7, 1863, and five months after sent from Belle Isle to Andersonville, where in May, 1864, he was paroled and detailed in Surgeon White's office. He kept the record of daily mortality, and also made monthly and quarterly abstracts of the deaths.

"The latter one," he writes, "was said to be for the Federal Government, which" he learned afterwards, "was never received."

#### "THE APPALLING MORTALITY"

continues Mr. Atwater, "was such that I suspected that it was the design of the rebel Government to kill and maim our prisoners by exposure and starvation so that they would forever be totally unfit for military service, and that they withheld these facts."

Mr. Atwater determined, therefore, to obtain and keep a list of the dead, which he did, beginning to copy in August, in 1864, and bringing it with him safely through the lines in March, 1865. These rolls were used to verify and correct the lists and books afterward captured at Andersonville by General Wilson.

MISS CLARA BARTON,

in the same publication, published her report of the expedition made to the prison-

pen, in order to clear the grounds for cemetery purposes, and to identify the graves of our dead. Her graphic pen gives a painful description of the scenes as they appeared in July, 1865, three months after surrender. She says:

"We are wont to attribute their (the captives) chief suffering to insufficiency of food, and while this is probably just, still, to the mind of one who has looked over the scanty, shelterless, pitiful spot of earth to which they were confined, and taken into consideration the numberless trials which must have grown out of the privation of space and the necessary conveniences of life, the conviction will force itself that these latter woes fell but little short of the former. *It is to be remembered that during thirteen long months they knew neither shelter nor protection from the changeable skies above nor the pitiless, unfeeling earth beneath.*"

\* \* \* "Think of thirty thousand men penned by close stockade, upon twenty-six acres of ground from which every tree and shrub had been uprooted for fuel to cook their scanty food, huddled, like cattle, without shelter or blanket, half-clad and hungry, with the dreary night setting in after a day of autumn rain. The hill-tops would not hold them all; the valley was filled with the swollen brook; seventeen feet from the stockade ran the fatal dead line beyond which no man might step and live. \* \* \* But this is only one feature of their suffering; and perhaps the lightest. Of the long, dazzling months when gaunt famine stalked at noonday, and pestilence walked at night, \* \* \* I will not trust myself to speak; I scarce dare think. \* \* \* But after this, whenever any man who has lain a prisoner within the stockade of Andersonville would tell you of his sufferings, how he fainted, scorched, drenched, hungered, sickened, was scoffed, scourged, hunted, persecuted, though the tale be long and twice-told, as you would have your own wrongs appreciated, your own woes pitied, your own cries for mercy heard, I charge you, listen and believe him. *However definitely he may have spoken know he has not told you all. However strongly he may have outlined, or deeply he may have colored his picture, know that the reality calls for a better light and a nearer view than your clouded, distant gaze will ever get.*"

The earnest and pathetic appeal of the noble woman who wrote the foregoing is not likely to be unheeded, especially when the diabolism which planned and maintained such unnecessary misery and cruelty, dares to flaunt its brazen denials in the face of the still living survivors thereof. There can be

no question of the deliberate character of the atrocious cruelty that was systematically practiced, nor of the other appalling fact, that such cruelty was approved and carried out under the orders of the President of the Slaveholders' Confederacy.

For a lack of medical supplies there may be some excuse. For an insufficiency of food even, at times, there might be undesigned reasons. But for the deliberate brutality which denuded the stockade inclosure of all shelter, even to a tree, and which prevented the erection of even the poorest apologies for protection from the sun and rains, there cannot be the slightest excuse presented. The responsibility of Jefferson Davis for this is proven by his adverse indorsements on the reports of the Inspector General, and by his continued marks of favor to the brutal General Winder, following close after the conduct of that person was made known by Col. Chandler and other reputable witnesses, to the rebel war department. The finger of history and the voice of mankind will emphasize the verdict against Mr. Davis.

### Surmounting that Hill.

The following brief but spirited dialogue is reported as occurring between Honorable B. H. Hill, of Georgia, and General M. M. Bane, of Illinois. The latter is a well-known Radical Republican, and was a very gallant officer of the Union army. Of Mr. Hill it is unnecessary to speak. The Union surmounted that Hill from 1861 to 1865, and it is not likely to long remain an obstacle. Some friend introduced the two gentlemen as Radicals of opposite schools. Mr. Hill soon declared, as they talked, that "this idea of equality and universal suffrage will ruin the Republic."

Bane told him:

"Sir, we have put it in the Constitution, and sealed it with our blood, and, sir, it shall be kept there, and if we can't keep it there with you in Congress, we'll put you out again."

The spirit of both sections spoke in these few words. But while there is no doubt that Mr. Hill would be "put out" if necessary, it is equally as certain there will be no occasion.



## TOOMBS AND THE SCALAWAG.

BY A SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN.

"The worst of all things the world ever saw, the Scalawag, the consummation of all villainy."—Extract from the speech of Robert Toombs delivered in the Representative Hall at the Capitol of Georgia, on the night of the 25th of January, 1876.

Many Democrats, apparently shocked by the fiery and vehement utterances of their distinguished leader on the occasion alluded to, attempt to explain and palliate their effect upon the civilized world as being but the rapid mouthings of an old man in his dotage.

Seeing no other excuse for such utterances on such an occasion by so distinguished an orator, they affect to pretend that it may be truly said of Mr. Toombs, now, "*stat magni nominis umbra*" exhibiting only a faint image of his former greatness.

A due regard for the truth of history requires that the fallacy of this statement be exposed.

Mr. Toombs to-day deservedly stands in the front rank of his profession as one of the safest counsellors and most eloquent and efficient advocates at the Bar. And it may well be questioned whether any one, holding this position, truthfully, can be said to be in his dotage.

Again, it is well known, that, prior to this speech of Mr. Toombs, the calling of a constitutional convention of the people of Georgia, while it had been agitated to a very limited extent, in a few localities, had never been considered a politic or feasible meas-

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—This article so clearly and moderately sets forth a certain view of the political situation, as entertained by those whom the writer ably represents, that its value cannot be questioned, even though there can be no doubt to those who, like THE REPUBLIC, endeavor to look at all things in their national and not their local aspects, that the severe censure the writer makes on Northern Republican hostility or indifference to the "native" Southern Republican sentiment is almost wholly overdrawn and without foundation. The most virulent criticisms in Northern newspapers and the most pronounced coldness exhibited by Republicans North, has been towards the Northern-born citizens of the South who are termed "carpet-baggers," or to the active colored politicians, and not at all towards those who, having served in the rebellion have since in manly honesty accepted "the situation." It is difficult for our Southern-born friends to entirely understand the absence of sectional pride or way of looking at affairs, which is a marked characteristic of the loyal States.]

ure by the mass of the Democratic party of that State.

But in less than one week after Mr. Toombs made the speech quoted from above, in which he peremptorily demanded of the Legislature that it should take the necessary action to allow the will of the people of Georgia (the Democratic party according to Mr. Toombs constituting the only true people) to be heard on the question of a convention, a bill calling a convention was passed in the House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority.

Can it, then, be truthfully said that a man is in his dotage, or that his political influence and power is even waning, when the influence of his eloquence upon the minds of his constituents is such as, in one short week, to effect an entire change of views of the popular branch of the Georgia Democratic Legislature upon a question so momentous as that of calling a convention of the people of the State, for the purpose of changing the constitution, the organic law.

And does not the attempt of the apologists for the Toombs, to explain away the evil of his speech by attributing his unfortunate utterances to his dotage, come with a bad grace from men, most of whom, upon a comparison with Mr. Toombs for strength and keenness of intellect, would appear like farthing rush-lights beside noonday sun.

Evidently, Senator Gordon, one of the most prudent and sagacious of all the Confederate leaders in the South, does not consider Mr. Toombs in his dotage, or as wanting influence, for we find him availing himself of the earliest opportunity afforded him to deliver an address to his constituents deploring the effect of Mr. Toombs speech upon the minds of the thinking men of the North, and counseling them to do all in their power to counteract the effect of that speech as soon as possible.

Let, then, no true friend of American constitutional liberty, as proclaimed in the platform of the National Union Republican party, cherish the delusion that Mr. Toombs, who has ever been one of the ablest and most



bitter of its foes, is in his dotage, and incapable of further effective service in the ranks of the opposition, for it must be admitted that he is to-day as strong mentally and politically as in the palmiest days of the rebellion.

When such a distinguished luminary of the Democracy finds it necessary on such an occasion to pour out upon the devoted head of the "scalawag" the choicest vials of his fiercest wrath, it may be of public interest to inquire who is the scalawag and why he incurs Mr. Toombs deepest displeasure, so deep in fact that to accommodate the full measure of his hate, to use his own language, "a deeper pit in hell must be dug for him."

*First*, then, who is the scalawag? In common Democratic parlance in the South, every white, whether native-born Southerner or born at the North, or elsewhere, and who had, prior to the breaking out of the late rebellion, become a citizen of one of the Southern States, who dares to advocate and vote for the principles and candidates of the National Union Republican party, is called a scalawag. No man knows better than Mr. Toombs the full meaning and scope of every word he utters—and these, then, are the men he so bitterly denounces as low dirty fellows and traitors alike to their race and section.

Observe that every Republican voter in the South does not incur this odious character and the direst displeasure of Mr. Toombs and others of the Bourbon Democracy. For Mr. Toombs in his late speech tells the colored Republican voters that he can respect them, notwithstanding in the same speech he calls them "beasts." He also in the same speech with like charity proclaims to the "carpet-baggers" that he can forgive them, for their morality is loose and he never expected any better of them.

Having thus clearly and unmistakably identified the scalawag it remains to inquire:

*Second*, Why the scalawag as thus defined should thus incur the vituperation and abuse of this distinguished leader of the Bourbon Democracy of the South?

When the veterans of the Union and Confederate armies met at Appomattox Court-House on the memorable 9th of April, 1865, General Grant, the great warrior who had led the Union armies over so many hotly con-

tested battle-fields to final victory and triumph, in that supreme hour of the nation's crisis realized the fact that the blood and treasure which had flowed so freely in the Union cause, in order to accomplish its perfect work and reach its full fruition in the blessings of heaven, must have been offered as a sacrifice, not to sectional hate or triumph, but to the full and perfect reconstruction of that Union which had been so sadly and so terribly jarred by the rude shocks of a rebellious war.

From that memorable day on which, with a delicacy of sentiment and a nobility of soul that will render his name immortal, he returned to his distinguished antagonist his sword, his every public act and utterance has given the world assurance that whatever may be the opinion of others as to the object and results of the late war, for him they meant the indissoluble Union of indestructible States and the supremacy of that Union and the laws thereof over all other political organizations and combinations whatsoever. In short, a government of the people, by the people, for the people, of the whole American nation.

He has never given the slightest intimation that he ever regarded that portion of our country comprising the States lately in rebellion as a conquered province wrested from a foreign power, but, on the contrary, has never seemed to forget that it was the land of his own misguided countrymen, who had made a gallant and heroic though unsuccessful struggle for a cause they believed to be right.

Thoroughly national himself in all his views and sentiments he realized the fact that the struggle having ended, it was the best generalship and highest statesmanship under the circumstances to inspire his late antagonists with like feelings in regard to the supremacy of the nation and its laws.

His political sagacity disclosed to him the fact, however slow others have appeared to be in realizing it, that if the Union was ever again to be restored to perfect symmetry and power the citizens and inhabitants of the States lately in rebellion would have to take a cordial and active part in the work of reconstruction, or, failing in that, the Union would be a union but in name, held together

by force. And his instantaneous comprehension of this great political truth, which so many distinguished men whose ability as statesmen and devotion to the Union cannot be questioned have seemed so slow to comprehend, will forever stamp him as being as great in peace as in war, with few equals and no superior. That his policy will ultimately triumph is certain. That it has been so long in abeyance is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that some extreme men at the North opposed it upon the ground that all the people of the South who had participated actively in the rebellion were traitors who had forfeited their lives, to say nothing of their political rights, and should never again be allowed to participate in the public affairs of either the States or the Nation, while many extreme men of the South opposed it upon the ground that a State having the right under the Constitution to secede, the States remaining in the Union had no right under the Constitution to coerce the seceding States back into the Union, and that the South having been overpowered by superior force should bide her time, and, like all nations conquered by a foreign power, avail herself of the first opportunity of throwing off the yoke.

To these extreme men of either section the idea of a reconstructed Union with ex-rebels participating freely and cordially in the government of either State or Nation is alike odious. Hating each other, they hate every one who attempts to bring them together in social or political contact. These are the men who make a common fight against the "scalawag." They alike affect to doubt the sincerity of the "scalawags'" devotion to the Union and its laws. Alike they both profess to doubt the sincerity of his professions of devotion to the Union and its government, upon the ground that he is a Southerner and has been a rebel. Accordingly these extremists unite in proclaiming to the world that no respectable ex-rebels in the South are Republicans, and that the white men of the South claiming to be Republicans are low ignorant fellows and mercenary traitors.

According to their statements the only true and reliable friends the Union and National Government, and especially the Republican

party, have in the South, are the men who have moved South since the war, and the colored people, or as Mr. Toombs calls them, the "carpet-baggers," and "beasts."

Now, the truth of history requires that these slanders on the ex-rebel Republicans of the South be repelled.

It should be borne in mind that the bitter and unrelenting warfare waged against the "scalawags" of the South is not so much on account of their willingness to have the Union restored as it is because they are willing and actually do participate in the efforts made to restore the Union upon the wise and just and humane principles of the National Republican party. For it is true that an ex-rebel may make Union speeches and take any number of oaths to support the Constitution and laws of the United States; nay, may even be a member of the National Legislature and yet retain his decency and respectability provided he does so as a Democrat and is bitter in denouncing Republican measures and men.

But when an ex-rebel makes Union speeches, or votes, or holds office as a Republican, forthwith, according to Mr. Toombs, *et id omni genus*, he ceases to be a gentleman or a patriot and becomes that "consummation of all villainy"—the scalawag. How can this be better illustrated than by comparison of the public career of Messrs. Gordon and Hill as Democrats, with that of Messrs. Longstreet and Akerman as Republicans, since the work of reconstruction commenced.

Each of these distinguished Southerners cast his fortunes with the Southern Confederacy and participated actively in the rebellion. After the war ended, diversity in the political views of these ex-rebels aligned General Gordon and Mr. Hill with the Democratic party, and General Longstreet and Mr. Akerman with the Republican party.

Messrs. Akerman and Longstreet have both held office under the Federal Government as Republicans, and for so doing have received an amount and quality of abuse from the Democratic press and politicians of the South unsurpassed in the annals of political warfare.

Messrs. Hill and Gordon are now filling Federal positions as Democrats, and yet the English language is exhausted in heaping

compliments upon them by the Democratic press and politicians of the South.

Now, Mr. Toombs and Mr. Hill both realized the fact, early in the history of reconstruction that if the Union was ever to be firmly restored upon the wise, just, and humane principles of the Republican party that the ex-rebels of the South must of necessity co-operate cordially in the work of reconstruction, and both of them being bitterly opposed to the firm reconstruction of the Union upon any such basis determined to prevent it if within their power.

Accordingly as early as the summer of 1868, Mr. Toombs and Mr. Hill addressed a mass-meeting of the Southern Democracy in Atlanta, Georgia, on the subject of reconstruction.

Mr. Hill, one of the most eloquent and effective advocates in the South as well as a most subtle and ingenious politician, sounded the key-note of that warfare which was intended to prevent the ex-rebels of the South from participating actively in the work of reconstruction upon the principles of the Republican party, in a speech advising ostracism of every kind against the white man who should dare to advocate the principles of that party in the South. In that speech he is reported to have said, among other things: "I tell you, my friends, there is no peace for this country until Radicalism is crushed; not only crushed but despised; not only despised but made infamous." And Mr. Toombs made a similar bitter speech.

How well that cry was taken up by the lesser lights of the Bourbon Democracy, and what suffering and misery has been entailed upon the Republicans of the South in consequence thereof, would require volumes to depict.

Suffice it to say that thousands of ex-rebels who, prior to these memorable speeches of Messrs. Toombs and Hill, were sympathizing and acting with the Republicans, shrank back appalled into the ranks of the Democracy, so frightened and dazed by the lightning flashes of Mr. Hill's keen sarcasm and the satire and the deep thunder of Mr. Toombs' denunciations that they were stricken with "day blindness" so as to be unable to recognize a Republican on the street by daylight for years afterwards. And the persistent and unscrupulous mis-

representations of the Democratic press of the South concerning the character and standing of such ex-rebels as dared to assert their manhood by boldly proclaiming their principles and acting with the Republican party have created doubts as to the character and motives of these ex-rebel Republicans even in the minds of some of their Republican friends at the North.

And thus suspected and distrusted by their Northern Republican allies and persecuted and abused by the Southern Bourbon Democracy, these ex-rebel Republicans of the South have suffered this crucifixion of the soul for years, through a perfect storm of hate, unflinchingly. True and steadfast in their devotion to the principles of the National Union Republican party, neither ostracism in all its forms, nor defamation, nor intimidation, nor terrorism of any kind, and not even the unkind suspicions and distrust engendered in the minds of their Republican friends North by the willfull and persistent misrepresentations of an unscrupulous opposition press, have ever been able to force them to desert or even waver in their support of the grand and immortal principles of the Republican party.

And thus the secret of the bitter hostility of Mr. Toombs to the "scalawag" is fully explained.

PRESENTS TO EASTERN NATIONS.—The custom of presenting gifts to the officials of certain countries, especially those of the East, at the conclusion of important treaties has been followed by our Government and those of Europe from time immemorial. The practice is an ancient one, and appears to be but another form for the expression of close friendship and esteem among the contracting parties. The United States follows the time-honored custom in its treaties with the Indians. Whether the policy is a wise one or not, it has been sanctioned by every administration from that of Washington to that of President Grant. Yet in the face of Democratic precedents, Springer, from Illinois, selects an isolated case in which certain Turkish officials were presented with gifts by our Government at the conclusion of a treaty between the two nations. Springer would have the people believe that the thing was never heard of before; that it remained for a Republican administration to inaugurate this system of foreign extravagance. Partisanship has blinded Mr. Springer to the truth. To deceive the people by presenting certain facts, and withholding others of greater importance, is to him a party obligation, and he has endeavored to faithfully carry it out.



## MINERAL WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

In collecting material for an exhibition of our mineral wealth special care has been taken to embody the largest practicable amount of information in the least possible space. Research has been confined chiefly to coal, petroleum, iron, copper, silver, and gold. These, from their great pecuniary value and direct connection with national progress, are among the most important elements of prosperity.

T. S. Hunt, Esq., of Boston, in a recent very interesting paper on the development of mineral resources, divides the country by a supposed line drawn north and south at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. To the Atlantic side he assigns "a great basin of paleozoic strata;" or more particularly designates it as "the vast appalachian coal-field, with its dependent areas of semi-bituminous and anthracite coal." Here, also, is found, "iron, copper, lead, salt, and petroleum." The Pacific half contains the more precious metals, "gold and silver among the chief products."

Acknowledging the convenience of this division the better to comprehend the subject, yet it is certain there are immense deposits of coal and petroleum already developed, of very fine quality, in the western slope. The coal, perhaps, does not reach the standard of anthracite, but it equals, and much of it is superior to that procured from the States immediately west of the Mississippi river; while the oil, so far as discovered, is fully up to that of Pennsylvania.

## COAL.

Coal being among the earliest mining interests, and its proportions having reached such an extent, the aggregate valuation exceeding all other minerals combined, we shall treat it in point of prominence first.

The commercial magnitude this article of domestic and manufacturing importance has achieved is largely owing to a thorough knowledge in producing it, the multiplied applications for its uses, and a more general comprehension of its resources. Besides, a much larger experience has been had in its investigation and study than that yet acquired or given to the separating of gold and

silver from the flint-quartz in the deep lodes and gorges of the west; and much less capital is required in a successful conducting of the enterprise. The work of the former covers a period of not less than one hundred and twenty-six years, while that of the latter comprises little more than a quarter of a century.

The first coal mined for mineral fuel was by the Colonies, from the Richmond, Virginia, mines, south of the Blue Ridge. It was, however, of a low grade, but produced in considerable quantity, and after the Revolution sold quite extensively in eastern cities. For many years these mines were operated with more or less profit, but now are worked only for home consumption.

The great central field of bituminous coal lies buried in the mountains of western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, West Virginia, and northern portions of Kentucky, having an area estimated at 58,000 square miles.

Adjoining this on the east, still in Pennsylvania, and extending into Maryland, are small areas of semi-bituminous deposits, among which may be mentioned the Blossburg, Cumberland, Broad Top, Johnstown, Towanda, and Ralston. These combined, yield about 5,000,000 tons annually.

The total production of bituminous coal from Pennsylvania mines alone, for the year 1872, was 7,442,000 tons, and of semi-bituminous, 3,000,000. Those of Ohio for the same period were 4,400,000 tons.

Anthracite coal the past few years has taken the lead, but was a long time working itself into favor. Its advantages, however, are now fully appreciated, and it ranks first among consumers, either for domestic use or for other purposes. The small region in eastern Pennsylvania where the great bulk of this coal is obtained, having an area of not more than 472 square miles, in 1872 produced 21,500,000 tons.

In Montgomery county, Virginia, there is found semi-bituminous and even anthracite coals of good quality, but the extent of deposit has never been thoroughly investigated.

Rhode Island and Massachusetts have an area of 500 square miles of the better grade

of coal, including anthracite; but with the exception of one mine at Portsmouth, which in 1872 yielded 14,000 tons, this vast field is waiting proper development to make it productive and valuable.

The State of Michigan has an area of about 6,700 square miles of coal; but it is thin, of inferior quality, and mined chiefly for home purposes. In 1872 the estimated production of this State was 30,000 tons.

Illinois coal-field covers a great portion of the State extending into Indiana and Kentucky, reaches some 47,000 square miles, and in 1872 produced—Illinois 3,000,000; Indiana 800,000; Kentucky 300,000 tons.

Tennessee and Alabama have developed important areas of bituminous coal, pronounced of medium quality; while the coals of Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas are of a much lower grade. In Arkansas, however, there has been discovered beds of superior semi-bituminous coal, with a near approach to anthracite.

The Mount Vernon mine in Mendocino county, California, so far as developed, extends under about 7,200 acres of land, and is a very good article of bituminous coal. The supply is estimated to be large, and needs but the conveniences of transportation to make it important and profitable.

Mr. L. Falkenau, State assayer, has made an analysis of this coal, which we annex:

Specific gravity.....	1.292
Volatile combustible substance.....	40.20 per cent.
Fixed carbon.....	49.70
Moisture.....	6.70
Ashes.....	3.00
Sulphur.....	0.40

Amount of gas evolved, 37 cubic feet per ten pounds avoirdupois of coal.

The canon coal-field of Colorado yielded in 1873, 12,909 tons; and in 1874, 19,385 tons. This, however, is not as good coal as that of the Mount Vernon mine in California.

Pancake Mountain coal probably is the most promising vein of this mineral yet discovered in the Pacific slope. This mine is in Nevada, and believed to be the first true coal found west of the Rocky Mountains. This vein is said to belong to the carboniferous age, and the deposit thought to be extensive. The present product is about 100 tons a month, and sells for \$12 to \$20 per ton on the dump.

There are two important coal-fields in Utah, one at Castle Valley, the other at San Pete. Both of these are considered rich in deposit, and the mineral a good bituminous grade. We have no figures that are reliable in connection with the products of these mines.

Macfarlane, the very best authority, sums up the grand total of this wealth in the United States, for the year 1873, at 50,000,000 tons; while the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, published in New York, makes the following announcement as the total production for 1874:

Anthracite coal.....	24,281,471 tons,
Bituminous ".....	25,248,684 "
Lignite ".....	1,217,020 "
Total.....	50,747,175 "

#### PETROLEUM.

Without entering into any particulars of history touching this mineral, we shall simply state that the oil wells of Pennsylvania were opened in 1859, producing the first year 500,000 barrels of crude oil, which sold at 55 cents per gallon. Much excitement followed this discovery, and for the ten ensuing years the production amounted in the gross to 35,273,000 barrels of 40 gallons each, and there were in 1870 3,000 wells in operation.

In 1861 the exports of this mineral were 28,000 barrels, and for the ten years following it amounted to 14,465,000 barrels. The average price of this oil had fallen to 25 cents per gallon, but even this made the aggregate valuation \$144,000,000.

Exportations for 1870 were 3,495,800 barrels; for 1872, 3,754,060 barrels; for 1873, 5,937,041 barrels, and for 1874, 5,878,578 barrels, being a slight falling off from the previous year. The amount, however, for 1874, chiefly refined oil, at the mean price of 13.09 cents per gallon, gave a total valuation for the year of \$30,825,268.

The total estimated production of crude oil for 1874 was 29,282 barrels daily, equal to 10,687,930 barrels for the year.

#### IRON.

The iron interest of the United States has received a good share of public attention, and its resources have been largely developed.

Supplies of this metal, in more or less quantities, and of higher or lower degrees of

excellencies, have been obtained from Vermont, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; from Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama; from Lake Superior, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, and West Virginia, with Missouri and Arkansas. In fact, the whole eastern half of the country is studded with immense beds of this valuable ore.

The total amount of iron produced in the United States in 1810 has been set down at 54,000 tons, against 165,000 tons in 1830. Then in 1840 it was 347,000 tons, against 600,000 tons in 1850; and in 1860 it was 919,870 tons, to 1,865,434 tons in 1870. In 1872 the grand total of iron production reached its highest figures—2,880,070 tons.

#### COPPER.

Throughout the eastern border of the great coal areas, embedded in the crystalline rocks, are considerable deposits of this mineral. It has been mined and treated to some extent in Vermont, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Eastern Tennessee. The total production, however, from all these sources has never exceeded 2,500 tons.

Lake Superior is the famous field for this metal. Here the ore is obtained in a state of comparative purity, requiring simply a mechanical process to separate it from the rock, when it is at once prepared for melting into solid ingots of copper.

These mines from 1845 (date of last opening) to 1858 yielded 18,000 tons. In 1873 it was 18,514 tons. There were thus 514 tons more taken out in the one year—1873—than for the thirteen preceding years. In 1874 there were 22,235 tons of ore mined, 83 per cent of which was copper, while the aggregate for the twenty-nine years since commencing operations was 217,134 tons.

Mr. Caswell places the production of this mineral, from Lake Superior alone, for 1874, at 17,327 tons direct, and from other ores 2,375 tons, with a grand total of 19,702 tons of ingot copper, and the exports for the same period were 4,500 tons.

We have omitted any reference to the ores of chrome, zinc, and nickel, now quite largely mined, or to the extensive salt deposits of New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and West Virginia. These works now

supply the markets of the country with this mineral, and yield no inconsiderable amount of exports. There is also granite, marble, sandstones, and roofing slate, all objects of substantial industry. But leaving the eastern half of our territory thus imperfectly represented, we turn to the west.

#### QUICKSILVER.

The recent scarcity, and consequent high price of this mineral has given a sudden and wonderful impetus to its production. For the past year the quicksilver excitement has been general throughout California. The easy accessibility of the mines, the broad area of country where they are located, and the profit derived from comparatively small investments, have induced large numbers to engage in the enterprise. As nearly as can be ascertained, there are forty-seven producing mines in the State, and a large number of claims giving promise of valuable developments.

A very large per cent. of this metal is consumed in the mining States and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, and not even an approximation can be made of the aggregate production.

R. W. Raymond, however, reports for 1874 432,635 pounds of quicksilver as having been shipped "through freight" from San Francisco by the Central Pacific Railroad; 36,444 pounds from San Jose, and 47,000 pounds as "local freight." The exports by sea from 1859 to 1874, inclusive, were 365,788 flasks, valued at \$14,226,441.

#### GOLD AND SILVER.

From among the vast number of producing mines in the State of California we have selected thirteen for special notice, either of which yield over \$100,000 annually. The most prominent of these is the

#### IDAHO.

This is near Grass Valley, Nevada county, owned by a corporation, and worked by a 90-horse power engine. The length of location is 3,100 feet, average width of ledge  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, length of drifts 3,988 feet, depth of working shaft 920 feet, and has 8 levels. There are 35 stamps, and the mine is in a most prosperous condition.

Mr. Edward Coleman, president and superintendent of the company, makes the fol-



lowing condensed report for the year ending December 7, 1874:

"During the year we have crushed 28,801½ tons of rock, of which 1,942½ tons came from the 400 level; 1,886¼ tons came from the 500 level; 5,581½ tons came from the 600 level; 16,433½ tons came from the 700 level; 1,594½ tons came from the 800 level, and 963 tons from the shaft. This gave a gross yield of 36,169 ounces of gold, \$631,190.56; 217 tons of sulphurets, \$21,600; specimens, \$38.50; gross yield of tailings, \$10,989.25; gold from old copper, \$692.39; total, \$664,811.20."

This mine from 1869 to 1874 paid \$1,603,000 in dividends.

#### EUREKA.

This mine, situated about two miles east of Grass Valley, and adjoining the Idaho, has a location of 1,680 feet, and is worked by a 60-horse power through a shaft 1,250 feet deep. There are 8 levels, with a total length of drift 9,000 feet, and has a capacity of crushing 65 tons of ore daily. The mine is owned by a corporation, and commenced operations October 1, 1865. From that time to September 30, 1874, they had taken out \$4,273,148, and paid \$2,054,000 in dividends.

Mr. William Watts, superintendent, for the year ending September 30, 1874, reports 8,130 tons of ore "milled," with a production of \$205,780 in gold bullion.

#### EMPIRE.

This is also near Grass Valley, and like the others owned by a corporation. It has a depth of shaft 1,200 feet. There are 12 levels, and a drift of 7,900 feet. It is handled by steam power, and during the year worked 11,000 tons of ore with a product of \$187,000 in bullion.

#### PROVIDENCE.

This is owned by an incorporated company, and located within one and a quarter miles of Nevada City. It has 3,100 feet on a vein running north and south. Width of vein at 400 feet level is 10 to 12 feet. This is said to be very rich in gold, and though there are no authentic figures given for the last fiscal year, yet Mr. Raymond estimates the production in excess of \$100,000. This mine is operated by water power, and the ore treated by chlorination.

#### BLACK BEAR.

This mine is in Siskiyou county, in the

wild northern portion of California, near Oregon. The counties of Siskiyou and Klamath, with an area of 10,740 square miles, have a population of less than 9,000. The works of this company are the largest in the section, and yielded in 1874 \$211,797 in gold.

#### KLAMATH.

The Klamath mine is also in Siskiyou county, is owned by a company, and in 1874 crushed 15,385 tons of ore, with the result of \$200,000 in gold bullion.

#### PLUMAS EUREKA.

This is the principal quartz mine in the county of Plumas, and is owned in England. For the year 1874 the company produced \$243,949 in gold. This county, Mr. Raymond says, has not been very thoroughly "prospected," and he gives it as his opinion that the region is specially rich in precious metals, which will be more fully developed upon the completion of the wagon road now in process of construction from Oroville up the north fork of Feather river to Sierra Valley.

#### SIERRA BUTTES.

These works are in Sierra county, also owned by an English company, and conducted upon quite an extensive scale. The number of tons of ore extracted and treated during 1874 was 53,959 tons, yielding \$470,608.

#### SUMNER.

This mine is in Kern county, is chiefly owned by Honorable J. P. Jones and Messrs. Burke and Strong. The patents of this company cover 11,300 feet, and the quantity of ore worked in 1874 was 5,000 tons, with a product of \$200,000.

#### HITE'S COVE.

This is in Mariposa county. In 1870 it produced \$180,000; in 1874 \$160,000.

#### AMADOR CONSOLIDATED.

These works are in Amador county, east of San Joaquin Valley, in the northernmost tier of mountain counties. This region is particularly noted for its mineral wealth. There are in the county 9 mining ditches, in all 48 miles in length. There are 16 quartz mills, crushing from 80,000 to 100,000 tons of ore annually. The Amador Consolidated is the leading mine, and for 1874 treated 22,098 tons, with a profit of \$259,971 in gold bullion.

## KEYSTONE CONSOLIDATED.

This, also, is in Amador county, and in 1874 worked 25,146 tons, with a yield of \$452,506.

## CHARIOT.

This is the leading mine in San Diego county, and has a capacity of 18 tons daily. In 1874 2,500 tons were worked, and a bullion product effected of \$138,864.

*Recapitulation of the Thirteen Principal Mines.*

Names.	County.	Tons Worked	Bullion Product
Idaho .....	Nevada..	28,801½	\$664,811
Eureka .....	Nevada..	8,130	205,780
Empire .....	Nevada..	11,000	187,000
Providence .....	Nevada..	*7,200	100,000
Black Bear .....	Siskiyou.	10,949	211,797
Klamath .....	Siskiyou.	15,385	200,000
Plumas Eureka .....	Plumas..	25,021	243,950
Sierra Buttes .....	Sierra...	53,959	470,608
Sumner .....	Kern....	5,000	200,000
Hite's Cove .....	Mariposa	4,000	160,000
Amador Cons'd..	Amador..	22,098	259,971
Keystone .....	Amador..	25,146	452,507
Chariot .....	San Diego	2,500	138,864
Total .....			3,497,288

\* Estimated.

As will be seen by the foregoing table, the annual yield of the thirteen principal mines was \$3,497,288, which is but a small per cent. of the aggregate mineral production of the State for 1874, which is put down at \$20,300,531.

## NEVADA.

This, beyond doubt, is the richest mining district in the United States, and without entering into particulars touching the various prominent mines, we may almost declare the whole Territory one vast field of mineral wealth. Of the extent and valuation no approximation can be made. Mr. Raymond, in his seventh annual report to Congress from the Pacific coast, makes special mention of 390 different mines and mining interests with the most flattering indications of a rapid increase in number and richness of new discoveries.

The famous Comstock lode is by far the most productive yet developed.

The official report of this mine for 1874 was:

Gold dust and bullion.....	\$379,933
Silver bullion .....	30,954,602
Ores and base bullion.....	4,117,698
Total .....	35,452,233

## IDAHO.

The aggregate mineral wealth of this Territory for 1874, represented by counties, was:

Owyhee county.....	\$900,000
Boise " .....	700,000
Alturas " .....	150,000
North Idaho and Lemhi counties..	250,000

Total .....

## MONTANA.

The mining interests of this Territory are very much crippled in the absence of proper transportation. The distance to the nearest water conveyance, Carroll, on the Missouri river, is 225 miles, and it is 400 and 450 miles, respectively, to Franklin and Corinne on the railroad. This passage as yet is made by mules and ox teams. Still the mineral product of the Territory for 1874 was:

Gold shipped by express (mules) ..	\$2,511,276
Silver (refined bars) " ..	16,766
Selected ores by other conveyances .....	474,000
Amount taken out by miners .....	842,680

Total .....

## UTAH.

Mr. George J. Johnson, of Salt Lake City, makes the following statement of the mineral production of Utah for 1874, and Mr. Raymond has incorporated it in his annual report:

Gold dust.....	\$92,093
Silver bullion.....	803,442
Base bullion shipped out of the Territory .....	2,811,200
Ore shipped.....	660,960
Refining works.....	5,664

4,373,359

Deduct silver bullion shipped by the Germania, and included above, but extracted from Nevada lead.....

461,758

Total .....

## COLORADO.

Theodore F. Van Wagenen, editor *Mining Review*, makes the estimate of mineral products of the Territory for 1874, and which Mr. Raymond also adopts, as follows:

Gold bullion (from smelting and amalgamation works) ..	\$422,563
Silver bullion (from smelting and amalgamation works) ..	1,983,207
Gold bullion (from stamp mills) ..	1,297,425

Gold bullion (from Placer work-ings).....	382,500
Ore and matte (shipped out of Territory) .....	1,102,815
Pig lead.....	73,676
Copper .....	100,197
Coal.....	1,600,000

Total ..... 6,962,383

ARIZONA.

This Territory produced in 1874 (estimated) \$487,000 in gold and silver.

1874 AND 1875.

We have not made special mention of Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, or Wyoming, but incorporate them in the following general statements :

*Total Production of Precious Metals for the Year 1874.*

Arizona .....	\$487,000
California .....	20,300,531
Colorado .....	5,188,510
Idaho .....	1,880,004
Montana.....	3,844,722
Nevada .....	35,452,233
New Mexico.....	500,000
Oregon .....	609,070
Washington .....	154,535
Utah .....	3,911,601
Wyoming.....	100,000

Total ..... 72,428,206

*Total Production of Precious Metals for the Year 1875.*

(Report closes December 31.)

Arizona ..	\$109,093
California .....	17,753,151
Colorado .....	6,299,817
Idaho ..	1,544,902
Montana.....	3,573,609
Nevada.....	40,478,369
Mexico .....	2,408,671
Oregon .....	1,165,046
Washington .....	81,932
Utah .....	5,687,494
British Columbia.....	1,776,953

Total.. ..... 80,889,037

In the preparation of this paper the writer is particularly indebted to Rossiter W. Raymond, United States Commissioner of Mining Statistics; to Honorable H. R. Linderman, Director United States Mints; to T. S. Hunt, of Boston, and to Colonel Elery C. Ford, Chief of Mineral Division, General Land Office. To the last named gentleman especial obligations are acknowledged, not only for valuable notes of personal observation with facts and figures, but for the full and complete report of the amount of precious metals produced in the States and Territories west of the Missouri river, including British Columbia, for the year ending December 31, 1875.

## REBEL COTTON CLAIMS—PAST AND PROSPECTIVE TREASURY RAIDS.

War is horrible enough even in a righteous cause, and against an enemy who had injured you. But a rebellion against freedom and the rights of humanity was simply damnable. Had it succeeded it would have turned back the hands of the dial of time for a century. If the South could pray for its success, it was only on the same ground that the wrecker asked heaven to direct the noble ship to the rock in the direct line of which his false light had been placed. Up to the beginning of the rebellion the country had kept pace with the world's advance except in the slave States, the principles of the North being the salt which had kept the nation from the corruption of slavery by enforcing and upholding freedom. Against freedom for all men and equality before the law, the South hurled itself with a vindictive

bitterness which the world could not understand, and if other nations suffered for the want of the Southern staple, it bid for their sympathy by endeavoring to provide facilities for obtaining cotton. The full extent of the bait thus offered will never be known. But enough is known to account for the expectation in the South of foreign aid. Meantime the war was made an instrument for profitable trade. Rebel cotton, cotton belonging to the Confederacy, was pledged and sold abroad for money to carry on the conflict. Cotton belonging to disloyal men was hoarded for sale when the rebellion should succeed, and cotton purchased of such men was moved for shipment at the first opportunity. When our troops penetrated the South such cotton was seized on behalf of the United States Government as enemy's property, the pro-



ceeds of which would be covered into the Treasury. The Republican party, which was in power through all the years of the war, and up to the end of the session of Congress in March, 1875, had passed laws which did more than justice in the premises. Indeed, they were often the means of putting money inadvertently in the pockets of men who deserved no sympathy whatever, for they had aided to redden the land with blood.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report for 1876, says that the number of bales of cotton seized after the 30th of June, 1865, the proceeds of which reached the Treasury was about 50,000, and the net proceeds thereof, averaging the same at \$100 per bale, was \$5,000,000. The fifth section of the act of May 18, 1872, directs the Secretary to pay to the lawful owners or their legal representatives the net proceeds actually paid into the Treasury after that date. The number of claims filed under this act was 1,336; the whole number of bales claimed is 136,877, the net proceeds of which at \$100 per bale, would be \$13,687,700. It is well known, says the Secretary, that a large number of persons from whom cotton was seized have made no claim whatever. Under these circumstances, he remarks, the magnitude of the aggregate of claims presented is worthy of attention.

In 1875 the Secretary reports that the number of claims filed under the act was 1,336, which have been acted upon as follows:

Allowed.....	39
Rejected.....	1,181
Dismissed for want of jurisdiction.....	96
Under examination.....	20

The amount paid out on the claims allowed, as aforesaid, is \$180,358.43.

The claims now under examination will be disposed of in a short time. Upon their decision all proceedings under the act will be finally closed.

The following table contains a summarized statement of the proceeds of captured and abandoned property covered into the Treasury, and the amounts that have been awarded and paid therefrom under the several acts of Congress:

Proceeds of captured and abandoned property covered into the Treasury.....	\$20,910,656 44
Awarded to claimants by Court of Claims under the act of March 12, 1863.....	\$11,848,247 73

Paid to claimants by the Secretary of the Treasury under the act of May 18, 1872....	\$180,358 43
Paid on judgments against Treasury agents under the act of July 27, 1868.....	39,138 17
Paid under various relief acts of Congress.....	228,250 81
Disbursed for expenses under joint resolution of March 30, 1863.....	75,000 00

Total..... 11,871,045 14

Which deducted from the total amount received as above, leaves a balance of..... 9,039,611 30

Since the date of the above report the sum of \$4,596.04 has been paid to claimants under the act of May 18, 1872, and which, added to the amount above stated, makes a total of \$184,954.47.

The Southern Claims Commission has not been idle, nor as a general thing have the claimants from the South been at all backward, in presenting evidence on which they hoped to receive large sums from the Treasury. It is very clear that no claim ought to be admitted against the United States growing out of the destruction or appropriation of, or through damage to property, by the army or navy engaged in the suppression of the rebellion. That was the act of the South, entered upon with a full knowledge of what it involved. If the property of rebel enemies was taken or destroyed by the Federal forces, it was an act of war justified by the condition of affairs. Had there been no rebellion, there would have been no collision between the South and the Federal Government, and no devastation by armed men. The South, therefore, has no just demand on the nation for the payment of losses incurred through its own appeal to the arbitrament of the sword, and the nation can refuse to recognize such demands with perfect honor. Nevertheless, there are claims which may fairly be made, and which it is the duty of the Government to pay; and Republican legislation has prepared the way for their examination and settlement. The following shows what has been done by the commissioners:

Number of claims decided, 9,222; amount claimed, \$19,263,437.51; amount allowed, \$3,057,894.09; amount disallowed, \$16,205,543.42.

The supreme effort of the South to destroy

the Union having failed, the Treasury of the United States came out of the ordeal with a kind of fascinating safety. The war over, and the spirit of destruction allayed in the bosoms of the warriors in gray, it was far more peaceful and pleasant to rekindle that spirit and divert it to besiege the Treasury. Hands which had fired rebel bullets into the Federal ranks put aside the musket for the pen. The yelling "Tigers," and other soldiers on the Confederate side resolved to try whether the pen was stronger than the musket or the sword. Armed with that innocent weapon, which may sign a death warrant or mark the number of kisses sent by a lover to his mistress in a *billet doux*, they proceeded to prepare the papers for claims for presentation to the commission. But there seems to have been a limit fixed by the commission beyond which no one was allowed to pass, and there must, in consequence, have been considerable mortification, if not dismay. The short table given is full of instruction. It abounds, indeed, with lessons for all sorts of people, particularly for claimants whose disappointment it respectfully figures out. It will be observed that the amount claimed was in round numbers nineteen millions of dollars; the amount allowed was three millions, leaving a trifling difference in the shape of a believed overcharge of sixteen millions! The martial claimants or claim agents whose sad failure the table records, of course, bought their experience, and can only profit by it on other occasions. But there are claimants who have no experience in the matter at all, as yet, but who may learn much from that table when they shall follow the lead of their disappointed brethren and present papers. The Secretary refers to the holding back claimants whose elevation of soul has not reached the standard—who have not put forth their claim for a pile of greenbacks of a most astonishing height. He says: Claims against the Government have been permitted to sleep until the officers connected with the transactions out of which they arose have died or gone out of service, and have then been revived and supported by *ex parte* testimony of such character as to cause their allowance by the accounting officers. Such claims the Secretary recommends should be barred if

not presented within a period of six years, and it is a very proper recommendation.

It is manifest, however, that the change in the composition of the House of Representatives has endangered the Treasury. Ex-Confederate participants in the rebellion are there in full sympathy with the Bourbon Democracy. A Democratic slave-owner always boasted that he was a great man, a superior being, born to command. Enlightened citizens derided the claim. The boasts of Southern superiority were despised by Republicans, who could not see any greatness in a slaveholder who lived in ease on the thralldom of others, and paid no wages to his workmen. To the Republican party the country is largely indebted for its safety and unity as a nation. But the boldness and patriotism of Republicans should be contrasted with the wretched attitude of the Democratic leaders, who have forgotten nothing and learned nothing, either through or after the war. Vigilance is more necessary at this time than at any period of the country's history. A rebellion was inaugurated; a great war was fought to put it down; a huge public debt has been created. And the purse strings are now in the hands of the enemy who fought to destroy the Union, and their party associates! Will the people tolerate a repeal of laws which have guarded the public money hitherto, and allow access to the Treasury by men who were denied before, but who may under legal sanction obtain millions? Are the people willing to have Republican legislation repealed, so that the public money may be drawn out by men who were known to be disloyal, and whose claims have been barred or rejected on that account? Will the loyal people of the nation pay rebel claims to men still disloyal, but on laws introduced by their sympathizing Democratic friends in the House of Representatives, and passed by the votes of an ex-Confederate majority placed there only through the grace and forgiveness of Republicans who have so long constituted its majority?

THE school question is logically compassed by the declaration—that the public schools are and must be sustained by the State to maintain and save the State. If any church wishes to maintain schools for its own benefit the right is not denied, but its communicants owe duties as citizens, and the maintenance of public schools is one of them.



## THE CONFEDERATE LEADERS IN CONGRESS.

The following facts are compiled chiefly from the "Congressional Directory" for the Forty-Fourth Congress, a work compiled by Major Ben. Perley Poore, clerk of printing records, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, or whose records are shown by the Confederate war records now in the archives of the War Department. The authority is quoted in the following extracts from the sources above stated, and from others:

**ALABAMA.**—*Senator* GEORGE GOLDTHWAITE, of Montgomery; was adjutant general of the State of Alabama during the war.

*2d District*—*Representative* JEREMIAH N. WILLIAMS, of Clayton; entered the Confederate army in 1861 as major.

*3d District*—*Rep.* PAUL BRADFORD, of Talladega; served in the Confederate army throughout the war.

*5th District*—*Rep.* JOHN H. CALDWELL, of Jacksonville; was elected solicitor for the tenth judicial circuit by the legislature, at the session of 1859-'60; re-elected at the session of 1863-'64. This statement shows that he was an officer of the rebel State government, and also of President Johnson's reactionary movement.

*6th District*—*Rep.* GOLDSMITH W. HEWITT, of Birmingham; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served until severely wounded at the battle of Chickamauga in 1863.

*At large*—*Rep.* WILLIAM HENRY FORNEY, of Jacksonville; entered the Confederate army at the commencement of hostilities in 1861, as captain, and was successively promoted major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brigadier-general; surrendered at Appomattox C. H.; was a member of the State Senate of Alabama 1865-'66, (under the Johnson provisional government.)

*At large*—BURWELL BOYKIN LEWIS, of Tuscaloosa; served in the Confederate army as an officer in the Second Alabama calvary.

**ARKANSAS**—*1st District*—*Rep.* LUCIEN C. GAUSE, of Jacksonport; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served throughout the war, attaining the rank of colonel. This person served with Major General Fagan, of whose actions in the Steele-Rice Arkansas campaign of April, 1864, so conservative authority as Harper's "History of the Great Rebellion" states in relation to the capture of a Federal train at Marks' Mills that, according to custom, all negroes found in the command after surrender were shot. These were not soldiers, but teamsters, servants, and contrabands.

*-2d District*—*Rep.* WILLIAM F. SLEMONS, of

Monticello; was a member of the Arkansas State (secession) convention in 1861; entered the Confederate army in July, 1861, and served through the war. He was a brigade commander under Fagan in the campaign against Steele, in April, 1864, at Poison Springs, near Camden, Ark., when nearly two hundred men belonging to the First Kansas colored (79th U. S. C. T.) regiment were murdered after being wounded or surrendering. He was also in the campaign under Price, in September and October, 1864, by which Western Missouri and Kansas were invaded and partly desolated. The atrocities perpetrated were numerous. An account of them may be found in a rebel book published at Cincinnati, entitled "Shelby and His Men"—the author of which served with Slemmons, and in the "Army of the Border," by R. J. Hinton, and "The Annals of Kansas," by D. W. Wilder, State Auditor of Kansas.

In the rebel account of the Price campaign in Missouri and Kansas the following description of the atrocities that were enacted is given. It relates to the division under "Joe" Shelby, but is true of the whole force:

"No prisoners were taken, and why should there be? \* \* He was fighting the Devil with fire, and smoking him to death. Haystacks, houses, barns, produce, crops, and farming implements were consumed before the march of his squadrons, and what the flames spared the bullets finished." Colonel Hinton thus describes what he saw: "They had entered Kansas. The first house across the line was the scene of a dastardly murder. An old, gray-haired minister of the gospel lay dead, with white locks reddened by his own blood. The women and children were frantic and crazed by terror and grief. The fence and outhouses were burning. The interior of the cabin presented a woe-begone appearance. A perfect saturnalia of destruction seemed to have reigned. Everything not portable had been broken \* \* The frightened inmates were stripped of nearly every article of clothing on their persons, or in the cabin."—*Army of the Border*, p. 190, 1865.

*4th District*—THOMAS MONTICUE GUNTER, of Fayetteville; was a delegate from Washington county in the Arkansas State Convention of May, 1861; served in the Confederate army as colonel Thirteenth Arkansas volunteers. He was also in Fagan's command.

**FLORIDA**—*Senator* CHARLES W. JONES; was born in Ireland. He was a brigadier-general in the Confederate army, as the Confederate War Department records establish.

**GEORGIA**—*Senator* THOMAS MANSON NORWOOD, of Savannah; was a member of the



Georgia (rebel) legislature in 1861-'62. In July, 1875, the Senator delivered an address, supposed to be non-political in character, at the commencement of Emory College, Georgia. From a report of this effort published in the Democratic press of that State, it appears Mr. Norwood declared that he charged "the Yankees as having waged the last war, not for patriotism or the Constitution, but for dollars and cents. He deplored the fact that the Government was controlled 'by a low order of intellect and a low order of men'—condemned the fifteenth amendment and the carpet-bagger. The thirteenth and fourteenth amendments he declared to be probably the only permanent results of the war. He said the negro had been left among a race superior to him in every particular to work out his own destiny, and that there would never be unity of the two races; that the negro as a race would never acquire either education or wealth; that he would never occupy the same social plane with the white race; that the common school system would in time prove a failure as to the negro; that it cannot succeed except among a homogeneous people, and a people who are on a social equality; that he would never appreciate nor exercise intelligently the privileges of citizenship; that the failure to contribute to the educational fund would in time lead to separate taxation for separate schools, and the system as to this race would fail; that the next generation of them will not be equal to the present as laborers and citizens \* \* \*

\* \* \* In the course of time the people of the North would themselves demand of him either colonization or the surrender of the elective franchise, and the fifteenth amendment will be repealed. \* \* To be a harmonious people, we must be a homogeneous people; the negro as a slave was always a disturbing element, and will be an irritation in the republic as a freeman."

Senator JOHN B. GORDON, of Atlanta; at the beginning of the war entered the Confederate army as captain of infantry, and was promoted major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, brigadier-general, major-general, and to the command of the second army corps; commanded one wing of General Lee's army at Appomattox Court-House; was wounded in battle eight times. Senator Gordon's position since the surrender, as well as his view of the act of secession, and the subsequent war thereon, have been given at length by himself in his testimony before the famous Ku-Klux Committee of Investigation. The report thus summarizes views he then held: "His testimony is that the magnanimity and deference shown by General Grant and his officers towards the army of the South at the time of and after the surrender led them to hope

they would be permitted to go home, resume their places and rights as citizens, organize the State governments, and again resume their relations to the General Government, as if there had been no rebellion. After President Lincoln's death, and Johnson's announcement of his policy, they became apprehensive that some hanging and general confiscation would follow. When relieved of those apprehensions, and terms of reconstruction and the fourteenth amendment were proposed by Congress, they began to complain of want of good faith, and when terms were imposed they became sullen and defiant, looking upon the Government as having outraged them, and deprived them of their rights." General Gordon said: "We feel a sense of wrong as honorable men. We do not think we have done anything in the dark." Of secession he said: "We thought we were right. I am one of those who thought so at the time. I thought I had a perfect right to do as I did. \* \* By the course that has been pursued to us \* \* we have been disappointed, and the feeling of alienation \* \* has in this way been increased more than by any other one fact." Gordon declared that "We did not believe the act of secession was treason. I do not believe it now. I do not expect ever to believe it." In regard to secret organizations for the advancement of Southern interests General Gordon testified as to what he termed a "brotherhood," admitting that he was asked to become the chief in Georgia; that it was widely extended; that the members took an obligation tantamount to an oath; that it was confined to white men, and that no white Republican was found in it; that it was "mainly confined to soldiers of the army," (Confederate,) men who were "ready for any emergency," &c. The likeness of this to the Ku-Klux was unmistakable. When Gordon entered the Senate, the Republicans having a majority in both bodies, he very carefully excluded from the sketch in the "Congressional Directory" of that date all reference to his Confederate military record, while as seen above in the later Directory he states it at length. There is a Democratic majority in the House, and it is honorable to parade treason in behalf of slavery and disunion.

*1st District*—Rep. JULIAN HARTRIDGE, of Savannah; delegate to the Charleston Democratic Convention in 1860; was in the Confederate army during first year of the war; was a member of the Confederate Congress.

*2d District*—Rep. WILLIAM E. SMITH, of Albany; entered the Confederate army as a volunteer, in the Fourth Georgia Volunteers, after the State seceded; was elected captain in April, 1862; lost a leg in the defense of Richmond, at King's School-House, June 25, 1862;

was elected to the Confederate Congress in 1863.

*3d District—Rep.* PHILIP COOK, of Americus; was elected to the State Senate of Georgia, in 1863, (rebel;) was elected a member of the State Convention of 1865, called by President Johnson; entered the Confederate service in 1861, as a private; was commissioned first lieutenant, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and in August, 1863, brigadier-general.

*4th District—Rep.* HENRY R. HARRIS, of Greenville; was a member of the Georgia (secession) Convention of 1861.

*5th District—Rep.* MILTON A. CANDLER, of Atlanta; was a member of the State (rebel) House of Representatives in 1861-'63; of the State Constitutional Convention in 1865—the body called by President Johnson.

*8th District—Rep.* ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS, of Crawfordsville; was elected to the Secession Convention of Georgia in 1861; opposed and voted against the ordinance of secession in that body, but gave it his support after it had been passed by the convention against his judgment as to its policy; was elected by that convention to the Confederate Congress which met at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861, and was chosen vice-president under the Provisional government by that Congress; was elected vice-president of the Confederate States for the term of six years under what was termed the permanent government, in November, 1861; visited the State of Virginia on a mission under the Confederate Government in April, 1861, upon the invitation of that State; was one of the commissioners on the part of the Confederate Government at the Hampton Roads Conference in February, 1865; was elected a Representative to the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses, when he declined a re-election; was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1866, by the first legislature convened under the new Constitution (the Johnson provisional movement), but was not allowed to take his seat. Mr. Stephens has rendered the sectional South the most important aid ever since he entered public life. In 1850 he assisted to draw up, and earnestly advocated the famous "Georgia platform," which declared that the State of Georgia "will, and ought to resist, even (as a last resort,) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union, any future act of Congress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent and petition of the slaveholders thereof; or any act abolishing slavery in places within the slaveholding States purchased by the United States for the erection of forts, magazines, dock yards, navy yards, and other like places; or in any act suppressing the slave

trade between slaveholding States; or in any refusal to admit as a State any territory applying because of the existence of slavery therein; or in any act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the Territories of Utah and New Mexico; or in any act repealing or materially modifying the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves."

In a speech to the Georgia legislature, November, 1860, Mr. Stephens said that he stood on the "Georgia platform," as he had always done since its adoption, and if the Republicans attempted by an act of Congress to exclude the slaveholders from the Territories with their slave property no man would be more willing or ready than he to disrupt every tie which bound the States together. But he advised the people to wait until the Republican policy was adopted before they tried secession. The "Secessionists" favored immediate secession. In a letter to a strong secessionist in New York he gave the following reason for advocating the policy of delay:

"The great and leading object aimed at by me at Milledgeville was to produce harmony on a right line of policy. If worst comes to worst, as it may, and our State has to quit the Union, it is of the utmost importance that all our people should be united cordially in this cause. This, I feel confident, can only be effected on the line of policy I indicated."

Before a similar body, February, 1866, Mr. Stephens used the following notable language:

"Whatever may be said of the loyalty or disloyalty of any in the late most lamentable conflict of arms, I think I may venture safely to say that there was on the part of the great mass of the people of Georgia and of the entire South, *no disloyalty* to the principles of the Constitution of the United States. \* \* \* As for myself I can affirm that no sentiment of disloyalty to these great principles of self-government, recognized and embodied in the Constitution of the United States, ever beat or throbbed in breast or heart of mine. To their maintenance my whole soul was ever enlisted; and to this end my whole life has heretofore been devoted, and will continue to be the rest of my days—God willing. \* \* \* Whatever differences existed amongst us arose from differences as to the best and surest means of securing these great ends, which was the object of all. *It was with this view and for this purpose secession was tried. That has failed.* \* \* \* *Our only alternative now is either to give up all hope of Constitutional liberty, or retrace our steps, and to look for its vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice, instead of on the arena of arms. In the court and halls of legislation, instead of on the field of battle.*" \* \* \*



Although Mr. Stephens has not publicly advocated the Confederate cause as zealously since July, 1873, as before that time, yet in his speech in Congress in opposition to the civil rights bill, January 3, 1874, and in a Fourth of July oration at Atlanta, 1875, he presented with his accustomed adroitness the arguments in favor of State sovereignty. He is the ablest of Southern thinkers and leaders, and his book "The War Between the States" is in title and contents the arsenal of that doctrine.

9th District—Rep. BENJAMIN H. HILL, of Atlanta; was a member of the Confederate States Senate, and of the Georgia Secession Convention of 1861. Mr. Hill was regarded in the Confederate Senate as the Confederate President's other self. Mr. Davis spoke of him as his "right hand." He was chairman of its judiciary committee, and reported and advocated the following resolutions or bills:

"That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with the intent to incite insurrection and abet murder; and, unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had, shall suffer death. This section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated at Washington on the 22d day of September, 1862, shall be rescinded, and the policy therein announced shall be abandoned, and no longer."

"2. Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, suffer death.

"3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom under the aforementioned act of Congress and proclamation, by abducting or causing them to be abducted or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death."

Jefferson Davis issued, December 22d, 1862, a proclamation declaring outlaws General Butler and the men of his command; also consigning to death, or slavery, or capture, officers commanding and men serving in colored regiments.

To enforce this proclamation of Mr. Davis' a law was passed on the first of May, 1863, by the Confederate Congress, reported from the judiciary committee by Mr. Hill, of Georgia. Section 4 of the law reads as follows:

"SEC. 4. That every white person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, who during the present war shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the Confederate States, or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 5. Every person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such in the service of the enemy, who shall during the present war excite, attempt to excite, or cause to be excited a servile insurrection, or who shall incite or cause to be incited a slave to rebel, shall, if captured, be put to death, or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 7. All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States."

In a late speech made in Georgia, Mr. Hill said:

"The great final struggle to settle the question whether Constitutional liberty on this continent shall be continued or not is to be fought in 1876. Can it be successfully fought with the ballot? \* \* \* If we fail at the ballot-box in 1876 by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. \* \* \* I tell you, my friends, there is no peace for this country until Radicalism is crushed; not only crushed, but despised; not only despised, but made infamous forever throughout America. If we must have war—if we cannot preserve this Constitution and Constitutional government by the ballot; \* \* \* if folly and wickedness—if inordinate love of power shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come. I am ready. But let one thing be distinctly understood, that if another war should come we of the South will rally under the old flag of our fathers. It always was our flag. We were never faithless to it, and our enemies were never faithful to it."

In his speech in the House of Representatives, January 11, 1876, Mr. Hill gave further expression to these ideas when he declared that "the South is here, and here she intends to remain. Go on and pass your qualifying acts, trample upon the Constitu-



tion you have sworn to support, abnegate the pledges of your fathers, incite rage upon our people, and multiply your infidelities until they shall be like the stars of heaven or the sands of the seashore, without number; but know this, for all your iniquities the South will never again seek a remedy in the madness of another secession. We are here; we are in the house of our fathers, our brothers are our companions, and we are at home to stay, thank God.

\* \* \* We come charging upon the Union no wrongs to us. The Union never wronged us. The Union has been an unmixed blessing to every section, to every State, to every man of every color in America. We charge all our wrongs upon that 'higher law.' We wronged the Union grievously when we left it to be seized and rent and torn by the men who had denounced it as a 'covenant with hell and a league with the Devil.'"

KENTUCKY—7th District—Rep. JOSEPH C. S. BLACKBURN, of Versailles; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served throughout the war. It is charged that his service was almost wholly that of a guerilla, engaged in harrying the Unionists of Kentucky.

LOUISIANA—1st District—Rep. RANDALL LEE GIBSON, of New Orleans; joined the Confederate army as a private soldier, and was promoted to the command of a company, regiment, brigade, and division.

2d District—Rep. E. JOHN ELLIS, of New Orleans; graduated in March, 1861; joined the Confederate army five days afterward, and served throughout the war.

4th District—Rep. WILLIAM M. LEVY, of Natchitoches; was a member of the State legislature of Louisiana in 1861; was a Presidential elector on the Breckinridge and Lane ticket in 1860; served in the Confederate army, participating in the engagements on the peninsula in 1861 and 1862, and thereafter, until the close of the war, in the adjutant and inspector general's department on the staff of General Dick Taylor.

MISSISSIPPI—1st District—Rep. LUCIUS Q. C. LAMAR, of Oxford; was elected to the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses of the United States, and resigned in 1860 to take a seat in the Secession Convention of his State; in 1861, entered the Confederate army as lieutenant-colonel of the Nineteenth regiment, and was promoted to the colonelcy; in 1863, was entrusted by President Davis with an important diplomatic mission to Russia.

4th District—Rep. ORHO R. SINGLETON, of Canton; was a representative from Mississippi in the Thirty-third, Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses of the United States, retiring January 12, 1861; was a representative from Mississippi in the Confederate Congress from 1861 until 1865.

MISSOURI—Senator F. M. COCKRELL, of Warrensburg; entered the Confederate army as a colonel in the Missouri State Guard, and was promoted to major-general, serving till the rebellion closed.

4th District—Rep. ROBERT A. HATCHER, of New Madrid; was a member of the State (rebel) convention in 1862, and a member of the Confederate Congress in 1864-'65.

8th District—Rep. BENJAMIN J. FRANKLIN, of Kansas City; entered the Confederate army as a private, was promoted captain, and served throughout the war. He was an active pro-slavery politician in Kansas, being known, in fact, among those called "Border Rufians."

11th District—Rep. JOHN B. CLARK, Jr., of Fayette; at the commencement of the late war he entered the Confederate army as a lieutenant, and was promoted successively to be captain, major, colonel, and brigadier-general. Clark served in Marmaduke's division, and was a brigade commander in the Price raid of 1864.

NORTH CAROLINA—Senator MATT W. RANSOM, of Northampton county, (post office Weldon;) entered the Confederate army, serving as lieutenant-colonel, colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general and surrendered at Appomattox.

Senator AUGUSTUS SUMMERFIELD MERRIMON, of Raleigh; was a member of the legislature of North Carolina in 1860-'61; was solicitor (rebel) of the 8th judicial district of North Carolina from 1861 to 1865.

1st District—Rep. JESSE J. YEATES, of Murfreesboro'; served in the Confederate army, and was major of the 31st regiment North Carolina troops; was solicitor (rebel) of the 1st judicial circuit of North Carolina from 1861 to 1866.

3d District—Rep. ALFRED MOORE WADDELL, of Wilmington; served in the Confederate army as lieutenant-colonel of cavalry.

4th District—Rep. JOSEPH J. DAVIS, of Louisville; served in the Confederate army as captain.

5th District—Rep. ALFRED MOORE SCALES, of Greensborough; was a member of the Thirty-fifth Congress; volunteered at the beginning of the late civil war as a private in the Confederate army; was afterward promoted and served as captain, colonel, and brigadier-general, and for the war.

6th District—Rep. THOMAS SAMUEL ASHE, of Wadesborough; was elected in 1861 to the House of Representatives of the Confederate States, and to the Senate of the Confederate States in 1864. A Mr. Ashe, of North Carolina, voted in Congress for the repeal of the Missouri compromise.

7th District—Rep. WILLIAM M. ROBBINS, of Statesville; was an officer in the Confederate army during the whole war.

8th District—Rep. ROBERT BRANK VANCE, of Asheville; was elected a captain of a company in the Confederate service in 1861; was twice elected colonel of the 29th North Carolina regiment, and was appointed brigadier-general in 1863.

TENNESSEE—Senator DAVID MCKENDREE KEY, of Chattanooga; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served through the entire war.

3d District—Rep. GEORGE GIBBS DIBRELL, of Sparta; was elected to the State (rebel) Legislature of Tennessee, in August, 1861; entered the Confederate army as a private, was elected lieutenant-colonel, and promoted colonel and brigadier-general of cavalry; was detailed to escort the executive officers and treasure of the Confederate Government after the evacuation of Richmond.

4th District—Rep. HAYWOOD YANCEY RIDGLE, of Lebanon; entered the Confederate army as a private in 1861, and served through the war.

6th District—Rep. JOHN F. HOUSE, of Clarksville; was a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States from Tennessee; at the expiration of his term of service in said body he entered the Confederate army, and continued therein until the close of the war.

7th District—Rep. WASHINGTON CURRAN WHITTHORNE, of Columbia; was assistant adjutant general in the Provisional army of Tennessee in 1861, and was afterward adjutant general of the State, which position he held under Governor Harris until the close of the civil war.

8th District—Rep. JOHN D. C. ATKINS, of Paris; was lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Tennessee regiment in the Confederate army in 1861; was elected to the Confederate Provisional Congress in August, 1861; was re-elected in November, 1861, and again elected in November, 1863.

10th District—Rep. CASEY YOUNG, of Memphis; entered the Tennessee army as a private; was afterward appointed assistant adjutant general upon the staff of General William H. Carroll, and was subsequently assigned to the command of a regiment of cavalry in General Chalmer's division. He also served under Forrest at the time of the massacre of Fort Pillow. In a report made by a Congressional committee that investigated this atrocity at the time, the scenes that followed the occupation of the fort, which was treacherously gained by advancing under cover of a flag of truce, are thus described:

"The rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, white nor black, soldier or civilian. The officers and men seemed to vie with each other in the devilish work; men, women,

and even children, wherever found, were deliberately shot down, beaten, hacked with sabres; some of the children, not more than ten years old, were forced to stand up and face their murderers while being shot; the sick and wounded were butchered without mercy, the rebels even entering the hospital building and dragging them out to be shot, or killing them as they lay there unable to offer the least resistance. \* \* \* No cruelty which the most fiendish malignity could devise was omitted by these murderers. \* \* \* The huts and tents in which many of the wounded had sought shelter were set on fire, both that night and next morning, while the wounded were still in them. \* \* \* These deeds of murder and cruelty ceased when night came on, only to be renewed next morning, when the demons carefully sought among the dead lying about in all directions for any of the wounded yet alive, and those they found were deliberately shot." The following dispatch was sent by Forrest to Polk: "Rebels killed five hundred men, (no prisoners.) The officers in the fort were killed. Over one hundred citizens who had fled into the fort to escape conscription ran into the river and were drowned." Of the conduct of Colonel Casey Young's troops, and of himself, of course, who were under Chalmer's command, and aided in this capture and massacre, Forrest said in his official report: "I desire to acknowledge the prompt and energetic action of Brigadier General Chalmers, *commanding the forces around Fort Pillow.* \* \* \* He has reason to be proud of the conduct of the officers and men of his command for their gallantry and courage in assaulting the enemy's works without the assistance of artillery or bayonets."

TEXAS—Senator SAM BELL MAXEY, of Paris; educated at West Point, was elected State Senator for four years in 1861, but declined, and raised the 9th Texas infantry for the Confederate States army, of which he was colonel; was promoted to brigadier-general in 1862, and major-general in 1864; commanded the Indian Territory military district 1863-'65, and was also superintendent of Indian affairs. During the war Quantrille, the Missouri guerilla, was sheltered in Maxey's department after his atrocious massacres at Lawrence and Baxter's Springs, Kansas, placed him under the ban of outlawry.

1st District—Rep. JOHN H. REAGAN, of Palestine; was elected in 1857 a representative to the Thirty-fifth Congress from the first district of Texas, and was re-elected in 1859 to the Thirty-sixth Congress; was elected to the secession convention of Texas in 1861, and was elected, with others, by that convention deputy to the Provisional Congress



of the Confederacy; was appointed postmaster-general of the Provisional Government of the Confederacy, March 6, 1861; was re-appointed on the permanent organization of the Confederate Government in 1862, and occupied the position until the close of the war; was also appointed acting secretary of the treasury of the Confederate Government.

Mr. Reagan, as rebel Postmaster General, was asked by Jefferson Davis for his views on the question of surrender during the pendency of the Sherman-Johnston negotiation in North Carolina, 1865. General H. V. Boynton, in his critical work reviewing General Sherman's memoirs, publishes a photolithographic copy of Reagan's memorandum for terms of armistice, as also his letter in response to Davis. In both these documents the most ultra State sovereignty ideas are advocated and set forth. Mr. Reagan was a candidate for delegate to the recent Constitutional Convention in Texas. This was after his election to Congress. During the canvass Judge Reagan strongly opposed the common schools, declared it unjust to tax the well-to-do in order to educate the poor; advocated the re-establishment of the whipping post as a punishment for petty larceny and petty crimes; and proposed that all other convictions should be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary, and consequent disfranchisement. This is one method of reducing the colored vote.

*2d District—Rep.* DAVID B. CULBERSON, of Jefferson; was a member of the State House of Representatives of Texas (rebel) in 1866, and to the State Senate (Johnson) 1866; entered the Confederate army as a private in 1862, and was promoted until he became adjutant general with the rank of colonel.

*3d District—Rep.* JAMES W. THROCKMORTON, of McKinney; elected to the State (rebel) Senate in 1863, and served until the surrender of General Lee; was elected a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention under President Johnson's proclamation, and was chosen presiding officer of that body; was elected Governor of Texas in June, 1866, for a term of five years; was inaugurated August 8, 1866, and removed by order of General Sheridan, August 9, 1867.

VIRGINIA—*Senator* ROBERT E. WITHERS, of Wytheville; entered the Confederate army as major of infantry in April, 1861, and during the same year was promoted colonel of the 18th Virginia regiment, which he commanded until retired in consequence of numerous disabling wounds, and appointed to command the post at Danville, Virginia, which position he held until the close of the war.

*1st District—Rep.* BEVERLY B. DOUGLAS, of Aylett; entered the Confederate army as first lieutenant in Lee's Rangers, and was

successively promoted to the rank of major of the 5th Virginia cavalry.

*2d District—Rep.* JOHN GOODE, Jr., of Norfolk; was elected in 1860 a member of the State (Secession) Convention of Virginia, which passed the ordinance of secession; was twice elected a member of the Confederate Congress, and served in that capacity from February 22, 1862, until the close of the war; was appointed a member of the National Democratic Executive Committee in 1868, and reappointed in 1872 for four years.

*5th District—Rep.* GEORGE C. CABELL, of Danville; volunteered as a private soldier in the southern army; in June, 1861, he was commissioned major by Governor Letcher, and assigned to the 18th Virginia infantry, Colonel Withers, Pickett's division, Longstreet's corps; participated in most of the battles fought by that portion of the army of Northern Virginia to which he was attached; was twice wounded, and left the army at the close of the war, with the rank of colonel.

*6th District—Rep.* JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER, of Lexington; was attorney-general of Virginia from 1857 to 1865. Is also borne as a captain on the Confederate army rolls.

*7th District—Rep.* JOHN T. HARRIS, of Harrisonburg; was a member of the Thirty-sixth Congress of the United States; was a member of the Confederate Legislature from 1863 to '65.

*8th District—Rep.* EPPA HUNTON, of Warrenton; was elected to the State Convention of Virginia, which assembled at Richmond in February, 1861; served through its first session, and then entered the Confederate army as colonel of the 8th Virginia infantry; was promoted after the battle of Gettysburg, and served through the residue of the war as brigadier-general.

*9th District—Rep.* WILLIAM TERRY, of Wytheville; was in the military service of Virginia in the "John Brown raid," in 1859; entered the Confederate army in April, 1861, as lieutenant in the 4th Virginia infantry, "Stonewall Brigade," and served during the war.

WEST VIRGINIA—*Senator* ALLEN TAYLOR CAPERTON, of Union; was a member of the State (Secession) Constitutional Convention of Virginia in 1861; was elected by the Legislature of Virginia a member of the Confederate States Senate, and served until the close of the war in 1865.

*2d District—Rep.* CHARLES JAMES FAULKNER, of Martinsburg; was elected to the House of Representatives in the Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, and Thirty-fifth Congresses, serving from December 1, 1851, until March 3, 1859; was nominated in 1859 by President Buchanan as Minister Plenipotentiary to France, and confirmed by the Senate; returned to the United States in



August, 1861, and was held as a prisoner of state upon no charge or imputation against his fidelity as a minister, but from an apprehension that he would unite his fortunes with those of the Southern Confederacy; was exchanged in December, 1861, for Hon. Alfred Ely, member of the United States House of Representatives from New York, then a prisoner in Richmond; entered the Confederate army as a member of General Stonewall Jackson's staff, and served as his chief of staff until the death of that officer, having written all the official reports that bear his signature. Mr. Faulkner, it is charged, did, in 1866, or '67, take the oath then required in West Virginia before he could practice at the bar of the State courts. This oath required him to swear he had not borne arms, &c., against the Union or the State. When charged with the falsity of this, Mr. Faulkner declared he had never held a military commission; that his position was an honorary one, and that he was

with Jackson only out of friendship, and because that General was very careless about his papers.

This record of the Confederate leaders now encamped in the National Capital amply justifies the belief that they are so thoroughly representative of Southern sentiment as not to be trusted with the control of the Union. In the years that have followed the war, only one man who served in the Union army has ever been elected to Congress by Democratic votes from any district in the ex-rebel States. This is a sufficient reason for fearing a united and sectional South. It is what the Democracy design. By that sign they conquer. If they elect the President it is as the servant of the men who, first failing to destroy the Union, now seek to rule it to the same end.

## A MODEL DEMOCRATIC ROBBERY—ITS PERPETRATORS UNPUNISHED.

During the year 1860 Godard Bailey, a relative of John B. Floyd, then Secretary of War, was the custodian of bonds belonging to the Indian Trust Fund, held by Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, as trustee of various Indian tribes, amounting in the aggregate to \$3,396,241.82. Said Bailey, during the year above mentioned, placed in the hands of Russell, Majors & Waddell the following bonds belonging to the Indian Trust Fund, viz:

Missouri 6 per cent. bonds.....	\$370,000
North Carolina 6 per cent. bonds...	357,000
Tennessee 6 per cent. bonds.....	143,000

Total..... 870,000

As collateral security for the return of said bonds, Russell, Majors & Waddell deposited with said Bailey acceptances of John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, amounting to eight hundred and seventy thousand dollars, issued to Russell, Majors & Waddell on account of their contract with the War Department. See the following receipt of Russell, Majors & Waddell for the above bonds:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 13th, 1860.

We acknowledge to have received from Godard Bailey, on the 13th of July last, and at various times subsequently, the following bonds, viz:

Missouri 6's.....	\$370,000
North Carolina 6's (Jan. and July)	296,000
North Carolina 6's (April and Oct.)	61,000
Tennessee 6's.....	143,000

Making a total of..... 870,000

which we agree to return to the said Godard Bailey, or to his assigns, on demand.

As collateral security for the return of the above described bonds, we have deposited with the said Godard Bailey acceptances of the Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, to the amount of eight hundred and seventy thousand dollars.

RUSSELL, MAJORS & WADDELL.

When this iniquitous act, perpetrated by one of the subordinate officers of the Interior Department, in the abstraction of said bonds was made known, it was discovered at the same time that acceptances unauthorized by law, and deceptive and fraudulent in their character, had been issued by John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, in favor of Messrs. Russell, Majors & Waddell, not only for the amount of bonds abstracted, but the records of the War Department showed that \$5,339,395 of said acceptances were in circulation, making the total amount of acceptances issued \$6,137,395.

The records of the War Department also showed that there was a deficit of \$6,137,395

to fall upon the holders of these acceptances, or to be assumed in some way by the Government.

It also appears from the records of the War Department, that while these acceptances were being issued to the amount of millions of dollars, Russell, Majors & Waddell were

regularly receiving their pay for the services performed under their contract, in money, from the Government; therefore it is evident that the acceptances were fraudulent.

For the facts contained in the foregoing statement see Report No. 78, House of Representatives, 36th Congress, 2nd Session.

## THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

### DESIGNS OF THE DEMOCRACY.

It is at this date (March 13th, 1876,) quite beyond dispute that the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives have during the last month been deliberately engaged in working up capital for political effect in the current elections. They have paid very little attention to the legitimate and necessary business of Congress. Their attention has been very largely directed to the operations and reports of the numerous investigating committees which they have set on foot, and it would appear that all their ingenuity has been brought into requisition to discover the means of holding delinquent Republicans to punishment and disgrace and letting the Democratic tempters go. The result of this has been that the detective press of the country has been for weeks past reveling in a very carnival of obloquy and defamation, and personal explanations have followed each other on the floors of Congress like the waves of the sea. Just on the eve of the New Hampshire election, the first in the contest of the Presidential canvass, and in this centennial year of American Independence, of course the excitement created has been profound.

### PUBLIC TIMBER AND MINERAL LANDS.

Much discussion has arisen in regard to the public policy respecting the various classes of lands granted and reserved under the legislation of Congress. But nothing definite beyond this has transpired, and no measures have been positively settled by all the long debates.

### RAILROADS.

The same general remark applies to the vast railroad interests of the country. Time has been largely consumed in the consideration of what has been done and what should

be done by Congress in regulating the action of roads already in operation and in encouraging the construction of those which have been projected. Little, however, has been accomplished beyond the exhibition of a vast number of plans and projects based upon the alleged necessities of the country, and of extended statistical information in regard to the general subject.

### COMMERCE AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Little or nothing has been done during the last month upon these important subjects of national interest. A few propositions have been made and a few speeches delivered without any definite or practical result.

### MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

Congress has been occupied with a variety of questions relating to Indian reservations, to deficiencies in the Indian funds, to the transportation of animals, the slaughter of buffaloes, the ravages of insects, the erection of an inebriate asylum, public buildings, fire insurance, pharmacy, the Washington monument, the birth-day of Washington, the Pension Bureau, the revenues of the Patent Office, the funding act, the civil service reform, the revision of the bounty system, the modification of the pension laws affecting the soldiers of the war of 1812, the safe burglary and whisky trials, the duties on imports, the revenue laws, the naturalization treaties, the proper qualification of a Speaker *pro tempore* of the House of Representatives, the accurate printing of the debates and speeches in Congress, the legal construction of the Centennial appropriation bill, and the correction of the revised statutes of the United States, in which codification there are found numerous errors and conflicts, which a constantly arising exigency requires to be remedied.

## THE JUDICIARY.

Mr. McCrary, of the House, (February 17, 1876,) explained the nature and object of the bill for the reorganization of the judiciary of the United States. With the growth of the country and the augmentation of human transactions, a vast accumulation of business has been thrown on the Supreme Court of the United States, making it physically impossible to sweep the docket, and thus will high amounting to a denial of justice. In 1810 the number of cases on the calendar was 98, in 1820 it was 127, in 1846 it was 146, in 1856 it was 266, in 1866 it was 457, in the present year it is 931. Two evils are felt—the great distance of the places of the trials below from the only place of trial by appeal, and the great delay which follows, in the decision of appeals. The proposal is to create an intermediate court of appeals. To this certain other suggestions have been added, and in this condition the subject rests.

## CALIFORNIA.

A spirited reply was made in the House by Mr. Page, of California, (February 26, 1876,) in reply to the allegation of Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, that California had repudiated and nullified the legal-tender act, and disparaging the condition of the State in contrast with Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin as the consequence. Mr. Page, while admitting that the circulating medium of his State is gold and silver, yet earnestly denied the charge of repudiating the legal-tender act. He presented a flattering view of the resources and productions of California, and fully vindicated his position in regard to her prosperity. The value of productions for 1875 was in the aggregate \$123,500,000; the aggregate capital and deposits in all the banks of the State is \$165,000,000. The purpose of the debate was to show that a metallic basis of currency is far better than that of paper money at a discount.

## MISSISSIPPI ELECTION.

On January 20, 1876, Senator Morton, upon the question of investigating the late State election in Mississippi, presented a narrative of circumstances and statistics which seem to be well substantiated, and which disclose a reign of violence, fraud, intimidation and

cold-blooded murder that would indicate the lapse of that people into a condition far worse than the most cruel barbarism. He thoroughly exposed the "white-line" policy, as it is called. The details of this system of intolerance and coercion, gathered up from many sources, show that no conceivable device was left untried to crush out the element of negro suffrage. In Yazoo county alone where there were two thousand Republican voters, only seven of these votes were polled. This is a specimen of the outrages committed over the whole State.

## EULOGIES.

On Thursday, February 24th, 1876, the memorial addresses, both in the Senate and the House, were delivered on the late Hon. Henry H. Starkweather, a member of the House from the State of Connecticut, who died at his residence in Washington, on the morning of January 28th, 1876, after a brief illness. The remarks on this occasion were deeply affecting. Mr. Starkweather himself had prepared an address to be delivered on the death of Senator Ferry, of his State, but his death occurred before the day set for the eulogies on Senator Ferry, and on that occasion the remarks which Mr. Starkweather had prepared were read to the House by General Garfield. Eulogies in memory of Mr. Starkweather were pronounced in the House by Messrs. Phelps, Hale, and Garfield; and in the Senate by Messrs. English, Dawes, Sargent, and Eaton, all of whom bore the highest testimony to his character as a man, a citizen, and a Christian.

## SENATOR MORTON.

On Tuesday, February 29th, 1876, Senator Morton, of Indiana, rose in the hall of the Senate to a personal explanation, calling attention to a scandalous report in the Baltimore *Sun*, alleging a corrupt collusion between himself and others in some matters in the Territory of Utah. Senator Morton explained the circumstances, showing that the whole statement was a base unfounded slander. The scandalous recklessness of the detective press in accusing public men upon the slightest rumor started by some infamous and unprincipled scoundrel has reached a point in our country where forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. Cannot some legisla-



tion be devised to put a stop to such a flagitious use of the power of the press?

#### THE APPROPRIATION BILLS.

It is a lamentable truth that at this writing (March 15th, 1876,) not a single regular appropriation bill has become a law during the present session. The Naval Academy appropriation bill is still pending in the Senate. The fortification bill, which is cut down for the coming year to \$315,000, has only passed the House. The legislative bill, which proposes a reduction from \$18,000,000 to \$12,000,000, has just been ventilated in a few of its items in the Democratic branch of Congress. It appears as though it were the studied intention of the Democrats to cripple and derange all departments of the Government. It is difficult to perceive any wise or patriotic motive in the course pursued. The cry of retrenchment and reform is made a pretext for ignoring the very necessities of the civil service, and for producing a state of perfect impotency in the Government at the beginning of the next fiscal year.

#### THE RESUMPTION ACT.

Some attempts have been made to secure the repeal of the resumption act of the last Congress. Memorials from different bodies of citizens in various parts of the country have been submitted to Congress—particularly from the Boston Board of Trade and the New York Chamber of Commerce, both the latter opposing the repeal. On Monday, March 6, 1876, Senator Sherman, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, made an elaborate and exhaustive speech against the repeal. The points made in this speech are:

1. The resumption act is a solemn pledge of the nation.
2. Ought this promise be performed?
3. Can we perform it?
4. Are the agencies and measures prescribed in the law sufficient for the purpose?
5. If not, what additional measures should be enacted?

Under these heads he showed the nature of the pledge of the public faith; why public policy forbids its repeal; why a day should be fixed for the resumption of specie payments; the balance of trade, and the fal-

lacious deductions from it; the effect of contraction; resumption through national banks; effect upon existing debts; the drifting process; why no apparent results; the state of the national and fractional currency, and United States notes; the burden of resumption; powers conferred by the act of 1875; cost of silver coin and fractional currency, and auxiliary legislation. To this speech no effective answer has yet been made.

#### CURRENCY AND FINANCE.

In connection with the above subject several strong speeches have been delivered on the questions of currency and finance. On Monday, February 14, 1876, Mr. Hale introduced a preamble and resolution looking to immediate further legislation in favor of resumption, which was defeated by a vote of 139 to 85, 65 members not voting. On Saturday, February 26, 1876, Mr. Riddle delivered a long and carefully prepared speech in favor of the repeal of the resumption act. He was followed by Mr. Landers, on the same side, proposing what he styled the following remedies:

1. The unconditional repeal of the resumption act.
2. An act of Congress making coin and United States Treasury notes full or equal legal-tenders.
3. An act substituting par United States notes for the national bank currency.
4. An act making par greenbacks convertible at the pleasure of the holder into a certificate of deposit or bond bearing a low rate of interest.

But the Democratic majority of the House are hopelessly divided on the question, and there is no more prospect of substantial relief to the country from this quarter than from the veriest mass of chaos that ever was.

#### COLORADO.

On Monday, February 16, 1876, the House proceeded to the consideration of a bill amending the enabling act of the last House of Representatives in behalf of the Territory of Colorado, and the bill with some amendments was passed. On Monday, February 28, 1876, the Senate considered and passed the House bill for the admission of Colorado as a new State into the Union.

## NEW MEXICO.

On Thursday, March 2, 1876, a bill for the admission of New Mexico into the Union was considered by the Senate. Subsequently the bill was recommitted, and again reported with amendments. On Friday, March 10, 1876, the bill was discussed at length, and with some further slight amendments was passed by a vote of 35 to 15, 23 not voting. The bill now goes to the House.

## HAWAIIAN TREATY.

A strong opposition has been developed against legislation to carry out the objects of the confirmation of this treaty. On Wednesday, March 2, 1876, a majority report in favor of such legislation and a minority report opposing such legislation were both presented. The discussion has taken a wide range, and been very earnestly maintained by Messrs. Wood, Luttrell, Leavenworth, Kelley, and others in the House, but like most of the questions which have elicited debate in this Congress, it is still pending with no more prospect of conclusion.

## SAFE BURGLARY AND WHISKY TRIALS.

The Democrats of the House have instituted still further investigation into these scandals, and thus added to a list which now numbers more than sixty different subjects of alleged fraud and corruption which they have already undertaken to lay open to the country.

## PERSONAL ACCUSATIONS.

The attention of Congress has been directed to charges affecting the character of General Schenck, of General Babcock, and of Representatives Hays and Purman. It is the most prominent feature of the action of this Democratic House. The majority seem bent on ripping open every budget of scandal and vilification which is brought to their door, no matter in what shape or from what source it comes, and perhaps this is the safest course for them, as well as for the nation. The old maxim that "it is an ill wind which blows no good," is as true in this case as ever. We have learned from some counsel of poetic wisdom that "nothing is formed in vain," and we see but little use of the Democratic party unless it be to hunt the stench of such papers as the *New York Sun* and the *Chicago Times*.

## PINCHBACK.

The case of ex-Governor Pinchback, claiming a seat as United States Senator from the State of Louisiana, after hanging in suspense for a period of three years, has been finally determined in the Senate. The question was upon a resolution offered by Senator Morton to the effect that Governor Pinchback be admitted to a seat as a Senator from Louisiana for the period of six years from March 4, 1873. To this an amendment was offered by Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, to the effect that Mr. T. B. S. Pinchback be *not* admitted to said seat. The discussion upon this subject was protracted and earnest. The whole case of the troubled condition of affairs in the unhappy State of Louisiana was gone over again and again. That Mr. Pinchback came to the Senate with the credentials of William P. Kellogg, the only acting Governor of that State, there is no question. It was first contended that on those credentials as *prima facie* evidence he was entitled to be sworn in and to take his seat, and that any investigation into the validity of his right should be taken afterwards. But this view of the case was overruled, and the papers referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. It was upon the resolution reported from that committee, and the amendment proposed thereon that the discussion proceeded. On Wednesday, March 8, 1876, the case was finally disposed of by the adoption of Senator Edmunds' amendment, by a vote of 32 to 29—12 not voting. The resolution as amended was then adopted by the same vote, from which it appears that some five or six Republican Senators joined the entire body of Democrats in rejecting Mr. Pinchback. That they were constrained to this course by honest motives must not be questioned. Whatever difference there may be as to the views and purposes of the Democratic minority, no one will impute sinister designs to such men as Edmunds, Christiancy, Paddock, and the Morrills. As constitutional lawyers they could not divest themselves of the responsibility with their views of the law and the facts, although they clearly saw that the political considerations were all the other way. But, nevertheless, we must accord the



same high consideration to those who voted in the minority, believing them to be equally honest and, as we view the case, far more consistent in their course. And for ourselves we must express the regret that Mr. Pinchback was not admitted, since his right to the seat should have been confirmed just as much as Governor Kellogg's right has been confirmed to him.

#### BELKNAP.

But the great sensation for the past month has been produced in the case of General W. W. Belknap, late Secretary of War. Early in the session the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department entered upon an investigation into the administration of affairs in that Department. This committee consists of three Democrats, Messrs. Clymer, Blackburn, and Robbins; and two Republicans, Messrs. Bass and Danford. But the Democrats of the committee have been especially active in nosing about among the scandals of the detective press and the rumors floating in the air. They have been in contact and secret conclave with one and another who had anything to tell in disparagement of the conduct of affairs in the War Office, keeping the Republican members of the committee in profound ignorance of many of their movements. Thus they have been occupied for many weeks, until finally they stumbled upon a mine of corruption which has exploded the Secretary of War, General Belknap, out of office and rendered him liable to the process of the Constitution and the laws in such cases provided. This has been a big bonanza to the Democratic party throughout the country, and such a howl has gone up over the land from all the party and detective press as has not been heard before since the yells with which the rebels used to rush into battle during "the late little unpleasantness." It is, however, our duty to give the simple substance of the action in Congress in regard to this affair. On Wednesday, March 2d, 1876, Mr. Clymer, chairman of this committee, arrested the proceedings of the House by an unusual show of solemnity, and the announcement that he had a report to present of so much gravity that no delay should be made in unfolding it to the House and the country.

The report was then read, by himself, in the most lugubrious style, at the Clerk's desk, charging General Belknap with unparalleled crimes in office, upon the testimony of one Caleb P. Marsh, a rebel Kentucky Democrat, then residing in New York, and proposing resolutions for the impeachment of the Secretary. The story of this disgrace is too fresh to be repeated here. As soon as the matter was placed before the House some of the Republicans desired to consider it in order that the House might act with dignity and deliberation in the premises. But these efforts were of no avail, and under the operation of the previous question insisted upon by the Democrats, the matter was hurried through in a single hour, and the resolutions adopted by a unanimous vote. The Committee of Investigation were appointed to proceed immediately to the bar of the Senate and impeach W. W. Belknap, &c., &c. On Friday, March 3d, 1876, a message from the House was received by the Senate that a resolution of impeachment had been passed by the House, and that Messrs. Clymer, Blackburn, Robbins, Bass, and Danford were appointed a committee to appear in the case. At 1 o'clock the Sergeant-at-Arms announced the presence of the committee, who advanced to the area in front of the Chair, and Mr. Clymer, the chairman, delivered their message. The President *pro tempore* replied, "Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee of the House of Representatives, the Senate will take order in the premises," whereupon the committee withdrew. Senator Edmunds offered the following, which was adopted:

*Ordered*, That the message of the House of Representatives relating to the impeachment of William W. Belknap be referred to a select committee consisting of five Senators.

The committee was named by the Chair, and consisted of Messrs. Edmunds, Conkling, Frelinghuysen, Thurman, and Stevenson.

On Monday, March 6th, 1876, Senator Edmunds reported the following from the select committee, which was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to:

"Whereas the House of Representatives on the 3d day of March, 1876, by five of its members, Messrs. Clymer, Robbins, Blackburn, Bass, and Danford, at the bar of the Senate, impeached William W. Belknap,



late Secretary of War, of high crimes and misdemeanors, and informed the Senate that the House of Representatives will in due time exhibit particular articles of impeachment against him and make good the same; and likewise demanded that the Senate take order for the appearance of the said William W. Belknap to answer the said impeachment: Therefore,

*Ordered*, That the Senate will, according to its standing rules and orders in such cases provided, take proper order thereon, (upon the presentation of articles of impeachment,) of which due notice shall be given to the House of Representatives.

*Ordered*, That the Secretary acquaint the House of Representatives herewith."

The next we hear of the matter in Congress is on Tuesday, March 7, 1876, in the House, when Mr. Clymer rises to a question of privilege. He states that he and his colleagues, Blackburn and Robbins, have been summoned to appear before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia with documents and papers to go before the Grand Jury, then in session, with a view to the indictment of General Belknap, and that having been let off by the court for the time being he comes to the House to raise the question of privilege. This led to a violent discussion upon the privileges of the House and the jurisdiction of the Court. The Democrats offered a resolution that the said committee and the members thereof are hereby directed to disregard the mandate of the Court until the further order of this House.

Mr. Hoar offered the following amendment or substitute:

*"Resolved*, That the said members be at liberty to attend before said court and give such evidence and produce such documents, if any they have, as relate to the charge against said Belknap for receiving a bribe from one Marsh."

A long and pointed debate ensued, which resulted in a defeat of the amendment by a vote of 130 to 84—75 not voting, and the adoption of the original resolution by a vote of 132 to 75—82 not voting. While these proceedings are in progress the Judiciary Committee of the House, to which is assigned the duty of preparing articles of impeachment, still holds back any report of its action. Marsh, the accusing witness, is allowed to flee out of the country, and the

Democrats are now occupied with efforts to obtain the passage of an act which will protect any rascal who will come forward as an informer upon those officials whom he has corrupted. Meanwhile the whole process against Belknap is at a standstill, both in the courts and in Congress, through the action of Mr. Clymer's committee, sustained by the Democratic majority of the House. Never was there a more disgraceful proceeding, take it altogether, than this which is now presented to the country. The main object of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives is too visible on the face of these transactions. After the first shock of the explosion of the scandal is over, the whole affair, as it has been managed by the bungling and unscrupulous partisans who have had it in charge, appears to have been a political trick to have an effect upon the eve of the New Hampshire election. It is most pitiable that such an officer as a Cabinet minister of whatever party should be shown to have been so complicated with the rascals around him, and it is scarcely less pitiable that the prosecution of the malefactor should be by some inscrutable arrangement of events committed to the hands of the leading representatives of the old rebel Bourbon Democracy in the present Congress. That all this is a foul blotch on the American name must be confessed with shame and humiliation by every honest and patriotic man.

—**BASE INGRATITUDE.**—When a man betrays a trust he injures himself and wrongs the one whose confidence he has abused. President Grant had faith in Belknap. He saw in him qualities which he believed would make a good war minister. He had every reason to believe him to be a man of honor, and strong enough to resist temptation. He lifted him from obscurity, and honored him with one of the highest offices in the land. The full glare of prosperity was too much for the man thus honored. Instead of justifying the confidence of the President, he allowed his head to be turned by the desire to equal others in style and fashion. He lived beyond his legitimate income, and the same old story followed—betrayal of a sacred trust, exposure, and ruin.

## REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

## NATIONAL.

...It is difficult to tell which is the saddest aspect of the sad Belknap business. The fall of the ex-Secretary, involving as it does, if the act be proven, a breach of official and personal trust which is appalling; the base and degrading partisan use to which such a grave, personal dishonor has been perverted; or the infamous eagerness with which the *gobemouche* press have accepted every vile and distorted rumor, and by first making evidence, have succeeded in arraigning, convicting, and practically executing the delinquent official before the bar of public opinion long in advance of any possible trial by "his peers," or a "jury of his countrymen." The time-honored maxim—honored by that modern inquisition, the "sensation" press—"more honored in the breach than in the observance"—that a man is to be accounted innocent until he is *proven* guilty, has been utterly ignored in the case of William W. Belknap. THE REPUBLIC has no defense to make or plea to offer for the ex-Secretary of War, but it is bound, as all of all parties should be, to "nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice." Has this been the rule of press or partisans since this sad affair was made known? The crime with which Mr. Belknap is charged is a grave one; but it is in no sense political; it is only in a remote sense administrative; it is a breach of official trust—a malfeasance. As an act of personal wrong-doing it is one of a most disgraceful character, alike in its abuse of personal honor and grave trust, as in the petty extortion it produced on the rank and file of our small army. The first attitude of the House, majority and minority, was one of dignity, and the opinion of members as expressed on the day that Mr. Belknap was arraigned befitted the serious gravity of the circumstances. But this was only temporary. The election in New Hampshire was pending. Capital must be made. So unscrupulous was the effort that it reacted. The Star Chamber inquiry conducted by Messrs. Clymer, Blackburn, and Robbins—a violent Copperhead during the rebellion;

a Kentucky guerrilla, and an ex-Confederate soldier, and proven taker of petty bribes—has become a very boomerang, and instead of braining the President and defeating the Republican party, has recoiled on the heads of those who sent it. The records show the intent of the Democrats on that committee, for in no real and legal sense were the Republican members, Messrs. Bass and Danford, permitted to be parties to anything like a fair and impartial inquiry.

...The drag-net investigations now being conducted by the Democratic House have in no way been impeded by the minority therein, or hindered by the Executive Departments. Their partisan animus grows daily more apparent. They are in no case aimed at any direct abuse, but the several committees are merely privateers armed and provided with letters of marque, sailing free, and seeking what they may capture. It is worthy of note that so little has been developed. The secrecy of these inquiries justifies a belief in the accuracy of a suggestion that has been made, to the effect that the real purpose is to hold back the testimony until the Presidential campaign begins and then vomit forth *ex parte* accusations and statements. Another notable fact is this: that in nearly every case the most active men in the conduct of the investigations are those—new members—who either sought by arms to destroy the Union, or, at home in the North, living under its protection, did all they could to hinder and injure the progress and triumph of the Union cause. Another fact that will bear examination is the cost of these inquiries. What is to be saved at the spigot of reduced salaries is already running to waste at the bung-hole of costly reporting, enormous printing, and useless (to a large extent) witnesses.

## THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

...The result of the election on Tuesday, the 14th ultimo, in New Hampshire, has not been a surprise to those who coolly watch the signs of the times. The folly of the Democracy in general, and of the South in particular, leads them to discredit the strength

and earnestness of the convictions which sway the loyal millions. Busy with many things, and full of the cares and interests attaching to a high and complex civilization, they do not, as a whole, or as a rule, devote themselves to political activities with the same zest that animates the Southern and Democratic partisans. The Republican party can never be made a compact follow-my-leader organization like the Democracy. Hence its members are strongly inclined to teach lessons to those in power. It is the exercise of this inclination, sometimes wise, often otherwise, that leads the Democracy to cherish the vain delusion that the party of nationality and liberty is about to break to pieces. This is what they have been believing for a year or two past. The effect of their folly has been seen in the vain glory of the Confederate Democrats, and in the speeches of Hill, Tucker, Blackburn, *et al.* *The loyal citizens of this country will never surrender the Government of the Union into the control of the men and party that sought to destroy it.* Whenever there is a reasonable fear of such a result they will assert their will in unmistakeable terms. They are able to punish all offenders against honest administration in their own ranks. They will do it, too. But they never will permit the indignation aroused in that way to lead them into the criminal folly of surrendering the country into the hands of those who would destroy it. This was the issue in New Hampshire. This is to be the issue in Connecticut, in August next in North Carolina and Alabama, in California next September, and in Ohio and Iowa next October, and through the whole thirty-eight States (Colorado will then be in the sisterhood) next November. There can be little fears of the result. The ghastly memories of Andersonville forbid but one end. The threats and boasts made by the sectional and Democratic South insure its defeat. In the Belknap business, also, as in other things, the engineers "are hoist with their own petards."

...The past Republican vote of the Granite State is worth reproduction and comparison. The State was first carried in 1856, and has been, with three exceptions, uniformly Republican ever since. On a vote ranging

from 71,556 in 1856 (the Presidential election) to 80,206 in 1875, the Republican majorities have gone from 9,115 in 1860, down to a plurality of but 172 in 1875. The Democratic party carried the Granite State (since 1856) in 1863, in 1871, and again in 1874. This was on the vote for Governor. The vote stood as follows :

		Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1863	Governor.....	32,833	29,035	*3,798
1871	Governor.....	34,699	33,892	*807
1874	Governor.....	35,608	34,143	*1,465

\*Plurality and over next highest candidate. In 1863 the Union candidate received 4,372 votes; in 1871 the Liberal Republican got 782 and the Temperance candidate 356; and in 1874 the Temperance candidate received 2,100 votes.

In each of these years examination shows that Democratic victory has not resulted from an increase in their vote, but from abstention on the part of Republicans, and by separate action on the part of those individualized movements or clans which more naturally gravitate to our standard whenever there is an overwhelming emergency. In 1862 and 1864, for instance, the Republican vote was 3,115, and 7,971 more than in 1863, while the Democratic increase was but small. In 1870 and 1872 the Republican vote exceeded that of 1871 by 1,020 and 4,860. The highest Democratic vote since 1856 was last year—a total of 39,121. The highest Republican vote was in 1868, for Governor, 39,785. Its lowest was in 1863. The smallest Democratic vote cast was in 1870 for Governor, 25,023. The Presidential votes since 1856 are as follows :

	Dem.	Rep.	Am.	Maj.
1856.....	32,789	38,345	422 Bell.	5,143 R.
1860.....	27,993	37,519	411	9,115 "
1864.....	32,340	34,382	.....	2,182 "
1868.....	31,224	38,191	.....	6,967 "
1872.....	31,425	37,168	.....	5,443 "

\* In 1872 O'Conner received 100 votes and the Temperance candidate 200.



It is noteworthy that the vote for Governor in the spring preceding the Presidential election is, as a rule, larger than that cast for the national tickets. The only exception in the years named was in 1856. This is the general rule in all States where State elections precede in the same year that for the Electoral College.

#### OTHER REPUBLICAN GAINS—LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL.

...The large majority of the town, county, and city elections which have taken place this year have resulted in very considerable Republican gains.

On the 6th of March a number of elections were had in Iowa, Illinois, and Michigan. In nearly every instance the Republican candidates were elected. Des Moines, Iowa, for instance, was carried, reversing last year's vote. In the Eastern States, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and New York, the victories are very decided. Portland, Maine, was carried for a Republican mayor by 516 votes, the first time for several years. Bangor elected a Republican mayor by 325 majority; the Democratic candidate last year had 164 plurality. At Biddeford the Republicans gained largely. At Augusta they carried the city and every ward, electing the mayor by 350. At Belfast they had 8 majority on the mayor, and carried the two boards. In New York the gains are as noticeable. Rochester was carried for the Republicans by 2,504 majority, a gain of 2,021. Up to this writing large gains have been made in the elections for county supervisors. In the town meetings for the first week in March there were 24 more Republican supervisors elected than was the case last year. At the second week's meeting, there were 62 more chosen. The total Republican gains were 88; the Democrats, however, gained 11, and the net Republican gain was, therefore, 77.

#### STATE CONVENTIONS.

...A State Republican Convention was held in Indianapolis on the 22d of February. The State ticket nominated consists of the following persons: Governor, G. S. Orth; Lieutenant Governor, R. S. Robertson; for Judges, W. P. Edson, A. C. Vorhis, H. C. Newcomb, and J. F. Kibbey; Secretary of State, J. P. Watts; Auditor, Wm. M. Hess; Treasurer,

G. F. Herriott; Attorney General, J. W. Gordon; Reporter and Clerk of Supreme Court, L. D. Miller and C. G. Schall; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Professor O. H. Smith.

After recounting the record of the party, resolutions adopted declare: 1. That the Republicans of Indiana will remain faithful to the National Republican party. 2. Will not recognize the right of any State to interfere in the execution of national laws. 3. Holds the Government of the United States a nation, not a mere confederation of States. 4. National and State governments independent within their own spheres. 5. Willing and anxious to restore relations between the North and South; not willing to forgive the unrepentant, and not willing to place those who fought against the Union on equality with those who fought for it. 6. Preference to Union soldiers for office as against amnestied Confederates. 7. Believes the conduct of the civil service should recognize qualifications and integrity, not party service. 8. All men equal. 9. Insists upon religious freedom and entire separation of church and State. 10. The revenue system should be so regulated as to promote harmony between labor and capital. 11. Taxes should be heaviest on luxuries. 12. Repeal of the specie resumption act. 13. Maintenance of the present system of currency. 14. Applauds the financial policy of the Republican party. 15. Opposes payment of the Confederate debt or Confederate losses. 16. Demands economy in the administration of the State and national governments. 17. Demands faithful administration of the school laws. 18. No laws in opposition to the wish of the majority. 19. Insists on bounties and pensions for soldiers of the rebellion. 20. Approves Grant's administration. 21. Presents Senator Morton for the Republican nomination.

...The Indiana Democratic Convention has been called for the 19th of April. The following call has been issued:

1. Correct constitutional principles in the administration of public affairs, be they either national, State, or local. 2. The most frugal and rigid economy in all departments of Government. 3. The punishment of crimes and criminals of high or low degree; the impartial enforcement of the law upon all, with

favor to none. 4. The protection of the labor and industrial interests of the country from the encroachments of monopolies of any and all characters. 5. The largest liberty to the individual citizen consistent with a just and vigorous administration of the laws. 6. A currency sufficient to meet the demands of trade, and which shall be alike receivable by all classes of people. 7. Equal taxation of property with just discrimination. 8. The repeal of the resumption act passed by a Republican Congress, in order that the business and commercial interests may recover their vigor and a new stimulus be given the industries and enterprise of the country. 9. The freedom of conscience in all matters of religion. No connection between church and State. 10. The punishment of malfeasance and corruption in office, without partiality or favor. 11. The nomination of none but honest and competent men for office. 12. The maintenance of our present admirable public school system, the outgrowth of the Democratic party's foresight and wisdom.

...The Wisconsin Republicans at their State Convention elected the following delegates at large to Cincinnati: Philetus Sawyer, David Atwood, Mark Douglass, and James H. Howe. The resolutions adopted promise to promote friendly feeling and harmony throughout the country; to support measures to secure the constitutional rights of all persons, including the exercise of the franchise, without intimidation or fraud. They approve of the vigorous efforts to punish official dishonesty and frauds on the revenue; declare it unwise for the Chief Magistrate to hold office beyond two terms, and accept President Grant's declaration in harmony with this principle as another claim to our veneration and gratitude; oppose impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations; declare that the currency of the country should, as soon as consistent with business interests and safety, be made equal to gold, and until that time should continue as a legal tender; hold that the common schools should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian contact, and finally declare that in celebrating the Centennial of this Republic it should be remembered that we are indebted not only to its founders, but to its defenders. The Congressional districts reported their delegates and electors and their action was ratified.

Mr. Blaine's name was heartily indorsed

for the Presidential nomination, though no instructions were given.

...The Prohibitionists in Rhode Island have put in nomination for Governor, Albert C. Howard; Lieutenant Governor, Alfred B. Chadsey; Secretary of State, Joshua M. Adedman; Attorney General, Warren R. Pierce; General Treasurer, A. D. Vose.

...The Connecticut Republicans in convention have placed the following ticket before the people: For Governor, H. C. Robinson; Lieutenant Governor, F. J. Kingsbury; Secretary of State, F. A. Walker; Treasurer, Jeremiah Olney; Comptroller, Eli Curtis.

Its platform expressed fidelity to the party, denounced sectional rule, indorsed the administration, denounced corruption, and urged the punishment of offenders. On financial matters the platform states that "the greenbacks were issued under the pressure of a temporary necessity to support the National Government against treason and rebellion, and that the party is pledged to redeem them and make them as good as gold to the holder, that no stain may rest in history upon any one of the patriotic efforts of the loyal people during the war."

Further, that "the welfare of the country demands that necessary legislation be passed to carry the resumption act into effect at the time specified, either by funding the greenbacks in long bonds at the lowest practicable interest, or by using any available means to pay and cancel them."

...The Democratic nominations are as follows: For Governor, Charles R. Ingersoll; Lieutenant Governor, George G. Hill; Secretary of State, Marvin H. Sanger; Treasurer, William E. Raymond; Comptroller, Albert R. Goodrich.

The platform denounces military usurpation, a corrupt civil service, eulogizes the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives for reducing expenditures, &c., declares that public credit must be maintained, demands that public lands should be preserved for the settlers, denounces the resumption act as a Republican sham, and urges Congress to substitute for it a well-defined and practical legislation tending to an accumulation of coin as a basis for resumption or funding and cancellation of

a portion of the greenback circulation in a convertible bond bearing a low rate of interest. The sixth resolution set forth the doctrine of specie basis, but quibbles in the following way: "It is therefore the duty of Congress to adopt such measures as shall lead to an early resumption of specie payments, while guarding its acts by that prudence which the interests of commercial, manufacturing, and industrial pursuits imperatively demand."

A fourth ticket, the third being that of the temperance party, has been nominated by a greenback convention held at Meriden. The platform adopted demands the repeal of the resumption act, and advocates a system by which currency would automatically regulate and limit itself. This is to be accomplished by the familiar plan of retiring national bank notes and making the currency exclusively a national issue, interconvertible at par with coin in bonds bearing low interest, the currency only to be issued when paid for, and neither Congress nor banks having any control over the amount issued.

The following ticket was nominated: Governor, Charles Atwater; Lieutenant Governor, Francis Gillette; Secretary of State, Lucien V. Pinney; Treasurer, Loren F. Judd; Comptroller, John A. Peck.

...The Ohio Prohibitionists in convention, at Columbus, February 22, nominated the following state ticket: Secretary of State, E. S. Chapman; Judge of the Supreme Court, D. W. Gage; Member of the Board of Public Works, Ferdinand Schumacher; Controller; J. C. Murdock; School Commissioner, George K. Jenkins. About one hundred delegates were present, and resolutions usual to such bodies were adopted.

...An interesting convention was held at New Orleans on the 1st of March, and following days, to consider what should be done to promote immigration to the South and West. Delegates were present from Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kansas, and Florida. The subjects considered were the best means of promoting immigration to the States of the Mississippi valley; the establishment at the port of New Orleans of an immigration bureau and depot in the interests of the States included in the call; the superior economy of the Mississippi river route for the immigrant to the interior States; the legislation needed by the different States in aid of the enterprise.

## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

### THE EXECUTIVE.

#### THE REORGANIZATION AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

The position of officials at the White House may be authoritatively stated as follows: General Babcock, who never drew salary as a secretary, but drew it as an engineer officer, returns to duty, and Colonel Fred. Grant is assigned to his place. General Babcock's retirement did not create a vacancy, nor does Colonel Grant's selection create a new position. Both draw army pay. Levi P. Luckey held the office known to law as private secretary to the President. He takes A. S. H. White's place at the Interior Department, and Ulysses Grant, Jr., takes Mr. Luckey's place. Mr. C. C. Sniffin holds the same position he has always held, as assistant private secretary.

### STATE DEPARTMENT.

#### PORTUGAL AT THE CENTENNIAL.

Information has been received from a reliable quarter that the sum of \$33,000 has been requested by the Portuguese Government in the Cortes for the purpose of rendering the Portuguese exhibition as attractive and complete as possible. This sum is intended for two sections in particular, namely, the agricultural and the industrial, which two sections appear to have attracted the greater part of the attention of Portugal. According to a telegraphic dispatch the goods are nearly ready to be embarked on board a steam transport to be conveyed to Philadelphia. A pavilion is to be erected on the Exhibition grounds to serve as a bureau for the Portuguese commission. The display of



wines, from present indications, will undoubtedly deserve the particular attention of those concerned in the wine trade.

### TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

#### THE PUBLIC DEBT—MONTHLY STATEMENT.

The recapitulation of the statement of the public debt of the United States for the month of February, 1876, just issued, is as follows:

Debt bearing interest in coin:	
Bonds at 6 per cent.....	\$984,999,650 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	697,884,750 00
	<u>\$1,682,884,400 00</u>

Debt bearing interest in lawful money:	
Navy pension fund at 3 per cent,	\$14,000,000 00
	<u>                    </u>
Debt on which interest has	
ceased since maturity.....	\$18,182,080 26
	<u>                    </u>

Debt bearing no interest:	
Old demand and legal-tender	
notes.....	\$371,011,844 50
Certificates of deposit.....	38,045,000 00
Fractional currency.....	45,120,132 47
Coin certificates.....	32,915,000 00
	<u>\$487,091,976 97</u>

Total debt.....\$2,202,153,457 22

Interest.....\$30,412,026 47

Total debt, principal and interest.....\$2,232,570,483 70

Cash in Treasury:	
Coin.....	\$70,035,772 73
Currency.....	9,529,404 17
Special deposit held for redemption	
of certificates of deposit	
as provided by law.....	38,045,000 00
	<u>\$117,610,176 90</u>

Debt, less cash in the Treasury  
March 1, 1876.....\$2,114,960,306 80

Debt, less cash in the Treasury  
February 1, 1876.....2,118,233,039 80

Decrease of debt during the past  
month.....\$3,272,733 00

Decrease of debt since June 30, 1875 \$13,728,419 52

Bonds issued to the Pacific railway companies, interest payable in lawful money—Principal outstanding, \$64,623,512; interest accrued and not yet paid, \$646,235.12; interest paid by the United States, \$30,141,513.06; interest repaid by transportation of mails, &c., \$6,724,317.92; balance of interest paid by the United States, \$23,417,195.14.

#### CASH IN THE TREASURY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 8, 1876.

SIR: In reply to the resolution of the House of Representatives of January 31, 1876, requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish a detailed statement showing the amount of actual cash on hand in the

Treasury, several depositories, and mints of the United States at the close of business on the 25th day of January, 1876, I have the honor to inform you that there were held at that time at the offices mentioned cash assets as follows:

Minor coins.....	\$74,762 17
Fractional currency.....	8,753,655 44
National bank notes.....	5,123,730 41
Legal tender notes held on special deposit for the payment of—	
1. Certificates of deposit issued under sections 5193 and 5194 Revised Statutes United States.....	\$38,145,000 00
2. Redemption notes of national banks failed.....	907,756 95
3. Redemption notes of national banks in liquidation.....	4,913,001 80
4. Redemption notes of national banks for reducing circulation.....	15,784,998 00
	<u>59,750,756 75</u>
Other legal-tender notes.....	17,608,084 26
Gold coin.....	44,659,128 24
Gold bullion.....	10,254,400 59
Silver coin.....	11,202,358 60
Silver bullion.....	4,146,932 67
Gold notes and certificates.....	8,787,761 00
Coupons.....	7,007,325 56
Called bonds and interest thereon.....	11,311,665 65
Checks, funded loan of 1881.....	63,543 68
Registered interest.....	582,508 50
Exchange drafts.....	350,500 00
One and two years' notes.....	5,837 33
Redeemed certificates.....	70,000 00
Vouchers—Speaker's certificates.....	156,475 01
Metal-fund in mint, (currency)...	50,000 00
Unavailable, (see Finance Report, 1875, page 404:)	
New Orleans.....	\$680,891 53
New York.....	87,206 70
Philadelphia.....	882 50
Washington, D. C.....	47,697 65
	<u>816,078 38</u>

In all.....190,778,043 24

This amount does not include any money in transit, nor is the amount of Treasury drafts outstanding at that time taken into consideration.

In addition to this amount there was also an amount of public moneys in national bank depositories; but as returns thereof are made at the close of each week, the amount of such moneys at the time mentioned in the resolution can be stated only by delaying this reply for a special report from all the depository banks of the public moneys on hand at that time.

At the close of business on the 22d ultimo, three days prior to the time mentioned in the resolution, the bank depositories held of such moneys \$10,140,611.61, which information it is thought will answer the purpose of the resolution.

As the legal-tender notes received for the redemption of national bank notes do not belong to the United States, of course their amount is not in any way embraced in the

monthly debt statement of this Department.

Very respectfully,  
B. H. BRISTOW,

Hon. M. C. KERR, *Secretary.*  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

PAPER MONEY ISSUED AND OUTSTANDING JANUARY 1, 1876.

Fractional currency.....	\$44,147,072
Old demand notes.....	69,642
Legal-tender notes.....	371,827,220
National bank notes.....	346,479,756

Total.....	762,523,690
Less cash in the Treasury January 25, 1876—	

Legal tender notes.....	\$77,359,441
-------------------------	--------------

Of which there was held for U. S. certificates of deposit in the national banks December 17, 1875.....	31,005,000
--	------------

Fractional currency.....	46,354,441
National bank notes.....	8,755,655
Less cash in national banks December 17, 1875—	5,123,730—\$60,233,826
Legal tender notes.....	\$70,725,077
Fractional currency.....	2,901,023
U. S. certificates of deposit.....	31,005,000
National bank notes.....	17,166,190—121,797,290
Less cash in other banks—	
State banks.....	\$28,740,215
Savings banks.....	17,853,182
Trusts companies.....	3,833,012—48,431,409

Total amount to be deducted for cash in the Treasury and in banks.....	\$230,462,525
--	---------------

Leaving amount of paper currency in circulation.....	\$532,061,165
--	---------------

BONDS HELD TO SECURE NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

The Treasury now holds \$356,295,750 in bonds to secure national bank circulation, and \$18,721,500 to secure public deposits; United States bonds deposited for circulation for the week ending Saturday, March 4, was \$79,000; United States bonds held for circulation withdrawn for the week ending Saturday, March 4, was \$781,900, making a decrease in the outstanding circulation of over \$700,000; national bank circulation outstanding, \$340,415,456, of which amount \$2,099,190 are gold notes; internal revenue received Saturday, \$418,162.44; month to date, \$1,278,788.39; fiscal year to date, \$76,548,176.46; customs Saturday, \$418,012.79; month to date, \$1,796,801.76; fiscal year to date, \$101,608,481.89.

#### BANK REPORTS CALLED FOR.

The Comptroller of the Currency has called upon the national banks for reports showing their condition at the close of business on Friday, the 10th day of March. The Comptroller has also declared a dividend of 10 per cent. in favor of the Charlottesville (Virginia) National Bank and 30 per cent. in favor of the creditors of Gibson County National Bank, Princeton, Indiana, dividends payable as soon as the necessary schedules are prepared.

#### EXPORTS OF PROVISIONS FOR THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY.

The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics furnishes a statement of the exports of provisions for the month of February, from which it appears the total exports from Baltimore were \$289,000; Boston, \$1,248,982; Philadelphia, \$1,025,930; New York, \$5,241,000, and New Orleans, \$43,073.

#### TRADE WITH THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

The following statement of the trade between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands during the calendar year 1875 is furnished by the chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Imports free of duty, \$163,747; dutiable, \$1,224,503; total, \$1,388,250. Among the principal dutiable articles were the following: Sugar—pounds, 21,609,556; \$1,113,237. Rice—pounds, 1,768,852; \$66,365. Raw wool—pounds, 109,359; \$11,861. Value of domestic exports, \$739,606; foreign, \$43,955; total, 783,561.

#### GENERAL POST OFFICE.

##### MONEY ORDERS TO CANADA.

An arrangement has been made by the Post Office Department with the Dominion Government by which the system recently inaugurated for the exchange of money orders between the United States and Canada is extended to Newfoundland.

WHEN a Republican is tried before a St. Louis jury and found "not guilty," it is about time that the Democratic press of the country take back some of the malignant expressions which tended to prejudice the case. If General Babcock had been found guilty the opponents of the administration would have devoted columns to the justice of the verdict. How many will have the manhood to devote a single paragraph to the justice of his acquittal?

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battle number of graves. Number of troops in the Mexican

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1876.

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Vol. VI.—No. 5.

MAY, 1876.

Whole No. 39.

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**PROSPECTUS.**

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A Political Science Monthly Magazine.

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In the future, as in the past, the REPUBLIC will advocate an honest administration of Government, whether municipal, State or National.

It will favor loyalty, honesty, economy, and personal ability as pre-requisites for office.

It will give credit where credit is due; and impartial criticism whenever required.

It will seek to hold up intelligence as the safeguard to National safety, and will defend our free-school system as essential to its preservation.

It will advocate improvements, that experience may commend, in the education of the young; but will oppose all efforts to divide the public-school funds, or to introduce into the schools sectarian influences.

It will advocate the perpetuation of the Republican party as the best, if not the only means to secure the preservation of the Union, and the impartial execution of the laws.

It will labor earnestly to bring about such reforms as the spirit of progress may demand, and in all things seek to present those methods of administration, which the wisdom and experience of a century have confirmed.

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To the Republican press of the country, co-laborers in the grand mission of preserving good government, the REPUBLIC sends greeting and thanks. If increased activity can merit a continuation of the good will expressed, our brethren of the press will still extend their hands in generous welcome. The Presidential campaign will bring upon all, increased responsibilities and new demands. The REPUBLIC will bear its share and perform its duty without fear or favor, keeping ever in view, that the highest reward that patriotism can win, is the consciousness that its efforts have advanced civilization and contributed to the cause of good government.

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# THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY, 1876.

No. 5.

## CRIPPLING THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The attitude of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives on the question of appropriations is one of an alarming character. It illustrates very forcibly the evil and unpatriotic policy of that organization, and must more than ever convince thoughtful and prudent citizens of the great danger to which the country would be subjected by the transfer of the General Government to its hands. Cries of "extravagance" and of "corruption" are the ready slogans of demagogues, while the reckless cutting down of expenditures seems an easy evasion of responsibility, a facile way of reaping undeserved credit, and, when examined, a striking proof of an utter want of statesmanship. Those who undertake it exhibit as plentiful a lack of sagacity as they do a superabundance of impudence. The campaign of slander and libel, which for the last five years has been an especial feature of the Opposition, has, like other vaulting ambitions, "o'erleapt itself," and now flounders in the *cloaca* on the other side, from whence it has expected to gain abundant materials for that throwing of filth wherein it revels.

### TOTAL REDUCTION PROPOSED.

The civil service, or purely administrative work of the General Government, is that portion whose efficiency is now most seriously threatened. The Democratic majority of the House Committee on Appropriations have reported the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, covering the fiscal year 1876-7. The character of the bill may be seen from the following summary of totals :

Appropriated, 1875-6.....	\$18,734,422 20
Estimated, 1876-7.....	20,773,306 70
Appropriations recommended for 1876-7.....	12,799,883 61
Difference between current appropriations and those reported.....	5,934,538 59
Between recommendations and estimates.....	7,973,423 09

The object of such wholesale reduction, in but one of the appropriation bills, is at once apparent. It is to give force to the long-reiterated accusation of reckless extravagance in the Administration and by the party sustaining it, and at the same time convince the unreflecting and penurious classes that it is no longer safe or wise to trust the Government in the hands that have so long defended its existence and directed its affairs. Had it not been so recklessly attempted the policy might have succeeded. As it is, the Democratic engineers are "hoist with their own petard." They have succeeded only in demonstrating that they stand before an awkward dilemma. On one horn they will be impaled to a demonstration, as it will not be a difficult task to prove conclusively that the proposed wholesale reductions are designed only for possible political effect on Northern elections, (Southern ones are to be coerced in the most approved ex-Confederate-White-League style,) and are therefore made to show a huge sum less in the present bulk of expenditures, without much or any regard to the effect it may have on the efficiency of the public service or the possible aggregate of the deficiency bills which must be considered—*after the elections*. This horn of their dilemma is being sharpened by Randall, Holman & Co. Already its pricking makes some of their supporters uneasy. In a few instances and items modifications have been introduced, to secure their united support, otherwise doubtful.

### DEMAGOGERY OR TREASON.

The other horn presents an even more serious and threatening aspect. It recalls Wendell Phillips' epigrammatic warning with regard to the sectional South and its

history—that to forget is a crime. In 1860-'61 a long threatened rebellion in the interests of slavery and the destructive political sophistries by which it was promoted culminated in the commencement of a four years' civil war. Actual hostilities were preceded by the scattering and dismantling of the Federal Navy; the disruption of the Army; the seizure of military posts, forts, arsenals, navy-yards, mints, custom-houses, and post offices; the robbery of public funds; the coercion of Indian tribes, and a vigorous attempt to disorganize the General Government so as to make it ineffective for resistance. The policy then pursued was designed to sunder the Union, destroy the Nation, and to create a new and slaveholding Confederacy. Two things were aimed at: *To cripple and destroy in advance the means of effective resistance and to obtain possession of all Governmental machinery existing within the territory designed for separation and independence.*

That purpose was, after a Titanic struggle, utterly defeated. Fifteen years after its inauguration, the same section, party, and men are back in Congress, aiming apparently at a rehabilitation of their former unsuccessful struggle under another form and by new direction. Slavery has been destroyed. Secession has apparently been surrendered. But the philosophy of disintegration survives in a more dangerous shape. The doctrine of State sovereignty is now advanced as a just vindication of the slaveholders' rebellion, and as the most effective method of winning (by its enthronement as a successful party dogma) *within the Union what could not be achieved out of it.* To tear to pieces it was necessary to destroy the means of coercion and resistance. To conquer what could not be pulled down it may be necessary to so *cripple the internal administration as to prevent the efficient direction of the public service, thereby disgusting the people and greatly weakening respect for the Federal Government.* The first aim was to destroy its material resources; the latter one seems to look to the crippling of its moral power, and thereby bringing it into contempt.

The Democratic party in and out of Congress may take whatever horn of this dilemma it pleases. Either will impale it so deeply

that ere long it will be only a gibbering spectacle of demagogish incompetency and sectional malignancy, or of both together. Perhaps these characteristics cannot be made more plain than by a practical application of the facts. The statements embodied herein may be relied upon as exhibiting in moderate form the effects of the reductions proposed in the important departments referred to. They are the result of careful inquiry, and the conclusions reached can be easily verified.

#### A SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT.

The extent of the reductions so recklessly made is exhibited in the following table, showing as it does the ratio allowed by the appropriation bill on the estimates as presented by the several Departments and Bureaus thereof:

Per cent. allowed on estimates.

- 0 Indian Office, (abolished.)
- 1½ Court of Claims; contingent expenses, etc.
- 33 Bureau of Education.
- 40 Contingent expenses of Senate.
- 45 Mints and Assay offices.
- 50 Department of State.
- 54 Capitol police.
- 58 Treasury Department.
- 59 Contingent expenses of House of Representatives
- 59 Territorial Governments.
- 63 Pension Office and contingent expenses.
- 64 Secretary Interior; contingent expenses Patent Office Building.
- 67 War Department and contingent expenses.
- 68 Clerks and employees of Senate.
- 68 Executive.
- 69 Library of Congress and Botanical Garden.
- 69 Navy Department and contingent expenses.
- 69 Expenses of collecting internal revenue.
- 72 Department of Agriculture and contingent expenses.
- 73 Post Office Department and contingent expenses.
- 77 Congressional Printing Office.
- 78 Department of Justice and contingent expenses.
- 81 General Land Office clerks and contingent expenses.
- 83 Patent Office and contingent expenses.
- 84 Surveyors General and clerks.
- 86 Clerks and employees of House of Representatives.
- 88 Pay and mileage of members of House of Representatives.
- 89 Pay and mileage of Senators.
- 90 Reporters of Debates and Proceedings of Congress.
- 99 U. S. courts; attorneys and marshals.
- 100 Compiling of Congressional Directory.

The result of this wholesale and indiscriminate reduction of the appropriations may in part be estimated by the following statement of its effect on the principal bureaus of the Treasury Department proper :

## EFFECT OF THE REDUCTION ON THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT PROPER.

Offices.	Clerks.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.	Remarks.
First Comptroller's—					
1876.....	47	....	\$75,800		The current work of the office cannot be kept up with the force contemplated by the bill now before Congress.
1877.....	37	....	55,480		
Reduction.....	10	21	20,320	27	
Second Comptroller's—					
1876.....	72	....	110,600		It will be impossible to carry on the current work in this office if the proposed reduction is made.
1877.....	46	....	65,780		
Reduction.....	26	36	44,820	40	
First Auditor's—					
1876.....	49	....	77,380		It will be practically impossible to keep up the work of this office with the force reduced as shown on this schedule, and <i>three</i> additional to the present force are deemed necessary.
1877.....	34	....	50,910		
Reduction.....	15	30	26,470	34	
Second Auditor's—					
1876.....	174	....	245,280		This office has a large number of unsettled accounts, bounty cases, &c., on hand. The present force is inadequate to that rapid disposal of them which should characterize the public service. With the proposed reduction the Bureau will practically be disorganized.
1877.....	106	....	142,500		
Reduction.....	68	40	102,780	42	
Third Auditor's—					
1876.....	171	....	237,000		With the present force 20,305 accounts behind, involving over \$40,000,000, and many other accounts of which the amounts are not stated.
1877.....	108	....	141,100		
Reduction.....	63	37	95,900	40	
Fourth Auditor's—					
1876.....	54	....	81,000		Already reduced so low that it is difficult to perform the current business of the office. A further reduction will be positively injurious to the public good.
1877.....	40	....	56,130		
Reduction.....	14	26	24,870	31	
Fifth Auditor's—					
1876.....	33	....	50,680		The reduction of force proposed will delay the adjustment of accounts, or prevent the careful consideration of them which the public interests require. In either case the public business must suffer.
1877.....	24	....	34,760		
Reduction.....	9	27	15,920	31	
Sixth Auditor's—					
1876.....	223	....	313,320		The reduction proposed will delay the settlement of the accounts of the Post Office Department. The work of this Bureau will be increased largely during the next fiscal year.
1877.....	216	....	271,050		
Reduction.....	17	7½	42,270	13½	
Commissioner of Customs—					
1876.....	30	....	49,760		Cannot keep up the work with less than the present force.
1877.....	19	....	30,760		
Reduction.....	11	37	19,000	40	
Register's—					
1876.....	207	....	246,160		The proposed reduction is made without discrimination, and shows ignorance of the work to be performed. One large division will be brought to a complete standstill. All will be crippled. The experienced officers cannot be retained. The work must fall behind very largely.
1877.....	143	....	157,970		
Reduction.....	64	31	88,190	36	
Internal Revenue—					
Reduction.....		20			Could not suffer the reduction without great detriment to the public good.
Treasurer's—					
Reduction.....	113	28	131,000	30	This Bureau cannot perform its important duties with the proposed force. There is barely enough at present employed.
Comptroller of Currency's—					
1876.....	125	....	161,620		The National Banks will be embarrassed by the reduction, and the business of the country must suffer. As the expenses of this Bureau are paid by the banks, this is a double hardship.
1877.....	85	....	102,810		
	40	30¼	58,810	30½	



The foregoing, it will be observed, does not include several important bureaus, as that of the Supervising Architect, the Revenue Marine, Hospital and Life Saving Service, the Bureau of Statistics, and the Light-House Board. The efficiency of these are all threatened, that of the Architect's office being almost destroyed. The Secretary's office itself will be, as Secretary Bristow points out, seriously affected.

#### EFFECT ON THE SERVICE.

It will be observed, that the largest reductions proposed in the Treasury bureaus are to be found in the Second Auditor's—forty per cent. in clerical force, and forty-two per cent. in money; the Third Auditor's, thirty-seven and forty per cent., and in the Fifth Auditor's, twenty-seven and thirty-one, a reduction that practically destroys this bureau. The Register's, also, thirty-one and thirty-six; the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Currency about thirty per cent. on both; and in the Second Comptroller's, where it is thirty-six per cent. in force and forty in money. These bureaus are concerned in the settlement of accounts, and in the handling and issuing of the public securities and currency. The Second Comptroller and the Second and Third Auditors have the settlement of the vast body of army accounts, quartermasters, paymasters, claims, etc., as well as of pay and bounties. The Fifth Auditor is charged with the adjustment of all internal revenue, diplomatic, and consular accounts. If the first named are not examined every quarter, so as to be adjusted at the end of each year, the door is left wide open for defalcation and dishonesty. The proposed reduction practically destroys this bureau, as by it every clerk will be required to do six times as much work per day as was the case in 1861. It would seem as if there was a special purpose in crippling these bureaus. It is well known that considerable dissatisfaction exists because of the delays experienced in the settlement of such accounts as those indicated. This affects a larger class than the claimants number. The same purpose crops out in the attack on the Pension Bureau, and in its proposed transfer to the War Department. It is harsh but not unjust to declare that

the object would appear to be to bring about a wide-spread sense of injustice on the part of the Government among a numerous body of citizens, who rightly deem themselves entitled to consideration at the hands of the Nation they so valiantly defended.

The disorganization or impairing of the bureaus charged with the collection of the revenue, as well as those that are intrusted with the handling and issuing of the public moneys, is even a more fatal policy. Already the Customs Bureau finds itself too weak-handed to meet the increased requirements of the service. The Centennial Exposition has made a great draft on its resources. This will increase, not diminish.

It is a fruitful opportunity for smuggling, to which the Democracy propose to add a premium by decreasing the force that can be employed. The internal revenue service is also to be impaired. But there is a Democratic excuse for this. By decreasing the officials, illicit distillers in the South will be secure. The Democratic vote will be increased thereby. Recently the French Minister notified our Government that the exhibitors from that country would feel compelled to withdraw their goods unless something was done to facilitate their reception. So petty and small is the spirit exhibited that this great Government is compelled to accept the charitable interposition of its citizens in order to keep its principal post-office buildings lighted. Only by such disgrace has the Democratic majority been roused to a sense of duty. All that portion of the Treasury work, which, like the Supervising Architect's office, has to do with the employment of labor is systematically crippled, and that, too, at a period when the general depression of industry makes the smallest addition to the ranks of the great army of the unemployed a grievous burden. Now turn from the Treasury to

#### THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

With the very important interests and duties committed to its charge, what will be seen? The following statement of the condition and necessities of the work in this Department illustrates the effect of the proposed reductions therein:

Offices.	Clerks.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.	Remarks.
Secretary's—					
1876.....	42	....	\$69,780		
1877.....	37	....	58,530		
Reduction.....	5	12	11,250	16	The work of this office requires an increase rather than a decrease of force.
Land—					
1876.....	201	....	264,960		
1877.....	167	....	211,380		
Reduction.....	34	17	53,580	20	With the proposed reduction great injury will be done to settlers and others dependent upon the prompt action of the General Land Office.
Pension—					
1876.....	365	....	490,780		
1877.....	269	....	338,920		
Reduction.....	96	26	151,860	31	This office is greatly behind in its work. To reduce the force, as proposed, will work great injury to the pensioners of the country.
Patent—					
1876.....	332	....	436,400		
1877.....	291	....	370,220		
Reduction.....	41	12	66,180	15	This office returns a revenue in excess of its expenditures. To cripple it by a reduction is to cut down its revenues.
Education—					
1876.....	13	....	18,360		
1877.....	11	....	14,890		
Reduction.....	2	15	3,470	19	The proposed reduction of clerical force will prove injurious. But the reduction of the contingent expenses from \$21,200 called for to \$1,210 will be ruinous. It will prevent the collection of statistics and stop work that is necessary to be done.
Indian Office abolished.					

## IMPEDING THE RETURN OF PROSPERITY.

The effect of the proposed reductions in this Department cannot but be very injurious. Take the General Land Office as an example. Year by year it is more heavily taxed, until the present force is worked to its utmost capacity to keep abreast of current business. The revival of prosperity, though slow in its advance, is sure to come. Along the whole western line the pioneer columns are advancing. The railroads send out their iron lines like tentacles to clasp and encompass the wilderness. The activity of the Land, like that of the Patent Office, is a proof of prosperity and progress. Statesmanship would recognize this, and provide for it accordingly. Demagogism only sees an opportunity of reducing salaries already poor, and of making a lesser appropriation than usual, utterly indifferent as to the injury that may be inflicted on general business, or the injustice done to individuals.

The Patent Office presents another illustration. Like our consular service, this office more than pays for itself. It would certainly seem as if a wise liberality should govern the appropriations made for its administration. In the present case, however,

the force is reduced below the ordinary demands of the work, and not the slightest heed is paid to the strong probability that the Centennial Exposition with its crowds of foreign visitors is likely to greatly increase the business. Very many inventors from other countries will doubtless apply for patents, hoping thus to protect what they exhibit, as well as hereafter make profit from sales among us. The Pension Bureau has been recently attacked, especially on the ground that its work drags behind so largely. The force is too small, therefore reduce it. This is the logic of Democratic reform. But, then, applicants will be dissatisfied, and votes against the party in power may thereby be made.

## THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

Take the important duties that are committed to Secretary Fish and the Department under his control. By the bill under consideration, its clerical force is greatly crippled, and the departmental work will be thereby delayed to an injurious degree. The staff of this Department must necessarily be one selected with great care. There are among its clerks many men, not only skilled in their delicate duties, but with special cul-

ture and accomplishments, which render them almost invaluable. A number of them are linguists of no mean order. Others are encyclopedias in their compendious knowledge of public and diplomatic affairs. It is such men as these—of whom the State Department by no means enjoys a monopoly in so far as the civil service is concerned—that the Democratic economists are depriving of a decent reward for a high order of service, well and faithfully performed. The demagogues in Congress, who are playing so large a game on such small cards, exhibit their inherent meanness most effectually when they reduce the already indifferent pay of Government clerks, but take especial pains not to put their own salaries on the same low level.

#### AN ATTACK ON LABOR.

No grosser or meaner attack on labor and its honest reward has been made of late years. The Republican party, in Congress or out of it, has never resisted any honest effort to reduce the expenses of the Government, and thus lighten the burdens of the tax-payers. But it has never done so at the cost of honest toil, or of the efficiency of the public service. Both are involved in the pending policy of the accidental majority of the House of Representatives. The facts already given, and others to follow, show how the latter will be brought about. As to the reduction of salaries, look for a moment at the gross injustice sought to be perpetrated. Take our consular service as an example. Whatever may be its shortcomings, the statement cannot be disputed that in the character of consuls and the honest administration of their duties that service is at least seventy-five per cent. in advance of what it was under Democratic rule. The consular service pays for itself, and leaves a surplus annually of about \$100,000. Since 1860 the price of living has everywhere advanced. All social economists take note of the fact that the increase of rapid intercommunication has largely increased and equalized the price of labor and the cost of living the civilized world all over. The rise of incomes—taking the grade to which consuls, &c., would properly belong—has not been in a proportionate ratio to the

cost of living. The English Government has collected and published in a Parliamentary Blue Book a large number of facts, which show that this increased cost of living at all their principal consular posts has within the past fifteen years been equal to at least forty per cent. During that period there has been several readjustments of our consular salaries, but no general or adequate increase has ever been made. On the other hand, there is much less opportunity than formerly to increase such incomes by doubtful means. Under the much abused Republican policy of special inspectors the affairs of the consulates have been investigated, and very many leaks stopped. Yet in face of these facts the Democratic House, under the leadership of a springing demagogue from the Illinois prairies, has slashed right and left, cutting down the salaries indiscriminately, and abolishing offices of real value to the commercial interests they are designed to foster.

#### INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

This illustration fits well with the reductions attempted in Department salaries. These latter were last scheduled in 1853. In a small number of appointments created and made since that date other rates may have been fixed, but as a rule the salaries then arranged are those that rule to-day. The cost of living has increased an average of sixty per cent.; while the increase in wages in other occupations has ranged from fifty to one hundred per cent. The large majority of the men and women employed in the Departments at Washington are persons of education, social culture, and trained intelligence. Very many of them possess a high grade of ability and attainments. All of them who by any means will be able to get away from conditions such as the demagogues propose to impose will undoubtedly do so. The most competent will be the first to retire of their own volition. The service will lose in efficiency thereby. But what does this matter to the politicians of the Randall-Holman school? They want a party cry, and think they have got one, forgetting, however, that the war and what has followed has educated a vast number of persons to a larger comprehension of the needs and demands of the Government than was



formerly the case. The American people are not mean. They do not propose to defraud the men and women who are hired to do their work, nor do they believe it to be the business of Government to cut down salaries and cheapen labor. Its business is to administer the trust imposed, and pay a fair price for all the services required.

#### IMPAIRING THE POSTAL SERVICE.

In further proof of the reckless policy pursued it may be stated that a very large proportion of the reductions proposed, in force or salaries, are made on insufficient evidence of their utility. The salary reduction, it is asserted, was to be made on a dead level rule of ten per cent.; that of force on a similar one of twenty per cent. The rule has not even been systematically applied, favorite officials being partially exempted, while others are made to bear more than their share. In the Treasury the working force is reduced twenty-three per cent., and the appropriation more largely. In the Interior the reduction of force is twenty and one-half per cent.; that of salaries, etc., equals twenty-three per cent. The mere statement of such a hard and fast rule ought to be sufficient, however, to show its unwisdom, because, if for no other reason, it makes no account of the duties performed by the official, and requires no examination into the needs of and demands on the office itself. The proposed reduction of the Post Office Department appropriation is in pertinent proof.

Like the General Land and the Patent Offices the postal service is, only in a larger degree, a proof of the growth and progress of the whole country. Its duties expand as that expands. Its usefulness must be commensurate with the growth of business and settlement. To reduce its resources and cripple its capacity is to hinder the rapid interchange of all business and social life, and will especially hamper the growth of the more struggling communities. The section which will suffer the most is the one most hostile to the policy of enlightenment and equity, which is the distinguishing mark of Republicanism. But the Post Office Department can cut its suit according to the cloth that is given. Its disbursements can be kept within its appropriations.

But that must result in a great lessening of postal facilities, if the amount is not to

exceed what is now proposed. At the present time, with 36,000 post offices, over 10,000 mail routes, the disbursement of \$35,000,000 and the receiving of \$27,000,000, the force of this Department is barely sufficient to perform its required duties. Good policy would require an increase. Especially is this so when the expected influx of foreign visitors and the certain movement of so large a portion of our own population as will attend the Centennial render it certain that there will be a greatly increased demand on the mail service. The annual increase in population, settlement, and business demands a proportionate increase in postal facilities. The electioneering necessities of a party out of power, but having a temporary "coign of vantage," require, or seem to, an ignoring of all these facts, in order to make a showing of economy on the stump and in the party press. The Postmaster General will be required to meet the issue presented by reducing the number of post offices and routes, cutting off four or five thousand of the smaller offices, and discontinuing at least a thousand routes. These will inevitably be, as to a majority of cases, within the Southern and Southwestern States and the Western Territories. The railroad postal force must be largely reduced, thus seriously crippling the mail service between and in the larger cities. If the policy now proposed is carried out as to the transportation of the mails, it must of necessity be followed by a reduction of the number carried. Cities now receiving two general mails per day will have to be content with one; daily mails will become tri-weeklies; the semi-weekly will be transferred to a weekly, while in all other branches the same necessity will prevail. The fact thus presented is already alarming members; but the danger is no greater, though it may be more in volume, than it is as to other branches of the public service treated to the same indiscriminating style of phlebotomy. The Democratic Dr. Sangrados tried another kind of blood-letting from 1861 to 1865. They haven't got quite over it "down South;" but this, and later, mode of reducing the system will prove as ineffectual for the destruction of the Union as was the former sanguinary process.

## A SOUTHERN FLY IN DEMOCRATIC AMBER.

The indiscriminate reduction of force, salaries, and necessary contingent expenses is continued through all the Departments, with the exception, perhaps, of that of War. And this exception is another proof of the subserviency to the demands of the Confederate South which is so marked a characteristic of the Democratic party. Texas is at present one of the strongholds of Democracy. It has been made so by the concentration there of the ex-Confederate army by means of immigration from other Southern States, by a large increase of ruffianism and the usual processes of Democratic intimidation, and through the wholesale disfranchisement of colored voters by means of "Judicial Ku-Kluxism." Texas has, in addition, a chronic source of disorder—that of the Rio Grande Mexican cattle forays. To check, and finally, it is hoped, prevent them, it is necessary for the United States to maintain a large military force on that frontier. Besides, the Confederate Democratic leaders are looking for prospective gains to the area of their Southern empire, to the final establishment of which they have never ceased to look forward. The army on the Rio Grande, under their control, could easily be made the vanguard of a new war of conquest. Texas Democrats have, therefore, demanded that the War Department shall not be crippled, and the Sangrados of the Appropriation Committee bow in humility to their vermillion edict.

## GOOD NEWS FOR SMUGGLERS AND ILLICIT DISTILLERS.

In all other directions the bleeding and depleting process is vehemently urged. The efficiency of the Department of Justice will be seriously impaired, and especially will this be the case in those regions of the South and Southwest in which, by lax administration, the Democracy will be most largely benefitted. It will not be possible either to push, as actively as should be the case, such prosecutions as those against the whisky ring, or to press and pursue to settlement and conviction defaulting officials or defrauding citizens. The appropriation proposed for the use of the Attorney General is simply a mockery. It will hardly keep up the Department records.

## AN ATTACK ON THE GRANGERS.

The important Department of Agriculture, concerned as it is with great interests wholly non-partisan and non-political in character, is, under the pending bill, almost deprived of usefulness. This again, in a marked manner, exhibits the want both of genuine statesmanship and of political sagacity on the part of the Democratic managers. Agriculture, as a great producing interest, was never so knit together as at the present time. The Grange permeates with its homogeneous influence every county in the Union, and binds to its policy a vast body of farmers and planters who are not yet within its folds. The statesman would see (Republicans have already done so) in the growth of such movements striking evidence of the manner in which the producing and laboring interests were coming forward to contest with those of commerce and exchange a normal share in legislation and government; and, so seeing, would endeavor to direct and control the same through legitimate channels. The Department of Agriculture has, in our system, become one of the most useful of these channels. The influence of the National Government is beneficially exercised to the advancement and encouragement of a primary force in production, industry, and wealth-making. It is so exercised, and has always been, without regard to party demands or policies, and without in any way interfering with individual interests or activities. The Democrats who represent agricultural districts know the interest manifested by their constituents in the experiments, publications, etc., of this Department quite as well as do their Republican associates on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The attempt to cripple the Department of Agriculture is, like the reductions in the General Land and Patent Offices, the proposed stoppage of all public works, river and harbor improvements, buildings, etc., as well as the inequitable general reduction of salaries, to be regarded only as a deliberate attack on the producing and laboring interests of the country. If this is denied, as it will be, the other horn of the dilemma is seen in the fact that such reductions, made without shrewdness or comprehensiveness,



only show the incapacity of the Democratic leaders to do anything more than destroy, tear down, and pull to pieces.

#### DEMOCRATIC INCAPACITY—ITS PROOF.

The fact is plain that, even acquitting the Democracy as now represented in the House majority of all willful intention to impair the efficiency of the Government and the administration thereof, the pending appropriation bills only prove more conclusively than ever their incapacity to administer the Government or to wisely shape the legislation of the country. If their present actions are not interfused with treasonable malignancy, as in 1861, or animated only by the demagogue's aspirations for a taking election cry, then they must meet a pertinent criticism of which their daily acts are in proof of its truth, and that is, that they have been so long out of power as to be utterly incapable of understanding the enlarged necessities of the nation, or the demands which these are constantly making upon the Government of the country.

#### THE POLITICAL CRABS.

The truth is that the United States have grown out of the provincial swaddling clothes which the old-time governing Democracy so long imposed. The hands on the dial of Time cannot be turned back. The swaddling clothes are not to be made the ceremonies of the Nation. The Republic is a lusty and quite well matured giant now-a-days, and the Democratic liliputians who once were large enough to manage it almost to destruction, will find the bonds and withes then used are but as flaxen threads on the thews and sinews of to-day.

Since 1861 America has grown. A new public opinion controls. The civilization of the old Free States, with its vast complexities of industry, wealth, social order, education, and moral growth, is the civilization of the whole land. Its limitations as well as strength are all there. Retrospection is weakness. The Democracy travels backward like the crab. Its one eye is always turned over the shoulder of Time looking to a past, which, thank God! will never come again. It represents the politics and polity of sectionalism. Its criticism is malignant, because its history has been that of destruc-

tion. Slavery has dwarfed all moral sense, and the philosophy of disintegration has cramped capacity. Hence when it obtains, as in the present case, a temporary foothold, it cannot utilize the same for future advantage. Political opponents are treated as thieves and scoundrels; there is no sense of personal honor or public comity, as between men of differing opinions, and in pretending to provide for the wants of the Government, as should be the purpose of the regular appropriation bills, the Democrats succeed only in crippling its working capacity, undermining the public service, and by pretended efforts at economy which bear most unjustly on the poorest paid employes and officers, prepare the way for large deficiency bills and render more costly the necessary efforts which the future must bring in order to restore that state of efficiency without which the public work cannot be performed.

OUR DIPLOMATIC service must be overpaid, for it is well known that one of our foreign officials, after a service abroad of seven years, had sufficient funds left, after buying his ticket home, to buy a bottle of anti-sea-sickness cordial and a second-hand cork life-preserver. This remarkable incident, however, is offset by the fact that "one more unfortunate" is at this date "in pawn" at his post, unable to return home until some of his friends send him funds, which they are now engaged in collecting. But then the present force is composed mainly of Republicans, and, unlike the former Democratic incumbents of consular positions, have serious objections, as a rule, to making traffic of the flag, seal, and prestige belonging and supposed to accrue to their offices. Such as have been accused of so trafficking have generally been Democrats, who have nobly played the parts of "camp followers" on the party of success.

BORING a ship's bottom in mid-ocean to discover a rotten plank is wisdom compared to the Democratic policy of investigating everything, at enormous expense, while the workingmen of the country are starving for want of needed legislation to set them to work.



## THE CIVIL SERVICE FORCE IN THE EMPLOY OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

A fruitful source of party buncombe is found in the number and character of the persons employed by the United States to carry on the work of administration. It is a theme even more cherished by the political impotents who control the so-called "liberal" press, composed as it is of journals far more distinguished for illiberality of judgment than for any other marked quality. A foreigner who should make the diatribes of a half dozen prominent newspapers that might be named his sole source of study as to our character and institutions would undoubtedly have a good right to believe us the most corrupt people under the sun. The critics who leave that impression know better, but then they delight in befouling their own nest. There is a certain market for their wares, ill-smelling as they are—a market which has been created by their constant efforts, and which it is to be feared grows by what it feeds upon. On the whole, the journalistic critics referred to are worse than the partisan assailants. The one attacks the well-being of the country; the other only intends to assail the acts of the party and Administration which happens to be in power. The country would be all right provided only that they run it. The critics, however, would continue their assaults, seeking apparently to undermine popular faith in republican institutions, or aiming to place themselves and their profession in the position which Prince Bismarck recently declared in the Prussian Parliament the press was seeking to assume—that of the modern inquisition.

The alleged extravagance, corruption, and undue enlargement of the civil service, so-called, is then, as has been said, a fruitful source of criticism. Some recent misrepresentations as to the number of the persons employed by the General Government demand correction, and so affords an occasion to confound the unjust accusers. The Hon. M. J. Durham, of Kentucky, speaking on Thursday, March 23d, on the pending general civil service appropriation bill, made, among other statements, the following :

"The country can justly complain that for years the number of employes and officers of the Government has been greatly increased, and no doubt far beyond the requirements and necessities of the public service. I find on examination that the number of employes borne upon the civil list of the United States for the years indicated is shown as compiled from the Biennial Register, and is, to wit : 1859, 44,527 ; 1861, 46,049 ; 1863, 47,375 ; 1865, 53,067 ; 1867, 56,113 ; 1869, 54,207 ; 1871, 57,605 ; 1873, 86,660 ; 1875, 102,106. A very considerable number of the above who are borne upon the pay-rolls can, without doubt, be dismissed from the service, and there would be still enough left to carry on the Government in its various branches with promptness and dispatch. One of the consequences arising from this large biennial increase of office-holders, and it may be at larger salaries than they are entitled to, is to increase the annual expenses of the Government until they have become enormous and very burdensome to the people."

If the statement above embalmed (not in amber, though, by any means) were correct, it would be a just cause of alarm and reproach. There is no truth in it, however, as will presently be shown. Mr. Durham may probably be acquitted of intentional misrepresentation. He has only blundered in his eagerness to make a point. If his figures are as incorrect for all as they are for 1875 their untrustworthiness is simply ludicrous.

The Biennial Register, or "Blue Book," as it is commonly called, is made up to the 30th of September, in the year of its publication. The law under which its compilation is ordered reads as follows :

SECTION 510. As soon as practicable after the last day of September in each year in which a new Congress is to assemble a register shall be compiled and printed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, of which seven hundred and fifty copies shall be published, and which shall contain the following lists, made up to such last day of September :

1. Correct lists of the officers, clerks, employes, and agents, civil, military, and naval, in the service of the United States, including cadets and midshipmen, which lists shall exhibit the amount of compensation, pay, and emoluments allowed to each, the State or country in which he was born,

the State or Territory from which he was appointed to office, and where employed.

2. A list of the names, force, and condition of all the ships and vessels belonging to the United States, and when and where built.

3. Lists of all printers of the laws of the United States, and of all printers employed by Congress or by any Department or officer of the Government during the two years preceding the last day of September up to which such list is required to be made, with the compensation allowed to each, and designating the Department or officer causing the printing to be executed.

4. A statement of all allowances made by the Postmaster General, within the same period of two years, to each contractor on contracts for carrying the mail, discriminating the sum paid as stipulated by the original contract and the sums paid as additional allowance.

Previous to 1873 the compilers of the Register did not deem it necessary to call for any of the names, etc., of the persons employed as mechanics and laborers, whose positions are not specifically designated in the several appropriation acts, and who are therefore employed under general authority to engage and pay for needed labor. Such classes include mechanics and laborers at the several navy-yards, a small portion of those employed on the public buildings, those at the Government printing office, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, on river and harbor improvements, and all works of a similar character. All told these will not exceed ten thousand. In the Registers of 1873 and 1875 an effort has been made to record the names of such employes. It has in part been successful, and hence the increase which has really occurred in the size of the Blue Book. It would seem, however, as if the compiler was mistaken and had given too latitudinarian an interpretation of the law, as quoted. The extent of these additions will hereafter be shown. In the meanwhile it will be well to ascertain what Mr. Durham charges. To read the passage quoted is to obtain the distinct impression that there has been a lavishly wasteful increase of force. Let us look at both the statement and the facts. Both are essential to an understanding of the disparity between them. The accompanying statement shows the figures according to Mr. Durham:

Blue Book for—	No. registered.	Increase	Increase ov'r 1859.
1859.....	44,527	.....	.....
1861.....	46,049	1,522	.....
1863.....	47,375	1,226	2,848
1865.....	53,067	5,692	8,540
1867.....	56,113	3,046	11,586
1869.....	54,107	*	9,480
1871.....	57,605	3,298	13,078
1873.....	86,660	29,055	32,133
1875.....	102,106	15,446	57,579

\*2,006 less than in 1867.

It will be observed that the increase is quite gradual up to 1871. The figures of 1865 and 1867 are due, as every one will see, to the increased postal and other service, rendered necessary by the restoration of Federal authority in the South, and the consequent rehabilitation of its functions therein. The marked decrease in 1869 over 1867 is due to changes made in the internal revenue and other branches, which rendered unnecessary a large number of paid office-holders. The practical dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau service about 1868-'69 also decreased the total.

To those who are familiar with legislation since that date it will be a very difficult task to give a satisfactory explanation of the marvellous increase stated by Mr. Durham, as shown by the foregoing table, unless it be regarded as grossly erroneous. This is the true explanation. There has been a steady reduction of the officers, clerks, and other administrative agents of the Government since 1870 in all the branches thereof, except such as are immediately subject to the expansion superinduced by the country's normal growth and progress. The Post Office Department is in illustration of this position. The average increase shown from 1859 down to 1871 is almost wholly accounted for by the additional number of postmasters and other persons added each year. Since 1859, for instance, the number of postmasters has almost doubled. Of course this has increased the force of clerks, agents, carriers, messengers, and contractors to a proportionate degree.

Mr. Durham's misstatements are mischievous, and must be corrected. If the reader could have before him copies of the "Blue Book" for 1871 and 1875 it would be easy to perceive how he has blundered, allowing



for the idiocy which aims only at making a telling point as a sure preventive of necessary caution. In the volume first named the number of octavo pages is 913; in that for 1875 there are 1,211—an increase of 298 pages. On each page the number of names printed runs from 81 down to 26, the average being 65 names to a page. To have added 44,501 names to the Blue Book of 1875 over that of 1871 would have required an addition of about 675 pages, making the volume contain 1,589 pages, or 378 more than it actually does. But the increase that is stated must be accounted for—a very easy thing to do when the facts are known. It will be borne in mind that the compiler has added, in the last two Registers, a considerable number of names never heretofore embraced by the publication. According to the statement of that officer the total is not less than 12,000, which, at 65 names to a page, required an addition to the Register of 1875 of about 185 pages. The remaining pages are accounted for by a rearrangement of the matter and a subdividing of the different classes for a more convenient way of presentation. These additional 12,000 names, or so, are obtained in this way. There was an increase of about 2,400 post offices during the past two years, and, in addition thereto, the last Register gives the name of every incumbent for the two years following the preceding publication of a Blue Book. This fact accounts for at least 3,500 additional names. There is an addition to the postal service, consequent on this increase of offices, to the number of 292 persons, otherwise than postmasters. This makes on this branch alone a total increase of 6,192 names.

In addition, there are now embraced in the last Biennial Register the following persons employed by, or otherwise under Government authority, whose names were not embraced by the Register of 1871: Internal revenue gaugers and storekeepers, over 1800; employes at new mints; Commissioners of United States Centennial Exposition, 96; light-house engineers and inspectors; clerks, storekeepers, etc., Subsistence Department of the United States Army; employes (clerks, mechanics, laborers, &c.,) Ordnance Department at large; United States Army; United States geological surveying force;

also registers in bankruptcy and Circuit Court commissioners—in all over 6,000 persons. It will be observed that a considerable number of these additions are of mechanics and laborers, paid by the day, a force whose pay and position are not indicated specifically by law, and who usually are hired in open market at the ruling rates of such labor in the vicinity of their work. It would seem as if such persons did not come within the terms of the law, and if they do, then there is a considerable force to be added to the official Register. But even that addition will leave Mr. Durham's figures largely in excess.

But there is another way to test Mr. Durham's inaccuracy as to the Register of 1875, as well as prove the correctness of the enumeration now presented. The total number of names found in the last Blue Book is 79,624. If 1,211 pages (the number it contains) be multiplied by 65, the total will be 78,715. If Mr. Durham's figures, 102,106, are taken, and he be allowed to estimate at the highest number of names entered on any one page of the Register—viz., 81—it will still be found that the 1,211 pages the volume for 1875 embraces will give only 97,891 names, or 4,215 less than the Kentuckian's total.

The foregoing statements alone show that Mr. Durham is guilty of inaccuracy. But a more careful examination will establish, beyond controversy, that he is willfully careless and indifferent to the truth. The Biennial Register contains the names of the Senators and Representatives in Congress, and of all officers of the Army and Navy, the vessels of war, besides executive and judicial officers, the Department and other clerical force, the custom and internal revenue agents, the postmasters, and a considerable body of names representing persons employed as mechanics and laborers. Yet all these names will not come within 23,000 of Mr. Durham's pretended exhibit of the total, by the Register for 1875. This will be shown presently by an actual count. In order to secure a fair estimate of the civil expenses of the National Government, under Republican administrations, which are being assailed by Democratic speakers like Mr.



Durham, it would be but fair to eliminate the officers of the Army and Navy from the muster-roll. The charge is that there is "a biennial increase of office-holders," and "it may be at larger salaries than they are entitled to." Let us see. The last Register will be sufficient for an examination. The following summaries can be regarded as accurate:

*Total number of officials, clerical and other civil employes, in the pay of the General Government, and registered in the Biennial Register for 1875.*

## EXECUTIVE.

Private secretary, assistant, and land warrant clerk..... 3  
Other persons..... 4

Total Executive..... 7

## CONGRESS.

Officers and employes of the Senate, clerks, Capitol police, &c..... 175  
Officers and employes of the House of Representatives..... 155  
Government Printing Office, clerks, &c..... 8

Total Congress..... 338

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Secretary, assistant secretaries, clerks, &c., employed in the Department itself..... 92  
Ministers..... 30  
Secretaries of Legation..... 13  
Consul-Generals..... 17  
Consuls..... 234  
Commercial agents..... 21  
Interpreters, marshals, and dispatch agents..... 18  
Consular clerks..... 12  
Members of the Alabama Court of Claims and other international commissions.. 13  
Centennial commissioners..... 96

Total Department of State..... 546

## THE TREASURY.

## Department proper—

Secretary's office, (this includes representatives of all bureaus and separate offices)..... 503  
First Comptroller..... 43  
Second Comptroller..... 72  
First Auditor..... 49  
Second Auditor..... 149  
Third Auditor..... 171  
Fourth Auditor..... 54  
Fifth Auditor..... 33  
Sixth Auditor..... 233  
Commissioner of Customs..... 30  
Commissioner of Internal Revenue..... 134  
Register..... 207  
Treasurer..... 532  
Comptroller of Currency..... 125

Total Department proper..... 2,345

Agents of the Department—outside force:

Special agents, (two employed in Washington)..... 62  
Customs—collectors, &c..... 4,407  
Internal revenue—  
Collectors..... 211  
Deputy collectors..... 879  
Storekeepers..... 907  
Gaugers..... 909  
Assistant treasurers..... 195  
Mints and assay offices..... 660  
United States depositories..... 13  
Coast Survey, (89 employed in Washington)..... 146  
Life-saving service..... 114

Marine hospitals..... 41  
Revenue marine..... 194  
Light-house keepers..... 890  
Light-house engineers and inspectors..... 202  
Steamboat inspectors..... 104

Total outside force..... 9,904  
Add Department proper..... 2,345

Total Treasury..... 12,258

## DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

## Department proper—

Secretary's office..... 77  
Adjutant General..... 252  
Quartermaster General..... 168  
Paymaster General..... 71  
Subsistence, Commissary General..... 30  
Surgeon General..... 172  
Chief of Engineers..... 21  
Chief of Ordnance..... 24  
Signal Service..... 18  
Bureau of Military Justice..... 9  
Medical statistics..... 2  
Inspector General..... 2  
Superintendents of cemeteries..... 70  
Public Buildings and Grounds..... 65

Total Department proper..... 991

## Outside force War Department:

Quartermaster General..... 342  
Paymaster General..... 52  
Commissary General of Subsistence..... 204  
Surgeon General..... 15  
Acting Assistant Surgeons..... 163  
Ordnance..... 1,100

Total outside force..... 1,876  
Add Department proper..... 991

Total War Department..... 2,857

## DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY.

Department proper..... 89  
Naval Observatory..... 19  
Hydrographic Office..... 23  
Almanac, (6 at Washington)..... 12

Total Navy Department..... 143

The following force are not embraced by the Blue Book:

Civil force, (clerical, &c.,) at navy-yards, asylums, hospitals, academy, and torpedo and other stations..... 558

## DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

## Department proper—

Secretary's office..... 42  
Land office..... 201  
Pension office..... 365  
Patent office..... 332  
Indian affairs..... 57  
Bureau of Education..... 13  
Geological surveys..... 31  
United States Capitol extension..... 4  
National Museum..... 18  
Inspectors gas and meters..... 2  
Hospitals in District of Columbia..... 229

Total Department proper..... 1,294

## Outside Department proper—

General Land Office:  
Registers..... 98  
Receivers..... 98  
Surveyors General..... 17  
Clerks, &c., to Surveyors General.. 103  
Indian Affairs:  
Superintendents and clerks..... 8  
Indian agents..... 78  
Employes..... 640  
Territories—Governors and secretaries.. 18  
Pension agents..... 58

Total outside force..... 1,118  
Add Department proper..... 1,294

Total Interior..... 2,412

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.	
Department proper .....	53
District institutions—Police, jail, and reform school .....	301
Total Department proper .....	354
JUDICIARY.	
United States Supreme Court judges, (9,) Court of Claims, (5,) District judges, (5,) Police judge, (1,) United States Circuit Courts, (9,) District Courts, (56,) Territorial Courts, (27,) total.....	112
Clerks to United States Courts.....	197
Reporter to Supreme Court.....	1
Marshals.....	86
District attorneys.....	84
Assistant attorneys.....	58
Registers in bankruptcy.....	253
United States Circuit Court commissioners.....	1,730
Total judiciary.....	2,521
Add Department proper .....	354
Total Department of Justice.....	2,875

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.	
Department proper .....	91

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.	
Department proper .....	384
Other officers and agents:	
Postmasters.....	35,547
Contractors.....	6,280
Post Office clerks.....	4,467
Railway Post Office clerks.....	901
Route agents.....	987
Mail route messengers.....	225
Local messengers.....	125
Special messengers.....	66
Total Post Office Department.....	48,892
Total registered force properly belonging to the civil service.....	67,757

To this total may be added the following:	
Congress—Senators, Representatives, and Delegates.....	374
Officers of the Army.....	2,929
Officers of the Navy and Marine Corps..	1,955
Vessels of the Navy.....	149
Advertisers for the several Departments	380
Post Office contractors.....	6,280
	12,067

Total number of persons and names registered in the Blue Book for 1875....**79,824**

Mr. Durham stated the total to be 102,106. He may be congratulated, as a Democrat, in getting within 23,930 of the truth. But then, using his own standard—that the Blue Book was the measure of the civil list—and it will be found that a still further deduction can be made. The total given—12,067—of names not to be counted as part of the “civil list,” in the sense Mr. Durham used that term, is properly to be subtracted from the whole number registered in the Biennial Blue Book. According, then, to this calculation, *the total civil list will embrace but 67,757 names, or 34,349 less than the number given by Mr. Durham.*

But that gentleman presented this formidable aggregate as a proof of extravagance; of the costliness of the present Administration. This is in reality the most important portion of his arraignment. The American people are not so much interested in the number of persons in the employ of the General Government as they are in the question of cost and that of the proper performance of the necessary duties. To that end it may be as well to still further take Mr. Durham's criticisms apart, and show how captious and ill-founded they are. For convenience sake, in this respect, the persons employed by the United States whose remuneration is not designated as salaries, or directly provided for out of the revenues collected, may be divided into the following groups:

I. Those paid by fees in whole or in part:

Officers.	Number.	Annual amounts limited by law.
Consuls or commercial agents	93	\$2,500*
Pension agents.....	58	4,000*
Postmasters.....	34,047	1,000*
Land Office registers and receivers .....	196	500†
District attorneys .....	84	200†
	34,478	

\*Out of their fees office expenses are also paid.

†Besides the amount named, these officers receive a percentage on all moneys received by them.

II. Those paid entirely by fees:	
Commissioners to United States courts..	1,730
Internal revenue gaugers.....	909
Clerks to United States courts.....	197
Registers in bankruptcy.....	253
Marshals.....	86
	3,175

III. Those who contract and derive profit:	
Mail contractors.....	6,280
Advertisers or publishers.....	380
	6,660

IV. Without pay:	
Centennial commissioners.....	96
Honorary medical and other appointments in District of Columbia .....	30
	126

To recapitulate, there are of—	
Class I.....	34,478
Class II.....	3,175
Class III.....	6,660
Class IV.....	126

Total force unpaid by appropriations, not salaried specifically by law, and paid only by fees, subtracting 280 district attorneys and public land officers, who receive a small specified salary as part of their remuneration, **44,159**



As the total civil list has been shown to number but 67,757 persons, (according to the last Blue Book,) it follows that of persons whose salaries are designated by law, provided for by regular appropriation bills, and paid out of the revenue collected to meet the demands of Government, there are in all but 23,318 persons.

These facts, and they cannot be substantially controverted, prove on how shallow a foundation rests the outcry against a swollen civil list, and the so-called extravagance of salaries. It will prove, after all, that the salary bill is but the smaller portion of the expenses of a proper administration of this great Government. While referring to the question of labor cost, it should be borne in mind that there are quite a number of important bureaus which sustain themselves out of the receipts of their office. The Patent Office and the Consular service not only pay for themselves, but turn in a large surplus to the Treasury. Both of these agreeable facts have become so under Republican administration. The land offices materially aid in meeting their own expenses out of the fees and sales they receive. The postal service pays for more than two-thirds of its cost. Some of its branches, such as the money order business, net a surplus to the Department. The Judiciary is largely self-sustaining also. Under Republican legislation, rigid inquiry has been had into the fee system, and in all branches a maximum limitation has been placed upon the amount any one officer may receive as remuneration. This and similar measures are certainly reformatory in character. During the Democratic rule of a third of a century that party never investigated or corrected any abuse of this or similar character. In examining the aggregate of expenditures under the form of salaries it must be borne in mind that there are only 1,500 postmasters whose remuneration exceeds \$1,000 per annum, and that of the remainder, all of whom are paid out of their office receipts, more than 25,000 do not receive over \$100 per annum. These points might be greatly multiplied, but those given are sufficient for the present purpose. In conclusion, it seems proper to affirm that our political history has not here-

tofore presented as mean, petty, and base a partisanship as that which now characterizes the current actions and criticisms of the accidental Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. There is neither honor or courtesy in their dealings with opponents, or political integrity and sagacity displayed in their attitude towards the executive branches of the Government itself. The misrepresentation herein exposed fairly illustrate their senseless and unpatriotic position.

### Presidents.

The following table, prepared for reference, shows the political sentiments and the date of the inauguration of each President, the length of time he lived after that event, and his age at the time of his death :

1. George Washington, Independent, inaugurated 1789; lived 10 years; age 68.
2. John Adams, Independent, inaugurated 1797; lived 29 years; age 90.
3. Thomas Jefferson, Democrat, inaugurated 1801, lived 25 years; age 83.
4. James Madison, Democrat, inaugurated 1809; lived 27 years; age 85.
5. James Monroe, Democrat, inaugurated 1817; lived 14 years; age 73.
6. John Q. Adams, Whig, inaugurated 1825, lived 23 years; age 81.
7. Andrew Jackson, Democrat, inaugurated 1829; lived 16 years; age 78.
8. Martin Van Buren, Democrat, inaugurated 1837; lived 25 years; age 80.
9. W. H. Harrison, Whig, inaugurated 1841; lived 1 month; age 68.
10. John Tyler, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1841; lived 21 years; age 72.
11. James K. Polk, Democrat, inaugurated 1845; lived 4 years; age 54.
12. Zachary Taylor, Whig, inaugurated 1849; lived 16 months; age 66.
13. Millard Fillmore, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1850; lived 24 years, age 74.
14. Franklin Pierce, Democrat, inaugurated 1853; lived 16 years; age 65.
15. James Buchanan, Democrat, inaugurated 1857; lived 11 years; age 77.
16. Abraham Lincoln, Republican; inaugurated 1861; lived 4 years and 1½ months; age 56.
17. Andrew Johnson, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1865; lived 10 years; age 67.
18. General Grant, Republican, inaugurated 1869.

Tyler and Fillmore were elected Vice Presidents as Whigs and Johnson as a Republican. Their "independence" followed their inauguration as Presidents.



## PROPOSED PENSIONS FOR REBELS.

Few nations have been called upon to place upon their pension-rolls so large a number of pensioners as we have. The rebellion caused a fearful loss of life and distress among those persons who responded to the call of the country to save the Union. Men who suffered the loss of limbs or of eyesight or of health in the direct line of duty, and the widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors who fell in the service, were properly provided with pensions. A pension, however, was not given so much as a reward for loyalty. It was granted more out of the gratitude of the people for the devotion and sacrifice of those who stood forth in the hour of the nation's peril and aided in its preservation.

But the men who took part in the rebellion, and fought against the Union and the cause it represented, have no such claim. To reward such men if they suffered would be a discrimination in favor of treasonous disloyalty, and place the rebel and his dependents on the same footing with the soldiers who fought and saved the Union. In order, therefore, to guard against the commission of such gross injustice a law was enacted which has been reproduced in section 4,716 in the Revised Statutes. That section reads as follows, viz:

"No money on account of pension shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States."

Now, the Confederacy, which was the product of the rebellion against the authority of the United States, having been destroyed by the Union forces in the field, has gathered its scattered elements in the National Congress; and the assembled Confederates in the House and Senate, appearing in the guise of representatives of the people, seem to be actuated by the same spirit as when the war prevailed, and to be resolved to do all they can on behalf of their comrades and their families and against the interests of the Union. Accordingly, wherever Republican legislation protected the Federal Treasury, or confined payments therefrom to

persons of known loyalty, the Confederates in Congress have set themselves to reverse that legislation, and open the way for the entrance of disloyalty to seize upon the public money.

These recent efforts to extend the pension-rolls by quartering rebel sympathizers and their families upon them is explained in House bill No. 2,991, introduced by Mr. McFarland, to repeal the above section of the Revised Statutes. This bill has not attracted much attention, but its principle is so impudently and monstrously wrong that it deserves a close examination and should be remembered. The text of the bill is as follows:

"*Be it enacted, &c.* That section forty-seven hundred and sixteen of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, repealed; and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to place on the pension-rolls the names of all persons who may be entitled to a pension under existing laws, notwithstanding they may have served in the rebel army prior to such service, and pay to such persons, their widows or children, a pension as provided by law in other cases, from and after the passage of this act."

It is almost always safe to assume that when a Southern Democratic member of the House or Senate desires to repeal a section of the Revised Statutes he either aims at protecting the Democratic South in its disloyalty or to reward his disloyal comrades for their treason out of the Treasury of the United States. This is not a condition of affairs that the people are likely to approve, and Representatives especially will resolve that their votes shall be cast to defeat forever the hope of treason in that direction. The bill above cited has in substance been passed by the House majority, as a report from the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions, which committee is presided over by an ex-rebel brigadier—Hunton, of Virginia.

If some Democratic genius could invent some plan to utilize the gas daily generated in the present House of Representatives the appropriation for lighting public buildings might be stricken out altogether. As an economic idea we commend it to the faithful.

## REMINISCENCES OF PERSONS AND EVENTS DURING THE TWO TERMS OF GENERAL JACKSON'S PRESIDENCY.

No man of this country or of any other ever possessed in a greater degree the confidence of the people, or excelled in personal popularity with the masses than Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. Politicians were not always satisfied with him, not even those who had largely participated in the success of the party that twice elected him to the Presidential office; but the people were ever with him, and believed in his honest, devoted patriotism, stood by him in every act in his administration of public affairs, when political leaders of the party were alarmed if not disaffected at times by the bold aggressive movements of the brave and intrepid soldier. It is related of a Pennsylvania farmer, who having sold, in Philadelphia, a wagon-load of products from his farm some twenty miles back in the country, was offered in payment the notes of the United States Bank, then at a premium of one per cent. over the State bank circulation, when to the surprise of the purchaser he declined to take them in payment, simply saying that General Jackson had said the Bank was bad and corrupt, and therefore he did not care to have anything to do with it.

A true and staunch friend, he never was known to abandon any one in whom he had placed confidence, or for whom he had any friendly feeling although the whole world might go against his views and opinions. He was ever the defender of the weak against the strong, and no man ever surpassed the old Hero in his chivalric appreciation of woman, or in his disposition to protect and defend her at all times against any species of aggression or persecution. This noble disposition had been increased in him in consequence of the base and dastardly attack that was made on his domestic life during the canvass for his first presidential term, and even upon the beloved partner of his joys and sorrows, whose life, it was believed, was shortened by such attacks and persecutions.

This trait in his character for gallant defense of woman was brought fully into action on the memorable embroilment in Washing-

ton society in 1831, in which the members of his Cabinet and their families were principally and immediately interested. Reference is here made to the unpleasant condition of affairs immediately preceding the dissolution of the Cabinet in that year. The rupture that had taken place between General Jackson and Mr. Calhoun, to which more particular allusion will be made further on, was soon followed by an event naturally to follow as a consequence—that of breaking up the President's Cabinet. Several members classed as the political friends of Mr. Calhoun could not be expected to remain as ministers to General Jackson while adhering to that gentleman. This dissolution of the Cabinet, however, was hastened and more immediately brought about by the embroilment in high society referred to above. The main difficulty and source of these troubles in society, as the General believed, arose from a wanton and unprovoked persecution on the part of the Calhounites, of the family of his friend and favorite minister, General Eaton, then Secretary of War, aimed as an indirect attack on himself, and similar in effect to the dastardly war made on his own domestic peace during his first candidacy for the Presidential office.

Mr. Samuel D. Ingham, the Secretary of the Treasury, visited the President at the suggestion of Colonel R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, the reputed slayer of Tecumseh, to see if some harmonious compromise could not be made whereby he and others could remain in position—for although friends and admirers of Mr. Calhoun, and therefore necessarily and to some extent disaffected toward General Jackson, yet they seemed desirous, to use a modern phrase—to stick; but the President was far from being conciliated, and, as Mr. Ingham reported back to Colonel Johnson, he had become very violent, and, as he remarked under considerable excitement, that he would never again undertake such a mission, for the President was not only violent, but seemed to roar at him like a maddened lion. Colonel Johnson said he would

go to him and see if the lion would roar at him; possibly the old Hero had roared enough for that occasion, for he received the Colonel, for whom he had a high regard, with that impressive dignity that was never surpassed by any high official in receiving those who approached him, especially under such extraordinary circumstances as then existed. Colonel Johnson warmly deprecated the course affairs were taking—that they would lead to a breaking up of his Cabinet, and feared that the people of the country would become alarmed and disaffected at so unusual an event. The President, in his determined manner, assured him that he need not entertain any apprehensions with regard to the reception of such an occurrence by the people, who would, in their accustomed common-sense way of looking at causes and effects, be but little concerned by the changes which might take place in his Cabinet.

The result was as foreseen by Colonel Johnson—the Cabinet was dissolved, and as foreseen by the President the people seemed to care but little about it. Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State, and General Eaton, Secretary of War, being the special, personal, and political friends of General Jackson, having tendered their resignations, the balance of his Cabinet were, of course, necessitated to follow their example, thus terminating a Council to the President in which Mr. Calhoun had been largely represented, and which, consequently, could no longer be palatable to the President. General Eaton and his family went to Florida, where he had been appointed Governor, and subsequently as Minister to Spain. Mr. Van Buren went as Minister to England, and the rest of that famous Cabinet retired from public to private life, from whence they never afterward emerged.

In the election for President which took place in 1832, the successful ticket before the people bore the name of the old hero of New Orleans for President, with that of Mr. Van Buren for Vice President, and their inauguration took place amidst great party rejoicings on the 4th of March, 1833, being the second term of General Jackson.

A great change had taken place in the political as well as in the personal relations of

the distinguished leaders who had figured so prominently in the exciting movements of the previous four years. Mr. Clay had again been beaten, and the political feud between him and the President had increased in bitterness, assuming constantly thereafter personal dislike and antipathy. Mr. Van Buren had succeeded Mr. Calhoun to the Vice Presidency, and was now to preside over the Senate, in which the latter was to be simply a Senator; nor was this all of the discomfiture of the ambitious South Carolinian. The strong ties of personal and political friendship that had so long existed between him and General Jackson had been suddenly and violently severed—never to be restored again. It had been discovered to General Jackson through the revelations of William H. Crawford, of Georgia, who had been a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet during the time that General Jackson had control of military affairs in Florida, that instead of Mr. Calhoun (also of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet) having defended him against serious charges brought up in Cabinet for transcending his powers and authority in Florida, he was for strict investigation, and for such punishment as the extraordinary circumstances demanded; and that it was Mr. John Quincy Adams who had on that critical occasion espoused his cause and defended him against any extreme proceedings on the part of the Government.

This discovery was a sad blow and a great surprise to General Jackson, for he had been for a number of years firmly under the impression that it was to Mr. Calhoun that he was indebted for such friendly aid and defense at so critical a period, and the discovery to a man of his temperament, having an extreme sensitiveness about everything that concerned his military fame, naturally awakened no ordinary indignation and resentment. A correspondence ensued between him and Mr. Calhoun, which had no effect whatever in healing the breach in their friendship; but, on the contrary, it only widened it, and the General, getting mad, abruptly closed the correspondence with the deprecatory address of Cæsar to Brutus, "*Et tu Brute.*"

This unfortunate severance of the old ties of personal and political friendship between



the President and Mr. Calhoun was in every way disastrous and fatal to the latter. Mr. Van Buren succeeded to the place in the affections of the President that had but so lately been occupied by Mr. Calhoun, and in consequence Mr. Van Buren was placed on the ticket in 1832 for the office of Vice President, with the clearly defined will and pleasure of the old hero that he should succeed him in the Presidency. This assertion of the influence and power of General Jackson, based on his unequalled popularity with the people to nominate his successor, and to have him chosen by the people, will be fully sustained by the history of the times—and that not only did this great influence and the power of his name extend to his immediate successor, but will apply also to the nomination and election of Mr. Polk in 1844.

These sudden and overwhelming reverses in Mr. Calhoun's political and personal fortunes made him well-nigh a desperate man. Seeing that he was no longer in the line of "safe precedents," and that the aspiring son of New York had stepped in and jostled him from his ambitious path, where but a short while before he seemed so secure for the high prize in view, and that there remained no possible hope for him to regain his former happy footing, he in an evil hour resorted to his celebrated nullification doctrine.

There has scarcely been in the country greater excitement than that which arose from the discussions in the Senate on the tariff question during the session of 1832-'33. South Carolina under the lead of her heretofore popular and distinguished son, Mr. Calhoun, had assumed the fearful attitude of angry and almost belligerent opposition to the execution of the revenue laws, and at no time probably had there been graver apprehensions for the future of the country than existed then. It was but the dark, gloomy omen and forerunner of what was to follow afterward in 1861, and the dread and dismay which then oppressed the hearts of all patriots simply foreshadowed the horrors that came upon the land from 1861 to 1865.

General Jackson issued his famous proclamation warning the people of South Carolina against any disaffection to the Government, or any attempt to resist the due execution of

laws made by the high authority of Congress, and followed this great address by sending troops to Charleston under the command of General Scott to guarantee and enforce, if need was, the execution of the revenue laws.

During this eminently critical period threatening the national peace, Mr. Calhoun arose in his place in the Senate and made the following alarming declaration that South Carolina was in "battle array," ready to resist the execution of the iniquitous revenue laws for the collection of revenue under an unjust and unconstitutional tariff. Such was the dread and fearful impression made on the minds of Senators and the crowded audience that for a while the feeling was intensely oppressive and painful, for it was known that General Jackson was intently watching every movement on the part of the political leaders of South Carolina, and that had there been an overt act in the way of resistance, going so far as to the shedding of blood after such a speech, there was no knowing what dire results would have happened from the stern determination of the great and patriotic chief then at the head of public affairs, who it was well known would never compromise in any way for the violation of the laws of his country. It was at this momentous juncture, when Mr. Calhoun had so startled and alarmed Senators and audience, that Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, hastily pencilled a note to Mr. Clay, and sent it by a page of the Senate, in these exciting words: "For God's sake save him, or he is lost."

Mr. Clayton well knew the inflexible and indomitable will and temper of Andrew Jackson, and that had there been blood shed in resisting the revenue laws after this daringly bold and almost treasonable speech, that the fate of the South Carolina Senator was already determined on, and that with such a man as Jackson in the Presidential chair there would be no compromise or vacillation in the discharge of his high and imperative duties.

Mr. Clay did save him and his State from a very fearful predicament, and in his compromise measures at that time allayed and fully quieted the storm that seemed ready to burst over the Government and the country.

General Jackson's firmness of character

his determination to submit to no wrong to the Government at home or abroad, made him feared and respected everywhere. Witness the action of France in settling up long delayed arrears of debt to the United States when the old soldier and statesman had it intimated to the French Government through our minister at Versailles that the time had come for a settlement, and that no further delay could be tolerated with proper regard to our national honor.

It may not be amiss to say here that it would be of importance to the people of the United States to look well to the character of such a man, and to reflect upon the incalculable advantage of having at all times, if possible, just such a man at the head of public affairs to insure and guarantee the due observance of their rights and laws both at home and abroad; and in this connection it may be safely stated, and without fear of any possible question, that had General Jackson been in the Presidential chair when the political leaders of the South, leaving their seats in both houses of Congress, went forth to inaugurate a civil war, that they would not have reached their homes for such a purpose, nor indeed would they have dared to venture on so dire an errand if he had been President and commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

With the people of the District of Columbia, where he lived as President for eight years, he was greatly respected and beloved. They soon learned to know his inflexible justice and his fixed rule of action with regard to all transactions between the officers and employees of the Government and the people of the District. He would not allow any long continued indebtedness on the part of officials who were receiving their monthly pay from the Government, and who on account of being in the receipt of such Government pay had received credit for any kind of supplies or accommodations. Knowing this, he was very frequently appealed to by creditors against their delinquent customers, and they never failed to secure a liquidation of the indebtedness, or so secured as to guarantee a speedy payment. One of these applications to the General, and which created

much amusement at the time, was that of a lady who kept a boarding-house, and with whom a young man from Tennessee, a clerk in one of the Departments, and of a family for whom the President had a warm regard and friendship, had boarded for several months without paying his board bill and with little apparent likelihood that he intended paying it very soon, and for which she was greatly in want. The General listened to her complaint very patiently, and with his usual kindness and courtesy to the fair sex, and when she had told him her story, he advised her to get the gentleman's note for what he owed her. At this the poor lady's heart sank, and she said, "General, what good will his note do me? He will care as little about paying a note as the open account I have handed him so frequently"—but her heart grew something lighter when the President told her to get the note and bring it to him—for she saw that there might be something in it. She went home and very readily got the required note, as the gentleman said he was very willing to give it, and would include the interest, as she should not lose the interest as long as he owed her hereafter. Smiling at the liberality of her debtor, she returned to the President and submitted to him the document, wondering what would be the next move towards getting her money. To her extreme surprise the President took up a pen from his office table and wrote on the back of the note his own great name—Andrew Jackson. Almost overcome by grateful surprise she arose to take her leave, when the President said to her: "Madam, you will please take the note to the cashier of the Bank of the Metropolis with my request that he will discount it at once, and that he will please to give timely notice of maturity to the maker of the note. Timely notice was given, and it is needless to add that the note was paid promptly when it became due, without taking advantage even of the usual three days' grace.

Great injustice has been done to the character and fame of General Jackson in the estimate made of him, mostly by his political opponents, especially in charging him with tyranny in the exercise of an almost fero-

cious will in his great public career. Nothing was ever more unfounded.

Colonel Thomas H. Benton, who of all men of their times knew him best from many years' acquaintance, and who, from having been in deadly feud with him at an early period of their lives in Tennessee, became, after he attained to the Presidential office, his warmest and most devoted friend, writes in the following interesting manner of him in his "Thirty Years View," published after General Jackson's death:

"His temper was placable, as well as irascible, and his reconciliations were cordial and sincere. Of that my own case was a signal instance. After a deadly feud I became his confidential adviser, was offered the highest marks of his favor, and received from his dying bed a message of friendship, dictated when life was departing, and when he would have to pause for breath. There was a deep vein of piety in him, unaffectedly showing itself in his reverence for divine worship, respect for ministers of the gospel, their hospitable reception in his house, and constant encouragement of all the pious tendencies of Mrs. Jackson. And when they both afterward became members of a church it was the natural and regular result of their early and cherished feelings. He was gentle in his house, and alive to the tenderest emotions; and of this I can give an instance, greatly in contrast with his supposed character, and worth more than a long discourse in showing what that character really was. I arrived at his house one wet, chilly evening in February, and came upon him in the twilight, sitting alone before the fire, a child and a lamb between his knees. He started a little, called a servant to remove the two innocents to another room, and explained to me how it was. The child had cried because the lamb was out in the cold, and begged him to bring it in, which he had done to please the child, his adopted son, then not two years old. The ferocious man does not do that! and though General Jackson had his passions and his violence, they were for men and his enemies who stood up against him, and not for women and children, or the weak and helpless, for all of whom his feelings were those of protection and support."

The great old patriot is gone from earth to heaven, and there never can scarcely ever be a name connected with the history of this country that will be more prized or held in higher estimation than that of Andrew Jackson.

True man—staunch friend, and true pa-

triot—he loved his country and its institutions, and was, all through a long and eventful life, devoted to its honor and best interests. He loved the people, and always felt that they would stand by him in all his political acts, because they believed that he would ever serve them truly and faithfully.

In conclusion, it may be safely said that there never existed a public character who through life acted more thoroughly on the principle inculcated in the solemn and impressive adjuration of the great churchman and statesman, Cardinal Wolsey, to his friend and follower, Cromwell—

—"Be just and fear not. Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's."

ENCOURAGING EDUCATION.—As a fair sample of Democratic economy we give the following, clipped from the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, as reported to the House of Representatives, March 8, 1876, "For contingent expenses of the Bureau of Education, namely: Stationery, cases for library, library, current educational periodicals, cases for official records, other current publications, completing valuable sets of periodicals and publications in the library, telegraphing and expressage, collecting statistics, and writing and compiling matter for annual and special reports and editing and publishing circulars of information, fuel and lights, office furniture, contingencies, one thousand two hundred and ten dollars."

The Commissioner of Education called for \$21,200 for the prosecution of the important work intrusted to his charge, and the Democratic committee, with a high appreciation of educational advantages, very generously gives \$1,210—a sum hardly sufficient to run a country school through the winter. This cutting-down process may enable the Democracy to save the seven millions they boast of, but while they were at it they could have saved more by refusing to appropriate a dollar for Government expenses. Then, instead of boasting over a saving of seven millions, they could have held up before the astonished people a clear saving of twenty millions. Economy may be a golden virtue when properly exercised, but when practiced at the expense of public necessities it ceases to be a virtue and becomes a positive vice.



## THE REBELLION AND ITS SECRET HISTORY.

We are prone to forget how deep-rooted the secession or disunion heresy is until we are aroused by the utterances of some of its advocates. We forget, too, how long the idea of disunion was cherished before an attempt was made to realize it. The following letters to Jefferson Davis from prominent conspirators, (never before published, we think) show that treason was constantly in these men's minds. It will take another generation at least to eradicate it. In the meantime the Government must be sustained, and administered by the loyal and true men of the Republic.

[Indorsement.]

A. P. BUTLER, U. S. S.

EDGEFIELD, S. C., June 16, 1851.

To Colonel Jeff. Davis :

South Carolina very much in earnest, but there is fear of division. An issue has been made before the people, making it imperative for her convention to put the State on the trial of *separate secession*. How could such a move affect the cause in Mississippi? And would it help or impair the strength of the States' rights men in other States? Fear South Carolina will make a vain sacrifice if she moves alone without the co-operation of other States. Appeals for counsel and suggestions.

Important!

STONELANDS, NEAR EDGEFIELD,

Confidential. June 16, 1851.

MY DEAR COLONEL: "The looker on can sometimes see more than the gamester." Such being your situation at the time, in reference to our affairs in South Carolina, I hope I may appeal to you for counsel and for suggestions. Our people are very much in earnest, but there is fear of division and intestine contest. An issue has been made before the people making it imperative on our convention to put South Carolina on the trial of separate secession.

How will such a move affect the party of true men in your State? Will it help you, or will it impair the strength or interfere with the onward movements of the States' rights parties in other States. I believe this State could be induced to make any sacrifice for the common cause of those who contend that the General Government is a confederacy, and not a consolidated government. If it is of the latter character, then the Southern States are doomed to degraded subordination. They can hold these rights by no other tenure than sufferance. Should South Caro-

lina move alone, without the assistance from her neighbors of co-operation, she will, I fear, make a vain sacrifice.

Give me your opinion, confidentially, as to the course she should pursue, so far as it may affect the interests of other Southern States. Do write freely.

Believe me yours, with the highest respect,  
A. P. BUTLER.

COLONEL JEFFERSON DAVIS, *Mississippi*.

P. S. I write to you at Jackson, supposing that a letter will reach you from that place as from any other.

[Indorsement.]

J. M. MASON.

WINCHESTER, VA., September 30, 1856.

To Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War.

Requests the Secretary of War to exchange muskets with Virginia. Says in "event of Fremont's election the South should not pause, but proceed at once to immediate, absolute, and eternal separation. So you see I am a candidate for the *first halter*!"

Important.

SELMA, NEAR WINCHESTER, VA.,

September 30, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: I have a letter from Wise, of the 27th, full of spirit. He says the Governors of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Louisiana have already agreed to the *rendezvous* at Raleigh, and others will. This in your *most private ear*.

He says further that he had officially requested you to exchange with Virginia on fair terms of difference percussion for flint muskets. I do not know the usage or power of the Department in such cases, but if it can be done, *even* by liberal construction, I hope you will accede.

Was there not an appropriation at last session for converting flint into percussion arms? If so, would it not furnish good reason for extending such facilities to those States. Virginia, probably, has more arms than other Southern States, and would divide in case of need.

In a letter yesterday to a committee in South Carolina I gave it as my judgment, in the event of Fremont's election, the South should not pause, but proceed at once to "immediate, absolute, and *eternal* separation." So you see I am a candidate for the first halter.

Wise says his accounts from Philadelphia are cheering for old Buck. in Pennsylvania. I hope they be not delusive.

Vale et Salute.

J. M. MASON.

COLONEL DAVIS.

[Indorsement.]

Anonymous—"Senex."

MEMPHIS, November 18, 1856.

Election of Buchanan only a *temporary triumph*! Make it *available to the South*; so constitute the Cabinet as to retain the *sinews of power*—the *War, Treasury, and Navy Departments*—in Southern hands, that in the event of the election of a Black Republican President in 1860 the Government must not pass to them. A Napoleonic demonstration would be called for—*grab game the policy*. Suggests the names of *Cass, Cobb, Toucey, &c.*, for the Cabinet.

Very suggestive.

MEMPHIS, TENN., November 18, 1856.

HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

MY DEAR SIR: I congratulate you on the victory recently achieved by the Democracy of the nation. It is but a temporary triumph. The fanatical demons of the North in 1860 will again be in the field. Revolutions never go backward. We are now in the midst of a revolution, passive it is true—but a decisive battle is yet to be fought. Our Constitution does not suit the South. The *privilege of slavery* guaranteed to the South is the bone of contention, and heaven and hell will be brought to bear for its abolition.

We have a temporary triumph. Let us profit by it—make the most of it—so constitute Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet that the *sinews of power* will be available in the event of the election of a Black Republican in 1860—available to the South. See to it you Southern men about Washington that the Departments of the *Treasury and War*, and even of the *Navy*, are retained in Southern hands—for if a Black Republican is elected in 1860 the Government should not be permitted to pass into their power—a *Napoleonic demonstration* would, in that event, be called for—*grab-game* the policy. Therefore, I repeat, let certain Departments be given to true Southern men.

Some such ticket as the following, viz: Lewis Cass, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, Secretary of Treasury; T. J. Rusk, Secretary of War; —Toucey, Secretary of Interior; F. P. Stanton or Orr of South Carolina, Secretary of Navy; General Richardson, Postmaster General; Hallett or Slidell, of South Carolina, Attorney General.

Douglas and Hunter, of Virginia, had better remain in the Senate; General Quitman ought to go to Nicaragua; A. V. Brown, who will expect something, can be sent as Minister to France; D. S. Dickinson may go with the State Department if General Cass decline, or in the Navy if preferred.

The South is proud of you as a military man and as a statesman. You may have to act the Leonidas for the South—we may

have to pass through a Thermopylæ ordeal. The crusaders, infuriated with religious fanaticism, will bedown upon us. They will find a Saladin to welcome them to hospitable graves! The Richards and Phillips of the campaign will be glad to get back to their Yankee dams to sicken and die with traitorous remorse.

Oh! that the South were wise—that she could become united. In the next campaign the North will attempt to abolitionize not only all foreigners in the South and North—but through such men as Cassius Clay, J. Minor Botts, Rayner & Co., attempt to abolitionize all the non-slaveholders in the South. Houston, Bell, Benton, Blair & Co. will look on with complacency and give indirect aid and comfort.

Long may our Constitutional Union last is the prayer of every Democrat—but give us equality, preserve our honor, or give us a new order of things!

Excuse the liberty of a stranger.

Yours truly in the faith, SENEX.

POOR ECONOMY.—The Democratic House of Representatives want to show the people how large a saving can be made in the expenses of the Government. They have adopted a novel and simple plan to obtain what they want. They cut down salaries from ten to twenty per cent.; then cut down the force employed about twenty per cent., and the desired end is accomplished. Their plan may work great injustice to individuals and positive injury to the business of the Government, but they are after a big saving, and just how they get it, or where they get it from, are matters of secondary importance. The Commissioner of Pensions is one of the hardest worked officers of the Government. On his decision the Government pays millions of dollars to the pensioners of the land. He is required to be a man of personal integrity and ability. The disbursements made upon his settlements are about \$30,000,000 a year. For this important and responsible work he receives an annual salary of \$3,000. The Democrats cut it down to \$2,700. This is in keeping with the shaving business in which they are now engaged.

Three hundred dollars taken from a poorly paid Government official is of itself a trifling amount, but it goes to make up the seven millions saving over which Democratic leaders will grow eloquent next fall. No doubt Pendleton, the saintly fee taker, who presides over a Kentucky railroad for the starvation salary of \$6,000 a year, and pockets \$74,000 fee for collecting \$148,000, which he claimed was honestly due the company, will rattle the changes on this economy dodge in the vain hope that the people will turn honest men out of office in order to put rascals in.



## OUR PUBLIC SERVICE.

The unfortunate disorders in our public service, and the misdemeanors and crimes committed by high and trusted officials, which have recently been revealed, will be seized by demagogues as a most welcome opportunity for the furtherance of their selfish ends. That these startling revelations have aroused the public indignation is very natural. But it is not less natural that the indignant public should be misdirected by the creation of public prejudices, from which everything is seen but the proper source of the evil, and by which a cure is promised that eventually must prove worse than the evil sought to be cured. The recently expired mania of the so-called "Civil Service Reform" is an instance sufficient to illustrate this assertion without looking for further proof from history. It behooves us, therefore, to face the evil bravely, trace it to its proper source, and then find the true remedy.

That the Republican party which saved the Union, and achieved such a far-reaching success in the progress of the Nation and of humanity in general, has become worthless, and ought to be abolished because a certain number of officials proved themselves unworthy of the trust with which they were honored by its administration, is an illogical conclusion, and of no credit to common sense. That the evil of corruption can be remedied by conveying the helm of the Government from one party to another is simply ridiculous. Such an assertion characterizes the demagogue, or his brainless echoes. The Democratic rule of the State and city of New York, past and present, does not justify the empty promises that that party would fill the Federal offices more creditably than the present administration if put in its place. Nor has the Democratic rule of Missouri, under which ex-Governor Brown still remains a defaulter to the State in a large amount, and under which \$2,000,000 of fraudulent war claims have been thrown into the market, exhibited the same determination to punish the guilty parties that our General Government has demonstrated in

bringing its criminals to justice. The idea that corrupt and dishonest individuals can only be found in the party in power, and that a reign of purity would commence with its removal from power, is so ridiculous that it would be difficult to believe in its existence in the brains of any human being if we did not see and hear it defended in newspaper articles and oratorical efforts.

But it would be a very poor justification for us to say to the opposing party: you have also unclean sheep in your fold, and have, therefore, no right to accuse us of the same impurity. We are merely endeavoring to demonstrate the truth that corruption is not confined within the limits that characterize a certain political party, but that it is a disgraceful element pervading the *people of our Republic*.

Where, then, may we look for the remedy against the startling corruption to which even our unfortunate Cabinet minister has fallen a victim? Certainly not to the Democracy, which, as a political party, has been, and is still, combatting every sound principle of government and national economy with a persistency worthy of a better cause. This party is still proclaiming, through its representatives in Congress, its unwavering adherence to the heresy of the so-called State rights, notwithstanding the same has been theoretically and practically denounced and abolished, and finally buried by the discarding of the original articles of confederation, the adoption of the present Constitution, and the victorious termination of the rebellion, crowned by the adoption of the last constitutional amendments. This party is still justifying secession, declares the suppression of the rebellion a crying injustice to the Southern States, and threatens to make the constitutional amendments, secured by the last fearful struggle of the nation, of no effect as soon as it gets the power to do so. Then the Union men will be placed in the unenviable position of rebels, provided they do not tamely submit to such a pretense and farce of a government. Can the people of the land so far forget themselves as to throw



recklessly away their rights and liberties, their whole government, secured by rivers of blood and millions of money, by making that party the guardian of their highest political rights, while the confession is on its lips that it would take great pleasure in destroying them? Could we escape corruption by such a suicidal act? Is not a general demoralizing element necessarily very fruitful of individual corruption?

Reform parties have made themselves so contemptible that it requires idiocy to expect any political salvation from such pretenders. Their records show nothing but illogical phrases and questionable acts. "Reformers" as well as society need a thorough reformation before true reform can take place.

The two main factors of which our starting corruptions are the product, are society and the manner in which our public officers are rewarded, either by salaries or fees.

The recently developed calamities of official misconduct should be sufficient to cause the most thoughtless member of our gay society to stop and reflect a moment on the irresistible logic of facts. If the current of our social conduct is not soon differently directed it must terminate in a terrible catastrophe. Let the gay, gaudy, and recklessly extravagant butterflies of society remember the blood-curdling retribution that overtook the French debauchees in the "reign of terror" for their scoffing at poverty. Is it not an indisputable fact that the demands of society on our leading officials are so cruel and merciless that they are compelled to select one of two existing evils, *i. e.*, either to live within the reasonable limits characterizing the lives of decent and respectable citizens, and be considered and treated with bitter contempt as "nobodies," because they do not make enough show, or to squander recklessly their honest income, together with any private means they may have, in order to be considered "passable in society?" Does it not require a moral Hercules to resist the temptations to corruption under such circumstances? It is a deplorable trait of the American character to estimate a man's value according to the amount of cash he can command, and the gay and

glittering display he is able to make. How he came to his money, that does not concern our gay society. The only question considered of importance is : is he in possession of it? The worship of money and display goes so far that a person who has served his well deserved term in the penitentiary will be over-burdened with attention and compliments as the "hero of the day" if he can satisfy such perverted social demands. A good intellect and a noble character are of secondary consideration; and if these mainly qualities cannot be supported by plenty of money and display of reckless extravagance, then they are surely not worth noticing. And this is, to a great extent, the criterion according to which the ballots are cast in a great many of our public elections. This trait of our national character can be traced from our highest to our lowest social circles, adopted in every locality and grade of society to local circumstances. Only the heroic and noble exceptions to this popular spirit are the sound foundation of our government.

May our people study the truth in time, and practically, that such money worship and money aristocracy and nobility cannot be reconciled with a democratic government or a government of the people, but must work its destruction. Reforms in our public service will only begin when the people shall consider no other aristocracy and nobility as worthy of notice and public admiration than that of brains and nobility of character; when the saying will be considered as an insult to our republican government, "It is impossible for a poor man to hold a Cabinet office." How many are to-day very profuse in their condemnations of the conduct of ex-Secretary Belknap who work at the same time with an untiring and contemptible persistence at the cultivation of the low and unworthy spirit that caused his downfall. *Reform the people, and you will reform our public service! One is impossible without the other.* The pretended reformer who proclaims a different *modus* for the eradication of our social and political evils is either a demagogue, or—an imbecile.

Not only a perverted public ambition, of which the people are as guilty as public officers, is the cause of our official corruption,

but also the rate at, and the manner in which our public service is rewarded. But in the very face of this fact we see the present Congress indulging in the cheap effort of reducing our public service still further below the limits of respectability.

A man with an extensive business, who needs well-qualified clerks, is compelled to give them a respectable salary in accordance with their qualifications and the importance of the work they have to perform. Even if he has not a spark of human kindness in his breast his self-interest will not allow him to secure second-rate and unreliable assistance for a cheap compensation at the risk of having his business ruined. Our Representatives should act with the same prudence in regard to our public service, instead of inaugurating a plan of which even the most hard-hearted businessmen would be ashamed.

The present salaries of our public servants were fixed when we had no depreciated currency, and when all the necessities for our subsistence could be bought at much lower rates. The salaries of our consuls compel them, either to represent American shabbiness in foreign countries, if they are honest, or American roguery, if their consciences are of spiritual india-rubber. Many have accepted consular appointments under the delusion that a decent and respectable position had been offered to them; but when they had the thing in their own hands and could look into its real value they found themselves cheated in a foreign country. The way to fraud and corruption is very easily found under such circumstances. And is the power free from blame that sets such traps?

The legitimate pay of the majority of our public servants is low; but they are, at the same time, surrounded by so many opportunities to make up for the lack of an honest compensation for their work, that it has, in many instances, the appearance of premiums being offered for corruption and dishonesty, especially if we take into consideration the perverted practice of society heretofore alluded to.

Where could an honest and capable man be found who would be insane enough to accept a public office if the legitimate compen-

sation of the public service should be reduced still lower, as proposed? The Government would then be compelled to select its officers from the scum of society. May the country in future be saved from such reformers and such mischievous economizing. Such retrenchment, in the wrong direction, is a striking illustration of the expression made by the German poet, Schiller: "This is the curse of the evil deed, that it must perpetuate evil."

What can be the cause of such an ill-directed retrenchment, so full of danger for our public affairs? Is it an honest but misconceived effort at economizing? It would merely be a poor recommendation of the intellectual capacities of these gentlemen, and redeem, at least, their honesty and good-will, if we could impute such a motive to their conduct. But we cannot honor them that much; because their real object is too obvious. It is the attempt of the demagogue, who begs for popularity with that class of people who estimate the value of labor according to the brute force its performance requires, and not according to its intellect and skill. How men misuse their precious gift of speech to hide their thoughts with!

Another source of corruption is our unfortunate fee system, because it works injustice to the Government and to officers alike. Officers have, in many cases, to work hard for a beggarly income, where the accidental fees on which they are dependent do not come in for various reasons. For instance, officers in consolidated land offices, where little land is entered have meager commissions but a burdensome correspondence for their \$500 salary per annum; while in offices where much land is entered and heavy commissions received, the officers receive the same salary for comparatively very little other work. Such unequal divisions of work and pay, caused by our fee and commission system, could be pointed out in every department of our public service. And every injustice has its bad effect.

Our unjust and corrupting fee and commission system should be entirely abolished. The only just and reasonable method would be to classify our public work and fix for every class an adequate salary. All rev-

venues received in the different departments should be strictly accounted for, and no commissions or fees be allowed to officers beyond their fixed and reasonable salaries. Only under such a system, with capable and honest officers, would Government and officers receive their honest dues.

Order, uniformity, and justice in every direction on the part of the Government are the

first requirements for the suppression of corruption and the foundation for a lasting reform.

Our unfortunate law-makers in our national Capitol would earn the well-deserved thanks of the nation if they could turn their attention to these and similar reforms of our public service instead of making it more contemptible through their pretended and mischievous economizing.

## THE TRUTH OF HISTORY AND THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

The recent request made by THE REPUBLIC for the narratives of surviving ex-prisoners of war has been answered up to this writing by a mass of communications first published in local papers, or received by THE REPUBLIC direct. In every instance the writer's name, former regiment, and other essential marks of identification are given. There is something inexpressibly sad as well as shocking in the stern, deliberately stated details of premeditated cruelty these papers contain. It is almost damaging to human nature to reproduce them, but they offer the keenest proof of the demoralization which attended the support of slavery and defense of treason. These communications will be published as rapidly as may be. The one row given is from a member of the famous Sanitary Commission:

EDITORS REPUBLIC: After reading your recent appeal for testimony relating to the treatment and condition of Union soldiers in Confederate prisons, and Confederate soldiers in Union prisons, I am impelled to furnish for publication a plain uncolored narrative of a portion of my experience as agent of the Sanitary Commission during the last exchange of prisoners in the fall of '64.

On the first day of November, 1864, I went on board the "General Sedgwick" at Fortress Monroe, having permission from General Mulford to proceed, with the sanitary stores in my charge, to the point of exchange near Savannah, and there and thereafter to render assistance to the government surgeon on board in relieving the wants of those prisoners consigned to our steamer. On the 8th, with several other steamers, we sailed out of Hampton Roads. We were delayed several days at Beaufort and Port Royal, and not until the 20th did we reach our destination.

Venus Point, the point of exchange, is nothing more than a bend in the river about three miles below Savannah. Here we found

three river steamers flying the Confederate flag, and two ocean steamers with the Union flag at the mast-head. The exchange was evidently in progress. One of our steamers was lashed to one of theirs and gang-planks had been laid from one to the other. Representatives of both parties to the exchange stood, book in hand, keeping record of the number exchanged; while on deck stood General Mulford and the Confederate General Hatch personally superintending the disposition of the liberated men.

My first impression was, that we must have happened on the scene at a time when the Confederates were disposing of their worst cases, and that they were reserving the hardest prisoners to the last; but I afterwards found that no such classification had been attempted. The liberated Unionists were, with only now and then an exception, emaciated and insufficiently clothed. Some, unable to stand, much less to walk, were carried on stretchers on board our steamers; others were supported between stout assistants, scarcely able to move one foot before the other; many, though able to walk alone, dragged themselves along in a weak, spiritless manner, indicating a fearful lack of vitality. Nearly all bore on their haggard faces and emaciated bodies the unmistakable evidences of prolonged suffering and the consequent absence of hope or desire. Their enfeebled condition was the more striking because in such close contrast with that of the returned Confederates, nearly every man of whom was in splendid condition—their swarthiness of complexion, quick glance of the eye, and erect carriage indicating perfect health. Not one of the latter did I see who was unable to walk without assistance from one boat to the other.

But the contrast does not end here. The returned Confederates were comfortably clothed in suits furnished by the Government against which they had taken arms. But scarcely a man returned to us from Andersonville and other prison-pens of the South was the possessor of a suit of clothes entire. Very few



wore any underclothing. Here and there could be seen a man scantily clothed in a dirt-begrimed blouse, and a pair of pants rudely contrived out of flour-sacks or meal-bags. Such a one was fortunate. Scores and hundreds were nothing more than a pair of grimy pants, infested with vermin, and out at the knees and seat. Nearly all were barefooted, and many without covering for the head. The skin, rough and bronzed from long exposure, was drawn tightly over their ribs and chests, which protruded so far out from the sunken abdomen as to suggest at once the chief cause of their emaciated condition—slow starvation. So wasted were their limbs that their joints seemed enormous. Their hair and whiskers had a matted, brushy appearance suggestive of dirt and vermin. Their hollow eyes and sunken cheeks told the same terrible story of suffering and deprivation. But the most painful detail of this woeful picture vividly impressed upon my mind was the expression on the faces of these sufferers. In many instances the usual dead, passive look on the prisoners' faces gave way to one of almost idiotic exultation when they found themselves once more free and under the protection of our flag. And when food was given them all the latent wolfishness in man's nature found expression in their faces.

But many, alas, had passed beyond the point of hunger; and the tender of food could not rouse them from the hopeless lethargy into which they had fallen. There they lay stretched upon couches in the cabins of the steamers to which they had been consigned, their eyes staring vacantly upon the faces of their attendants, and at the timbers overhead. Some were too weak to make known their passing wants; others were too near the end of their sufferings to be affected by desire of any sort.

There for nearly three days I watched this unequal exchange of well-clothed, well-fed, healthy men, for half-naked, half-starved, sick and dying men. *Unequal exchange* did I say? From a low standpoint, as one would regard two droves of cattle, such was indeed the fact; but from a loftier standpoint the exchange was to the people of the North an unmixed blessing; for were not these horribly misused men whom we received in exchange for well-conditioned men ready for service, were not these wrecks of men our brothers, whom the cartel had possibly saved from a horrible death? During those three days frequent deaths occurred among our men, and I recall not a single death among the Confederates. At short intervals the firing of a rifle in air informed us that another imprisoned spirit had been set free. The dead bodies were sewed up in blankets and lowered into the river, the swamps on either side affording no opportunity for burial.

On Tuesday, the 22d, we received our load of five hundred, who were classified as "well men," the "General Sedgwick" not having the conveniences of the larger steamers for the care of the sick. If those placed in our charge were the *well* men, how wretched must have been the condition of the sick!

While I was busily engaged providing clothing for the destitute, and the officers of our steamer were busy preparing for our departure, a number of these half-famished men entered the hold and broke open several boxes of army crackers, or "hard-tack," which had been placed on board by the Sanitary Commission. The scene that ensued was indescribable. Rendered wolfish by hunger, they fought savagely for possession of the food. Now and then one would climb on deck with a few crackers in his hands, devouring them with an eagerness that was pitiable to behold. He would soon be surrounded by his equally hungry comrades and compelled to relinquish his food. And thus the strife was continued. Those who gorged themselves with hard tack, and then drank freely of water, were soon afterwards great sufferers from cramping pains, their weakened stomachs being unable to dispose of its heavy load.

I never saw a happier body of men than these five hundred prisoners were while partaking of their first full meal. *Full meal?* Hardly. Long after our three tierces of "Sanitary soup" had been emptied, like Oliver Twist, they kept calling for "more."

On personal inspection I found that nearly all these so-called "well men" were more or less afflicted with scurvy and a complication of other disorders; and that there were more than a score of them so feeble that it was doubtful about their being able to survive the ocean voyage to Annapolis.

On the afternoon of the 22d, we started down the river. Putting out to sea, we encountered a severe storm. Our little craft rolled and pitched furiously. The surgeon and his other assistants were soon on their backs, seasick, and the care of the released prisoners devolved wholly upon me. Passing frequently through the cabins, I found nearly all suffering terribly from sea-sickness, their weakened frames fearfully racked with frequent vomitings. In several cases, I momentarily expected death would ensue. But, fortunately, the wind went down at midnight; and, though the sea continued quite rough nearly all the next day, the worst was over, and the condition of the men steadily improved.

The remainder of the trip was delightful—the ocean nearly a dead calm. On the voyage I made the acquaintance of many of the men; and from all I learned the same sad story—of crowded and shelterless quarters,

of exposure to the hot sun by day and chilling winds by night, of miasma from adjoining swamps, of impure water, insufficient and unwholesome food, of frequent tragedies enacted along the dead-line, of efforts to escape made futile and sometimes fatal by the tracking of blood-hounds; stories which the recent false assertions of ex-Confederates Hill and Davis have, in most instances, brought into public notice for the first time. (See the reports that are now constantly coming to the surface, written by survivors of these cruelties.)

Of the numerous instances of rebel cruelty that came under my own observation on that return voyage, I will relate but two.

An Englishman, a resident of Lawrence, Massachusetts, who rendered us valuable assistance in caring for the sick in our charge, showed me the prints of teeth on his cheeks, and arms, and legs, and informed me that these scars were the imprint of the teeth of blood-hounds that had been set upon his track after his attempted escape from Andersonville, some months before. He, and his his comrades in this dangerous venture were tracked to the heart of a woody swamp several miles away, and were there recaptured while engaged defending themselves from the infuriated animals. His story was confirmed by several of his fellow-prisoners who stood by as he narrated it.

A New Hampshire lad of 19, whose name I cannot now recall, was among the sick on board. Before we left the Savannah river I

discovered him lying upon a heap of canvas on the forward deck. He was wasted and haggard in appearance—a mere skeleton in fact. As I drew near he turned his eyes languidly toward his naked right arm, on the elbow-joint of which I discovered an old sore that had broken out afresh. On examining, I also found sores upon his hips and shoulder-blades, which his friends informed me were occasioned by the heat of the sand in which he had lain for some time at Andersonville. Around these sores, like cattle at a trough, countless body-lice had collected and were feeding upon the matter exuded. I had him taken below, cleansed, clothed and placed upon a comfortable couch; and everything was done for him that could be done under the circumstances. The storm told fearfully on his wasted frame. After the wind went down he rallied somewhat. On the last day of the voyage he talked with me of home, and of his father, and mother, and sister. At his request I wrote a letter informing them that he was on his way north, and hoped soon to reach home. Poor lad! The fatigue of the voyage, and of the ride to camp after landing at Annapolis was more than he could endure. A few hours after our arrival at Annapolis it became my painful duty to add a postscript to my letter, informing those at home that he was dead, and requesting to be informed by telegraph as to what disposition I should make of his remains.

JOHNSON BRIGHAM.

WATKINS, N. Y., *March 1, 1876.*

## THE GRAY BENEATH THE BLUE.

Some one has recently given expression in very musical rhyme to the aversion naturally felt by the veteran Unionist, especially the ex-soldier, at being asked to vote for the men who don the blue in order to hide the gray that they are really clad in and cherish also. These brevet-Confederates are numerous, and on the whole the best specimen recently exhumed is Daniel Marcy, recently Democratic candidate for Governor of New Hampshire.

His disloyalty is more pronounced and malignant, but no more dangerous or sincere, than are the opinions held by Mr. Speaker Kerr, who was selected because he is the extremest partisan among Northern Democrats of the pro-Southern State sovereignty dogmas. Mr. Morrison, the Democratic leader of the House, shows his subser-

viency at the bidding of Gordon, the notorious Hambleton to the clerkship of the chief committee of the House. He clenches this subserviency by expunging his Union war record from the Congressional Directory, while Senator Gordon, to show his contemptuous appreciation of the fitness of things, inserts his record as a rebel general, having in a previous Congress had the good taste to withhold the same.

Mr. Marcy is only later, but no meaner, in his Southern proclivities than Representative George M. Beebe, of New York, who, when a fresh-fledged lawyer and politician, went to the Territory of Kansas in quest of fame and fortune. He settled in a Democratic county, and was elected to the Territorial Council. This was in 1860. February 11th he made a minority report against abolishing slavery. The bill was vetoed by Governor



Medary. Mr. Beebe voted to sustain the veto, and was complimented by a Democratic convention for doing so, and on the 7th of May rewarded by President Buchanan with the appointment of Secretary of the Territory. On the 10th of January, 1861, Mr. Beebe, then acting Governor, sent a message to the Territorial Legislature, in which he made the following recommendation: "If God in his wrath shall tolerate the worst portent of this tempest of passion, now so fiercely raging, Kansas ought, and I trust will, declining identification with either branch of a contending family, tendering to each alike the olive offering of good-neighborship, establish under a constitution of her own creation a Government to be separate and free among the nations."

This sort of thing can only be alluded to in the way Victor Hugo makes Cambronne reply to the English demand for the Old Guards' surrender at Waterloo. These be the men, though, that get into power as Democracy reasserts itself. Look at the record of their candidate in New Hampshire: Daniel Marcy was elected in March, 1863, to Congress from the First New Hampshire district. He took his seat December 7, and on the 9th he gave his first rebel vote in voting against Washburne's resolution approving the Administration for asking to effect an exchange of prisoners. Five days afterward he voted for Fernando Wood's resolution requesting President Lincoln to appoint three commissioners empowered to open negotiations with the authorities at Richmond, to the end that this bloody, destructive, and inhuman war shall cease, and the Union be restored to terms of equity, fraternity, and equality under the Constitution. Three days later he voted for the Edgerton resolution to censure President Lincoln for his Emancipation Proclamation, and for the Harrington resolutions denying the right of the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. On the same day he dodged the vote on two resolutions, one of which declared it to be the duty of Congress to pay all necessary bills to support the war, and the other returned thanks to the Union soldiers for gallantry in the field.

It is not necessary to go through Marcy's record in detail, but an examination of the *Globe* of that period will show that on

December 21, February 1, February 15, March 28, April 8, May 2, June 4, June 6, June 13, June 15, June 29 July 2, during that session of Congress he so acted and voted as to give aid and comfort to armed rebellion. But his most infamous act was on January 18, 1864. On that day Hon. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, introduced the following:

"Whereas, A most desperate, wicked, and bloody rebellion exists within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the safety and security of personal and national liberty depends upon its absolute and utter extinction: therefore

"Resolved, That it is the political, civil, moral, and sacred duty of the people to meet it, fight it, crush it, and forever destroy it, thereby establishing perfect and unalterable liberty."

The great body of the Democrats voted in the affirmative, but sixteen, among whom was Daniel Marcy, were so wedded to the cause of the rebellion that they voted in the negative. Among his companions were Benjamin G. Harris, of Maryland, and Alexander Long, of Ohio, the first of whom was afterward expelled, and the latter censured for treasonable utterances on the floor of the House.

Marcy made but one speech in Congress and that was on the 14th of June, 1864. Then he said to the Southern rebels that "the great loyal Democratic party would guarantee to them the pure administration of the law of the land; they should enjoy without further molestation their full and equitable rights under the Constitution. If the disloyal abolition party would humble itself in dust and ashes and purge itself from the monstrous iniquities and wash away the stains which disfigure its infamous brow, and swear that from this time henceforth and forever it would never seek to interfere with the administration and regulation of the internal police of the Southern States or of any State, and act with the Democratic party, peace would once more return to bless the land." He also had a decided opinion of President Lincoln, for he said: "I believe the name of the President will go down to posterity along with the deep execrations of all who revere and love the Union as our fathers gave it to us." Is there room or place for such as Marcy? It is not to be believed.



## THE LOSS OF LABORERS TO GEORGIA.

The unsatisfactory condition of affairs in many of the Southern States presses hard upon the colored citizens. Especially is this the case in Georgia. It is said that during one week in February last the Western railroad office at Columbus, Georgia, sold 299 tickets to parties bound for the western cotton States—middle and western Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. This makes 3,345 which have been sold from that office since December 1. In addition, 200 have been sold from the Mobile and Girard office, making a total of 3,545 which have left this section, included in a radius of fifty miles in two and a half months. Of this number not 250 were whites. This compilation embraces as many from Alabama as Georgia, as the river is the dividing line between the two States.

If the political leaders in Southern States under Democratic control imagine that they can do without the labor of colored men, what becomes of the argument urged on behalf of slavery that colored labor in the South was a necessity? The wealth of the South, especially in the cotton States, has been built up by colored labor; and now the freedmen are industrious and earn wages, that class of whites which can never look upon a black man without a desire to enslave him, makes his residence so intolerable and dangerous that he prefers to leave the State rather than endure it.

It is high time that the South should cease to be a disturbing element in politics. It is high time that the idea of good citizenship in the South should cease to be different than elsewhere. The "peculiar institution" no longer exists. What reason, then, is there for the existence of that barbaric claim to superiority which is constantly at work to depreciate the colored man, while selfishly securing all the advantages of his labor? The colored man is a citizen: and the Southern white is no more. Both claim their rights on the same ground, and both are the creatures of the law. If the law makes no distinction in the color of a man's skin, it seems strange that the country should be shocked so repeatedly by hearing that one class of citizens in the

South is forced to suffer at the hands of another. The blacks are the victims of the whites, and if the truth be told, have abundant reason to complain. Is there no sense of justice in the South, no sentiment of duty between man and man, that would lead to an adjustment of differences in the interests of peace?

It is quite clear that where there is injustice there can be no prosperity. The white people of the South are injuring themselves whenever they make the colored citizens suffer. As the Southern whites constituted the Slave Power, and kept their slaves ignorant and degraded that they might never be free, now that they are free, one would suppose that their education would have been provided for as a prime necessity. But Democrat leaders do not look with favor upon educating colored men. They prefer to keep the country in hot water by denouncing the blacks as ignorant, thriftless, and idle, and either decline to collect the school tax or spend it on something else if collected. Anything rather than educate. Are not the Southern leaders getting tired of a condition of affairs in their locality which reflects no credit upon them as men or citizens? and is there not sufficient manliness in the South to lead to a change which shall put the colored people at their ease, permit them to exercise the franchise they possess, and earn their wages in peace and quietness?

## Centennial.

On the 4th of July, 1776, George Washington was 44 years old; Martha Washington, 43; Sam. Adams, 54; John Adams, 41; Abigail Adams, 32; John Quincy Adams, 9; Thomas Jefferson, 33; Patrick Henry, 40; James Madison, 25; Thomas Paine, 39; James Otis, 51; Fisher Ames, 18; William Pitt, 68; Josiah Quincy, Jr., 32; Nathaniel Greene, 34; Edmund Burke, 46; Jonathan Turnbull, 36; Roger Sherman, 55; Aaron Burr, 20; Benedict Arnold, 36; George Clinton, 37; Alexander Hamilton, 19; Robert R. Livingston, 29; Philip Livingston, 60; Philip Schuyler, 43; Benjamin Franklin, 70; Benjamin Rush, 31; Robert Morris, 42; Charles Carroll, 39; Cæsar Rodney, 46; Edward Rutledge, 27; William Moultrie, 45; Horatio Gates, 48; John Rutledge, 37; Thomas Sumter, 42; Charles C. Pinckney, 30; Charles Pinckney, 18; James Monroe, 18; Tim. Pickering, 31; Anthony Wayne, 31; Israel Putnam, 58; Rufus King, 21; John Hancock, 39; Elbridge Gerry, 32; Richard Stockton, 46; George Wythe, 50; Marquis La Fayette, 19; Francis Marion, 44; Henry Knox, 26; Richard Henry Lee, 44; John Jay, 31.

## WAS SECESSION TREASON?

Sometimes it is desirable to look back and learn of the past. It is only youthful arrogance and egotism which forbids us doing this. Nations like individuals may learn of their duty, take warning from mistakes, or see where they failed to grasp a situation clearly. In view of recent developments, indicating definitely the intention of the surviving defenders of the late civil war to indict the National Union and its defenders before the bar of public opinion, present and prospective, it is within the compass of fair play to bring out all the facts which will help to make the case. "Ben" Hill, Mr. Lamar, Mr. Tucker, Senators Gordon and Withers, with others, have explicitly declared that in the secession war no treason was committed. They claim to stand before the world; they expect to go down to history as men devoted to a grave principle of government, who solemnly risked all in an attempt to vindicate their principles through the destruction of one government and the foundation of another, more equitable and just in character and conditions. On the other hand, the Union men regard them as "traitors," more or less designed and willful in character; as men who either led or assisted in causeless war, which produced desolation and disaster, filling half a million of untimely graves, and burdening unborn generations with debt and sorrow. Further, it is held that the war was not for the vindication of so-called Constitutional principles, but to defend and arrogate an institution—that of slavery—repugnant to all sense of right and justice, the existence of which made the United States a scorn in the nostrils of the nations, and against which all the forces of civilization had instinctively combined.

To those holding this view, the rebellion of 1861 was nothing less than treason. The Constitution not only defined the crime of the rebellion, but bestowed the power punishing rebels.

Article III, Section 3, says:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or

in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid or comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

"2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained."

In exercising this power Congress passed the act of April 30, 1790, in which it is declared:

"If any person or persons owing allegiance to the United States of America shall levy war against them, or shall adhere to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort, within the United States or elsewhere, and shall be thereof convicted on confession in open court, or on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act of treason whereof he or they shall stand indicted, such person or persons shall be adjudged guilty of treason against the United States, and shall suffer DEATH.

"If any person or persons having knowledge of the commission of any of the treasons aforesaid shall conceal, and not, as soon as may be, disclose and make known the same to the President of the United States, or some one of the judges thereof, or to the President or Governor of a particular State or some one of the judges or justices thereof, such person or persons, on conviction, shall be adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and shall be imprisoned not exceeding seven years, and fined not exceeding one thousand dollars."

Chief Justice Marshall, a name revered by every American as a lover of his country, and who adorned the bench of the highest court in the Union, took occasion in administering the act, thus to interpret it:

"It is not the intention of the Court to say that no individual can be guilty of this crime (treason) who has not appeared in arms against his country.

"On the contrary, if war be actually levied—that is, if a body of men be actually assembled for the purpose of effecting by force a treasonable purpose—all those who perform any part, however minute, or however remote from the scene of action, and who actually leagued in the general conspiracy ARE TO BE CONSIDERED AS TRAITORS."

In view of the wide-spread knowledge of the long prepared and impending rebellion which existed among the Democratic

statesmen, politicians, and party leaders, North as well as South, there can be no doubt that they, too, were guilty of "misprision of treason," as defined by the foregoing law. On the 10th of January, 1861, two resolutions were passed unanimously by the Central Republican Club of the city of New York as the sentiment of the great mass of the people. They were as follows:

"Whereas, a band of traitors in the Cabinet at Washington, in both houses of Congress, and in several of the Southern States of this Republic have made war against the United States; have seized forts, arsenals, and other public property; robbed the Treasury, obstructed the telegraph, and committed other acts of violence, in combination and conspiracy against the people of the United States and their Constitution of Government for the purpose of introducing slavery temporarily or permanently into every State or Territory of this Union: therefore

*"Resolved,* That the Constitution as it is provides the most perfect system of government known to man; that it needs no amendment, and shall have none at the beck and call of traitors, or their insolent mouthpieces.

*"Resolved,* That we hold ourselves ready, and tender our services to the State, or the National Government, or both, to aid to the extent of our power in crushing this formidable and wicked rebellion, determined, at

at all hazards, that the Constitution shall be 'preserved, protected, and defended,' peace restored, and the blessings of liberty, of liberty of speech, and the press, fully and amply vindicated and secured."

A week after this, on January 16, 1861, Mr. F. C. Treadwell, of New York, proceeded to Washington to enter formal complaint against a large number of rebels. This complaint, legal and *pro forma* in its nature, was returned by the clerk of the United States Supreme Court, with the message from Judge Taney, not the written indorsement, for that would have been written evidence of his own complicity, as such cases required—that "they were improper papers to be presented to the court." The United States Supreme Court thus acted before the conspirators to give them immunity from arrest. Is it any wonder that President Buchanan hesitated when even the Supreme Bench offered sympathy to treason? By giving no warning of what they knew, the leaders of the Democracy have been guilty of misprision of treason, and have become liable to imprisonment not exceeding seven years, and to the payment of a fine not exceeding \$1,000. This is the penalty of the law for such criminal delinquency.

## THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTIONS.

The "staff correspondent" of a leading brevet-Democratic journal, with others of the same ilk, were very busy, as soon as it became evident that the Republican party was to be crowned with victory in New Hampshire, at the recent election, is endeavoring to prove that, if so, it must be in the main due to a regular traffic in votes, which it was charged is carried on in the Granite State. To establish this charge, attention was called to the large percentage of votes cast as per population when compared with the electoral totals in other New England States. Reference was also made to the disparity of the sexes, as to numbers, known to exist in New England, as another reason for alleged frauds. The New York *Tribune*, editorially and by "staff" correspondence, gave wide currency to these allegations. In one letter the correspondent makes the following comparison of percentages, which, he states, was made from the "Tribune Almanac," taking in each case

the highest number of votes cast at any election since 1871: "New Hampshire, one voter to 4.02 inhabitants; Connecticut, one voter to 5.32 inhabitants; Vermont, one voter to 5.63 inhabitants; Maine, one voter to 5.68 inhabitants; Massachusetts, one voter to 7.78 inhabitants; Rhode Island, one voter to 9.76 inhabitants." The authority is at fault. A better one was at hand, if a fair statement had been the object. That was the United States Census of 1870. According to that document, whose reliability even the "staff correspondent" will not assail, the total population was in that year 318,300. Of this total the males were 155,640, and the females 162,600. The number of male adults is stated as 91,016; of male citizens (voters) as 83,361. A cursory arithmetical examination will establish that, instead of the voters being, as the "staff correspondent" puts it, at the rate of one in 4.02 of the inhabitants, the ratio is really about the



same fraction less than one in four. The figures prove only this—that in New Hampshire there is less abstention from voting than in any other of the New England States, and, as a matter of fact, less than in any other State in the Union.

Several things tend to produce this result. Foremost among them may be placed the fact that the town-meeting system is maintained most closely therein, and that it keeps up the active and primitive interest of all the citizens. The frequency of elections has very much to do with the large vote, as also has the fact that nearly all offices are elective in character. Again, New Hampshire fosters State pride, by allowing her citizens liberal opportunities for retaining a domicile within her borders. This feeling is encouraged by both political parties, and the young men and others who, for business purposes, &c., are temporarily living elsewhere, do their best, as a rule, to meet the requirement of the State laws and maintain their home citizenship. It is not necessary to argue the wisdom of this policy. There are excellent arguments on both sides. It is only referred to because it is alleged to be a source of corruption. As a matter of fact, the larger proportion of such voters are Republicans. The Democrats are too unenterprising to venture far from their bleak hill-fields, and, when they do, often become converts to broader views.

That the charge of bribery and fraudulent increase of the vote is, in the main, baseless, may be seen from the following table:

Voting population of New Hampshire, according to the United States Census of 1870.....	83,361
Male adults of civic age, not voters, according to the United States Census of 1870.....	7,655

*Votes from 1870 to 1876.*

	Total.	No. of votes less than total of Census.
1870.....	68,471	14,890
1871.....	69,729	13,632
1872 (Governor).....	76,355	7,006
1872 (President).....	68,893	14,468
1873.....	67,804	15,557
1874.....	71,861	11,500
1875.....	79,206	4,155
1875—For Congress....	79,281	4,080
1876.....	80,322	3,039

The political activity and interest felt and manifested in New Hampshire, as compared with that of other New England States, will be readily seen by the following table:

	Total male population, 1870.	Total number of votes, per Census of 1870.	Year.	Highest vote cast from 1870 to 1875, inclusive.	Number less than Census.
Connecticut.....	265,270	127,499	1875	100,966	26,533
Maine.....	313,103	153,160	1872	126,618	26,542
Massachusetts.....	703,779	312,770	1872	192,732	120,038
Rhode Island.....	104,756	43,996	1875	22,258	21,736
Vermont.....	165,721	74,867	1872	58,559	16,308
New Hampshire.....	155,640	83,361	1875	79,281	4,080

The trouble with all the accusations and criticisms indulged in by the so-called "independent" press is that its chief aim is to make "points." It is conducted on the Irishman's idea of the use to which a stick should be put at Donnybrook Fair—that of hitting a head wherever you see it. The idea of a judicial judgment is a farce, and the journalist is a fool who should govern himself by any such standard. In this case the figures show that in New Hampshire political parties do not attempt to manufacture votes, but rather to animate and inspire to duty those citizens who possess or are entitled to the right of suffrage. So successful are they in this that it will be seen that the percentage of abstention from the polls is very much less, in the dullest years, in the Granite State, than it is in any one of the other five embraced in New England. The highest votes from 1870 to 1875 have already been given. The following table gives the lowest votes cast since 1870:

	Year.	Lowest vote since 1870.	No. of votes less than the Census total.
Connecticut.....	1873	86,845	40,654
Maine.....	1873	80,490	72,670
Massachusetts.....	1873	131,543	171,227
New Hampshire.....	1873	67,804	15,557
Rhode Island.....	1873	13,442	30,554
Vermont.....	1870	45,425	29,442

Apart from the special purpose of the foregoing, the recurrence of the lowest vote at certain periods indicates with great clearness, the rule in regard to "off years." Another could be established if the investigation were pushed further, and that is, that in every instance of Democratic victory in the New England States it comes, not as the growth of that party, but as the neglect, indifference, or anger of the Republicans, manifested, in the main, by absence from the polls, or occasionally by the growth of one or more "parasite" parties, such as the Temperance or Labor Reform movements. These merely represent ideas and questions whose germs are in or naturally belong to the great party of National Unity and Universal Liberty.

## LABOR AND WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES— PROTECTION VERSUS FREE TRADE.

There is no other country in the world where labor is paid so liberally as in the United States. By many this is attributed to vastness of territory and sparseness of population. But these conditions apply also to countries where labor is poorly paid, such as Canada, Mexico, and South America. We must find a more substantial cause, and this we have in the American system of protection to home industries, which checks foreign competition and increases the demand for mechanical skill and labor at home. This policy has never been lost sight of—though sometimes thrown in the shade—since the organization of the Government. It was never more popular with the people than at present. It sustained the Government, by providing generous revenues during the trying years of the wicked rebellion and costly civil war. It secured to the industrious populations abundant employment and liberal remuneration up to the year 1872, when, under the pressing demands of a Democratic minority Congress yielded to reductions in the tariff to the extent of \$30,000,000, which reduced our industries from a condition of great prosperity to extreme prostration, and deprived thousands of workmen of employment.

With these facts before them, the Democratic majority in Congress have now under consideration a bill in which another radical reduction in the duties is contemplated, with the view of destroying, as far as it is possible, the protective features of the tariff. It is hoped however that this fatal blow at our industries may be averted, and the country saved from further prostration.

If any changes in the tariff are required they are in the direction of a ten or fifteen per cent. increase in the rates, on certain articles now paying a moderate duty, and by a transfer of other commodities from the free to the dutiable list. Our imports during the last fiscal year of eight classes of dutiable goods amounted in value to \$140,000,000. These were silks, woolens, cottons, linens, leather, iron and steel in their various forms,

and gloves. An increase of 10 per cent. in the duties on these goods would secure their manufacture, to a large extent, at home, and give employment to thousands of now idle workmen and women. Of goods free of duty the last year's importation amounted in value to \$167,180,644. A duty of 10 or 15 per cent. would cause many of the articles included in this free list to be produced at home, and prevent our gold from going abroad to pay for importations of articles we can produce ourselves. If we wish to retain a larger portion of our gold at home we must import fewer goods of foreign manufacture.

But against these heavy importations labor is still better paid in the United States than in England or elsewhere. This is significantly shown in Dr. Edward Young's remarkable book on "Labor and Wages in Europe and America," which is attracting no little attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The *London Times* has given it a critical examination; and, though the editor does not seem pleased at the exposure of the drinking habits and other weaknesses of our English cousins, he fails to discover inaccuracies in the figures showing the rates of wages, cost of provisions, clothing, and house rent in that country. The work is commended as a remarkable compilation of valuable statistics.

In the United States it has been generally indorsed by statesmen and journalists. Based upon its statistical tables, the following figures, showing the average rates of wages paid in the United States, may be accepted as reliable. They afford, in compact form, a large amount of valuable information. Examined in connection with the statistical tables summarized from the same work and published in the January number of *THE REPUBLIC*, they will show at a glance the wide differences in amount between the wages paid in the two countries, England and America. The first two tables treat of mechanical, and the third of farm labor, and embrace the entire range of the Union:

## MECHANICAL LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages, without board, paid in the several States and Territories to persons employed in the under-mentioned trades in the respective years 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Black-smiths.		Brick-layers or masons.		Cabinet makers.		Coop-ers.		Carpen-ters.		Paint-ers.		Plaster-ers.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.														
Maine.....	\$1 97	\$2 37	\$2 30	\$3 50	\$1 88	\$2 12	\$1 74	\$2 12	\$2 00	\$2 75	\$1 92	\$2 50	\$2 27	\$3 50
New Hampshire.....	2 08	3 44	2 50	3 87	1 63	3 00	1 75	2 67	1 75	2 94	1 75	2 75	2 00	3 69
Vermont.....	2 21	2 88	2 63	2 75	2 19	2 88	2 13	2 75	2 05	3 00	2 04	2 62	2 65	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 91	2 83	2 42	3 67	2 00	3 16	2 25	2 37	1 98	3 02	1 94	2 83	2 42	3 33
Rhode Island.....	1 50	....	1 75	....	2 00	....	1 50	....	1 50	....	1 50	....	1 75	....
Connecticut.....	1 67	....	2 00	....	1 75	....	2 00	....	1 67	....	1 67	....	1 92	....
MIDDLE STATES.														
New York.....	1 66	2 64	2 02	3 23	1 77	2 55	1 64	2 19	1 74	2 65	1 77	2 63	2 11	3 07
New Jersey.....	1 48	2 96	1 58	3 34	1 32	2 65	1 34	3 00	1 60	2 75	1 75	2 92	1 84	3 17
Pennsylvania.....	1 47	2 32	1 82	2 89	1 32	2 91	1 31	2 29	1 59	2 37	1 85	2 42	1 76	2 74
Delaware.....	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 50	1 50	3 00	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 75
Maryland.....	1 50	2 50	1 50	4 00	2 50	3 00	1 50	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 25
West Virginia.....	1 69	2 50	2 06	2 95	1 66	2 81	1 53	2 19	1 73	2 50	1 84	2 40	2 08	2 58
WESTERN STATES.														
Ohio.....	1 75	2 30	2 18	3 06	1 99	2 24	1 58	2 12	1 78	2 33	1 94	2 29	2 08	2 64
Indiana.....	1 93	2 80	2 60	3 25	1 84	2 62	1 62	2 25	1 83	2 33	1 96	2 37	2 33	3 00
Illinois.....	2 02	2 81	2 73	3 69	1 97	2 83	2 00	2 75	2 03	2 87	2 02	2 56	2 49	3 38
Michigan.....	2 10	....	2 41	....	1 88	....	1 70	2 50	1 90	....	1 90	....	2 30	....
Wisconsin.....	2 28	2 50	2 54	3 00	2 01	2 00	2 03	2 00	2 13	2 50	2 08	2 75	2 49	4 00
Minnesota.....	1 90	3 00	2 41	3 00	1 96	2 50	1 86	3 00	1 89	2 50	1 96	3 00	2 33	....
Iowa.....	2 17	2 50	2 47	3 50	2 10	2 50	1 95	....	2 01	3 00	1 93	2 50	2 47	3 00
Kansas.....	2 69	....	3 17	....	3 00	....	2 88	....	2 75	....	2 55	....	2 69	....
Nebraska.....	2 50	....	3 50	....	2 50	....	....	....	2 50	....	2 50	....	4 00	....
Missouri.....	2 03	3 50	2 71	4 00	2 10	3 00	2 00	2 50	2 05	3 00	2 46	3 00	2 71	3 50
Kentucky.....	2 03	2 63	2 68	3 50	1 84	2 75	1 88	2 90	2 28	3 20	2 17	2 90	2 37	3 10
SOUTHERN STATES.														
Virginia.....	1 40	2 20	1 75	2 00	1 68	1 88	1 55	1 63	1 74	1 70	1 80	1 63	1 71	2 00
North Carolina.....	1 50	2 50	1 83	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 00	....	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	1 67	3 00
South Carolina.....	1 67	2 50	1 71	2 50	2 17	....	1 56	....	1 90	2 50	1 85	2 50	1 90	2 50
Georgia.....	1 88	3 00	2 58	2 50	2 08	2 75	1 44	3 00	2 13	2 75	2 13	2 75	1 84	2 50
Florida.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Alabama.....	2 30	....	2 25	....	2 83	....	2 50	....	2 25	....	2 50	....	2 67	....
Louisiana.....	2 70	4 00	2 60	3 50	2 12	2 50	2 50	3 00	2 70	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	3 00
Texas.....	2 66	3 00	3 33	3 75	3 50	2 50	2 37	....	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 87	3 33
Mississippi.....	2 50	3 00	2 94	3 00	2 25	....	2 50	....	2 12	2 50	2 00	....	3 50	3 00
Arkansas.....	2 60	3 50	2 83	4 50	2 71	3 00	2 25	3 00	2 41	3 00	2 42	3 00	2 67	3 00
Tennessee.....	2 03	3 25	2 28	4 08	2 29	2 83	1 78	2 50	2 29	2 75	2 36	2 83	2 32	3 16
PACIFIC STATES.														
California.....	4 22	3 00	4 96	5 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	....	8 95	8 00	4 06	4 00	4 75	5 00
Nevada.....	6 80	6 00	6 80	6 00	6 88	....	....	....	7 00	6 00	7 80	5 00	7 80	6 00
Oregon.....	4 50	5 00	5 42	5 00	4 41	4 00	4 12	4 00	4 50	4 00	4 34	4 50	5 60	5 00
TERRITORIES.														
Washington.....	8 50	4 00	8 00	5 00	6 00	3 00	5 00	3 00	6 00	4 50	6 00	5 00	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	5 25	....	6 50	....	4 87	....	....	....	4 88	....	4 37	....	5 87	....
Dakota.....	2 25	3 50	3 25	3 50	....	3 00	....	....	3 25	2 50	2 50	3 00	3 00	3 50
Idaho.....	....	3 75	....	5 50	....	5 50	....	....	....	5 00	....	5 00	....	6 00
Arizona.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Montana.....	....	4 00	....	5 00	....	4 00	....	....	....	5 00	....	4 00	....	5 00
New Mexico.....	2 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	2 50	2 75	3 00	....	3 00	4 25	3 00	3 50	4 00	3 00
AVERAGES.														
New England States.....	1 89	2 88	2 27	3 45	1 91	2 79	1 90	2 48	1 83	2 93	1 80	2 67	2 17	3 38
Middle States.....	1 55	2 65	1 83	3 32	1 68	2 82	1 46	2 43	1 61	2 59	1 70	2 73	1 97	3 09
Western States.....	2 13	2 66	2 67	3 37	2 11	2 56	1 95	2 50	2 10	2 72	2 13	2 67	2 57	3 23
Southern States.....	2 12	2 99	2 41	3 20	2 31	2 95	1 95	2 63	2 13	2 52	2 16	2 59	2 37	2 85
General average.....	1 92	2 79	2 30	3 33	2 00	2 78	1 82	2 51	1 92	2 69	1 95	2 66	2 27	3 14
Pacific States (gold).....	5 17	4 67	5 73	5 50	5 01	3 50	4 06	4 00	5 15	4 33	5 40	4 50	6 05	5 33
Territories (gold).....	4 63	3 80	5 19	4 60	4 46	3 65	4 00	3 00	4 16	4 23	3 97	4 00	4 72	4 50
Average.....	4 90	4 23	5 46	5 05	4 74	3 57	4 03	3 50	4 66	4 29	4 69	4 25	5 39	4 91

\*Piecwork.



## MECHANICAL LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages paid, &amp;c.—Continued.

STATES.	Shoe-makers.		Stone-cutters.		Tailors.		Tanners.		Tin-smiths.		Wheel-wrights.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
<b>NEW ENGLAND STATES.</b>												
Maine.....	\$1 70	\$2 50	\$2 32	\$3 50	\$1 86	\$3 50	\$2 09	\$2 50	\$1 82	\$2 25	\$1 80	\$2 50
New Hampshire.....	1 84	2 50	2 12	3 75	1 75	3 75	1 80	3 25	1 50	3 19	1 75	3 12
Vermont.....	1 44	2 50	2 25	3 00	1 65	2 50	1 70	2 75	1 88	2 88	1 83	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 72	2 25	2 50	3 94	1 80	2 37	1 94	2 38	1 85	3 05	2 01	2 37
Rhode Island.....	.....	.....	2 00	.....	2 00	.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....
Connecticut.....	1 37	.....	2 13	.....	1 37	.....	2 00	.....	1 67	.....	1 50	.....
<b>MIDDLE STATES.</b>												
New York.....	1 52	2 36	2 17	3 15	1 66	2 26	1 71	2 22	1 74	2 52	1 90	2 95
New Jersey.....	1 83	1 96	1 92	3 00	1 92	2 25	1 59	2 08	1 33	2 50	1 35	2 30
Pennsylvania.....	1 35	1 78	2 01	2 28	1 34	2 14	1 40	2 05	1 37	2 15	1 59	1 92
Delaware.....	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 00	(*)	2 50	1 50	2 00	.....	2 50	.....	2 50
Maryland.....	2 00	2 50	2 00	3 50	.....	1 75	2 00	1 50	2 00	2 25	2 00	2 50
West Virginia.....	1 57	3 62	2 18	3 23	1 42	2 72	1 50	2 44	1 72	2 38	1 86	2 75
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>												
Ohio.....	1 59	2 08	2 28	2 89	1 59	2 30	1 74	2 16	1 72	2 00	1 96	2 38
Indiana.....	1 64	2 25	2 25	3 08	1 76	1 92	1 61	2 08	1 90	2 17	1 96	2 21
Illinois.....	1 98	2 31	2 40	3 50	1 80	2 33	1 95	2 50	2 01	2 25	2 25	3 75
Michigan.....	1 54	.....	2 25	.....	1 69	.....	1 79	.....	1 79	.....	2 08	.....
Wisconsin.....	3 13	1 25	2 75	4 00	2 30	1 50	2 36	2 00	2 24	2 50	2 23	2 00
Minnesota.....	1 86	2 50	2 43	3 00	1 64	2 50	1 93	.....	1 54	2 50	1 78	.....
Iowa.....	1 85	1 50	2 36	3 00	1 95	1 75	2 00	.....	1 86	2 00	2 51	2 50
Kansas.....	2 12	.....	3 25	.....	3 25	.....	2 50	.....	2 17	.....	2 50	.....
Nebraska.....	3 00	.....	4 00	.....	2 75	.....	.....	.....	2 87	.....	2 88	.....
Missouri.....	2 00	2 50	2 92	3 50	2 10	2 50	2 00	2 00	2 17	2 75	2 35	2 75
Kentucky.....	1 96	2 50	2 65	3 10	2 13	2 95	1 83	2 75	2 00	2 25	2 15	3 33
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>												
Virginia.....	1 44	1 58	2 00	3 38	1 74	2 00	1 67	1 75	1 66	1 75	1 61	2 20
North Carolina.....	1 06	3 00	1 58	.....	1 25	3 00	1 17	.....	2 00	2 75	1 58	2 50
South Carolina.....	1 88	2 50	2 67	2 50	2 10	2 50	2 38	.....	1 65	2 50	2 15	2 00
Georgia.....	1 75	2 50	2 18	3 50	2 00	3 50	2 50	.....	2 27	2 50	2 28	2 75
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2 00	.....	3 50	.....	1 94	.....	2 50	.....	2 50	.....	2 42	.....
Louisiana.....	1 90	2 00	3 50	2 00	2 12	2 00	.....	2 50	2 38	2 50	2 50	2 50
Texas.....	2 33	.....	3 17	3 75	1 92	.....	3 12	.....	2 50	2 75	1 75	2 50
Mississippi.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 80	.....	3 00	.....
Arkansas.....	2 08	2 00	2 42	5 00	1 83	3 00	1 90	.....	2 17	4 00	2 17	.....
Tennessee.....	2 20	2 33	2 53	3 42	2 03	3 22	1 75	2 50	1 75	2 62	1 85	2 50
<b>PACIFIC STATES.</b>												
California.....	3 88	.....	4 95	5 00	3 60	.....	4 00	.....	4 04	3 00	4 75	.....
Nevada.....	5 88	4 00	7 00	6 00	6 00	3 00	5 60	.....	6 00	5 00	8 75	7 00
Oregon.....	3 95	3 50	5 40	5 00	3 80	3 50	4 10	4 00	4 25	4 50	4 67	5 00
<b>TERRITORIES.</b>												
Washington.....	5 00	.....	6 00	5 00	.....	3 00	.....	3 00	6 00	2 50	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	4 00	.....	5 87	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	4 50	.....	5 00	.....
Dakota.....	3 50	3 00	.....	.....	.....	3 00	3 00	.....	.....	3 00	.....	3 00
Idaho.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 50
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	4 00	.....	8 00	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	5 50	.....	5 00
New Mexico.....	.....	2 50	4 00	3 00	.....	3 50	.....	.....	.....	3 25	.....	3 00
<b>AVERAGES.</b>												
New England States.....	1 61	2 44	2 22	3 55	1 74	3 03	1 84	2 72	1 75	2 84	1 82	2 75
Middle States.....	1 65	2 20	1 96	2 86	1 59	2 27	1 62	2 05	1 64	2 38	1 74	2 49
Western States.....	1 97	2 11	2 69	3 26	2 09	2 22	1 97	2 25	2 02	2 30	2 24	2 70
Southern States.....	1 81	2 27	2 51	3 36	1 84	2 75	2 06	2 25	2 07	2 67	2 14	2 42
General average.....	1 76	2 25	2 35	3 26	1 82	2 57	1 87	2 32	1 77	2 55	1 99	2 50
Pacific States (gold).....	4 57	3 75	5 78	5 33	4 47	3 25	4 57	4 00	4 76	4 17	6 06	6 00
Territories (gold).....	4 17	3 44	5 29	5 25	4 00	3 37	3 00	3 00	5 25	3 70	5 50	4 30
Average.....	4 37	3 59	5 54	5 29	4 24	3 31	3 78	3 50	5 00	3 93	5 78	5 15

\*Piecework.

## FARM LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages paid for Farm Labor in 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Experienced hands. Summer.				Experienced hands. Winter.				Ordinary hands. Summer.			
	With board.		Without board.		With board.		Without board.		With board.		Without board.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 07	.....	\$1 49	.....	\$0 81	.....	\$1 09	.....	\$0 94	.....	\$1 10	.....
New Hampshire.....	1 04	\$1 75	1 38	\$2 25	75	\$1 00	1 06	\$1 50	88	\$1 25	1 25	\$1 69
Vermont.....	94	1 44	1 13	2 12	72	1 06	1 00	1 62	75	1 00	1 01	1 62
Massachusetts.....	1 06	1 50	1 40	1 87	73	1 05	1 05	1 50	79	87	1 13	1 50
Rhode Island.....	75	.....	1 00	.....	42	.....	75	.....	50	.....	83	.....
Connecticut.....	1 13	1 25	.....	1 50	75	1 00	.....	1 50	1 00	1 00	.....	1 50
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	89	1 48	1 21	2 00	67	96	90	1 48	68	1 18	99	1 71
New Jersey.....	79	1 65	1 16	2 00	54	1 00	85	1 42	73	1 13	1 09	1 58
Pennsylvania.....	84	1 13	1 22	1 57	62	84	94	1 25	63	89	95	1 25
Delaware.....	75	1 00	.....	1 25	50	75	.....	1 00	50	88	.....	1 00
Maryland.....	38	.....	63	.....	25	.....	50	.....	38	.....	62	.....
West Virginia.....	77	1 03	95	1 46	61	74	86	1 15	52	64	76	93
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	89	1 03	1 16	1 48	65	90	92	1 25	68	82	96	1 07
Indiana.....	96	1 13	1 26	1 47	71	86	99	1 11	71	84	96	1 23
Illinois.....	1 02	1 33	1 32	1 68	75	97	1 00	1 39	78	1 06	1 06	1 43
Michigan.....	93	1 25	1 22	1 75	70	1 25	1 05	1 75	73	1 00	1 02	1 40
Wisconsin.....	1 27	.....	1 66	.....	83	.....	1 20	.....	1 01	.....	1 41	.....
Minnesota.....	1 42	1 00	1 73	1 50	88	75	1 14	1 25	1 10	75	1 38	1 00
Iowa.....	1 06	78	1 34	.....	70	78	1 00	.....	76	70	1 01	.....
Kansas.....	1 25	.....	1 75	.....	1 15	.....	2 37	.....	1 08	.....	1 50	.....
Nebraska.....	1 00	.....	1 38	.....	75	.....	1 25	.....	1 00	.....	1 25	.....
Missouri.....	81	1 50	1 12	.....	69	1 00	99	.....	67	1 00	93	.....
Kentucky.....	77	.....	1 08	.....	60	.....	90	.....	64	.....	89	.....
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	60	64	1 02	80	47	47	69	67	52	54	66	76
North Carolina.....	60	1 00	63	1 25	36	75	52	.....	33	.....	47	.....
South Carolina.....	53	1 00	73	1 25	40	75	60	1 00	34	75	58	1 50
Georgia.....	55	.....	81	.....	50	.....	71	.....	47	.....	68	.....
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	63	75	88	1 00	55	50	80	75	47	75	70	1 00
Mississippi.....	60	75	75	1 00	52	.....	60	.....	48	50	81	75
Louisiana.....	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	.....	75	.....	1 25
Texas.....	66	87	1 00	1 25	58	75	81	1 00	54	50	75	75
Arkansas.....	75	.....	1 03	.....	63	.....	92	.....	55	.....	81	.....
Tennessee.....	74	.....	97	.....	55	.....	75	.....	51	.....	71	50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	2 07	1 50	2 50	2 50	1 39	1 00	2 13	2 50	2 00	1 00	2 17	2 00
Nevada.....	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 00	1 50	4 00	2 50
Oregon.....	2 14	1 00	2 50	1 60	1 51	1 25	1 94	2 00	1 61	1 00	1 88	1 60
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	3 12	2 25	4 12	.....	2 25	1 50	3 00	.....	2 25	.....	2 75	.....
Colorado.....	2 17	.....	2 83	.....	1 50	.....	2 00	.....	1 75	.....	2 75	.....
Dakota.....	1 50	1 00	2 00	1 25	1 25	75	1 50	1 00	1 25	.....	1 50	.....
Idaho.....	.....	1 50	.....	2 12	.....	1 12	.....	1 25	.....	1 25	.....	1 75
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	75	1 00	1 13	2 50	50	1 00	1 00	1 50	60	1 25	1 00	1 75
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 00	1 48	1 28	1 93	70	1 03	99	1 53	81	1 02	1 07	1 58
Middle States.....	74	1 26	1 03	1 66	53	86	81	1 26	57	95	88	1 30
Western States.....	1 03	1 15	1 37	1 58	77	93	1 17	1 35	83	88	1 12	.....
Southern States.....	67	81	91	1 09	56	69	77	89	47	63	69	.....
General average.....	86	1 17	1 15	1 56	64	88	94	1 26	67	87	94	.....
Pacific States.....	2 57	1 67	3 53	2 53	2 13	1 58	8 22	2 67	2 20	1 17	2 68	.....
Territories.....	1 89	1 44	2 52	1 95	1 38	1 09	1 88	1 25	1 46	1 25	2 00	.....
Average.....	2 23	1 55	3 03	2 19	1 76	1 33	2 55	1 96	1 83	1 21	2 34	.....

## AVERAGE WAGES IN COTTON MILLS.

The average weekly wages paid in cotton mills varies somewhat in the different States. By grouping the States in three divisions, viz: New England, Middle, and Southern—the latter including Missouri—we have the following results as the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	In New England States.	In the Middle States.	In Southern States.
Carding:			
Overseer.....	\$19 38	\$14 00	\$19 28
Picker tenders.....	7 38	6 88	6 19
Railway tenders.....	5 13	3 75	3 67
Drawing-frame tenders..	4 56	4 88	4 89
Speeder tenders.....	6 70	5 13	4 29
Picker boy.....	5 19	3 25	3 75
Grinders.....	9 60	7 38	7 14
Strippers.....	7 18	6 75	5 87
Spinning:			
Overseer.....	20 18	13 25	18 75
Mule spinners.....	9 99	7 75	9 90
Mule backside piecers....	2 65	2 75	3 01
Frame spinners.....	4 51	3 25	3 20
Dressing:			
Overseer.....	18 35	15 00	14 69
Second hand.....	12 17	10 50	7 68
Spoolers.....	4 58	4 33	4 25
Warpers.....	6 37	6 25	5 53
Drawers and Twisters....	5 81	6 50	4 66
Dressers.....	12 06	9 00	8 88
Weaving:			
Overseer.....	20 97	16 50	20 09
Weavers.....	8 03	8 38	6 17
Drawing-in hands.....	6 95	5 00	4 32
Repair shop, &c.:			
Foreman.....	19 57	15 00	23 00
Wood-workers.....	14 99	14 25	11 33
Iron-workers.....	14 01	13 88	14 94
Engineer.....	15 07	11 75	18 00
Laborers.....	8 56	8 80	6 01
Overseer in cloth room...	15 13	8 50	14 13

## BOOT AND SHOE FACTORIES.

The following were the average weekly wages in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Cutters.....	\$21 37
Stock-fitters.....	16 62
Sole sewing machine operators .	16 33
Other sewing machine operators .	14 00
Lasters.....	18 83
Second lasters.....	17 00
Heelers.....	23 25
Trimmers.....	19 33
Burnishers.....	18 83
Finishers.....	19 50
Hand-sewers.....	27 50
Shoe-cleaners.....	18 25
Packers.....	16 00
Laborers or unskilled workmen.....	18 50
Apprentices or boys.....	7 00
Foremen or overseers.....	27 50
Crimpers.....	
Trees.....	
Bottomers.....	

## GENERAL AVERAGE WAGES IN WOOLEN MILLS.

The following table shows the general average weekly wages paid in woolen mills in 1869 and 1874:

Occupation.	1869.	1874.
Wool-sorters.....	\$10 86	\$10 94
Wool-washers.....	8 26	8 21
Dyers.....	11 38	10 50
Overseers.....	18 44	19 17
Carding and spinning:		
Pickers.....	7 03	6 68
Carders.....	6 07	6 34
Spinners.....	11 20	8 85
Warpers and beamers.....	8 77	8 81
Reelers.....	4 61	5 20
Overseers.....	18 46	15 94
Assistants.....	9 75	
Weaving:		
Weavers.....	7 88	7 41
Burlers.....	4 92	4 98
Overseers.....	16 10	17 40
Dressing and finishing:		
Fullers.....	8 77	8 76
Dressers or giggers.....	8 08	8 11
Finishers.....	9 71	8 42
Press tenders.....	9 21	8 91
Drawers.....	6 12	6 91
Brushers.....	5 12	6 69
Packers.....	9 02	8 57
Overseers.....	17 62	19 14
Assistants.....	10 36	9 72
Engine room, yard, &c.:		
Engineers.....	12 64	12 34
Mechanics.....	15 13	15 12
Laborers, (watchmen included).	9 88	10 73
Foremen.....	13 62	19 05

## WEEKLY WAGES PAID IN ROLLING MILLS.

The following table shows the general average weekly earnings of workmen employed in iron-rolling mills in the United States in 1874:

Occupation.	Per week.
Puddlers.....	\$28 44
Puddlers' helpers.....	11 83
Shinglers.....	20 91
Shinglers' helpers.....	10 70
Puddle-mill roller.....	18 50
Top and bottom roller.....	29 10
Forge rollers.....	17 80
Merchant-mill rollers.....	24 86
Rail-mill rollers.....	33 92
Sheet and plate rollers.....	26 10
Second rollers.....	24 13
Third rollers.....	18 00
Furnace men or heaters' helpers. ....	12 47
Shearmen.....	12 67
Billeters.....	8 92
Catchers.....	15 43
Roughers.....	21 23
Heaters.....	29 51
Foremen or superintendents.....	29 25
Machinists.....	18 15
Engineers.....	17 15
Carpenters.....	17 32
Blacksmiths.....	17 40
Laborers and unskilled workmen.....	9 50
Teamsters.....	9 67
Apprentices and boys.....	4 82
Hours of labor.....	57 13 16



## IRON FOUNDRIES AND MACHINE SHOPS.

The following table indicates the average rate of weekly wages paid in iron foundries

and machine shops in the several groups of States, and also the general average of all the States, in 1874:

Occupation.	Average in New England States.	Average in the Middle States.	Average in the Southern States.	Average in the Pacific States.	General average of the United States.
Iron molders.....	\$15 69	\$14 98	\$17 88	\$31 50	\$19 04
Machinists, (best).....	16 66	16 24	19 28	34 00	20 63
Machinists, (ordinary).....	13 45	13 59	14 19	27 12	16 37
Machinists, (inferior).....	10 96	10 80	11 00	18 50	12 27
Machinists' helpers.....	9 16	8 42	8 34	18 75	10 80
Boiler makers.....	21 25	15 44	19 42	26 25	19 87
Helpers.....	8 69	9 05	8 96	17 25	11 00
Riveters.....	15 00	14 63	16 17	24 58	17 20
Holders-on.....	10 63	9 22	9 64	18 00	11 99
Flangers.....	20 00	16 50	19 07	25 50	20 07
Helpers.....	9 88	9 42	9 93	15 00	10 92
Blacksmiths.....	16 17	14 91	17 45	30 88	19 25
Helpers.....	10 21	8 86	19 28	18 63	11 41
Foremen.....	22 16	23 12	26 85	42 83	27 75
Engineers.....	14 43	13 04	16 34	23 78	16 05
Pattern makers.....	16 61	14 90	17 32	31 43	19 40
Assistants.....	11 47	10 97	11 28	25 75	13 76
Laborers, carters.....	9 53	9 49	8 02	18 44	10 98
Apprentices.....	6 07	4 75	5 09	12 92	6 98
Millwrights.....	17 87	16 37	22 96	36 00	22 58
Assistants.....	.....	8 00	15 40	19 50	14 48
Brass founders.....	16 75	13 64	18 17	33 00	19 31
Fitters.....	9 00	14 52	17 10	35 75	18 62
Turners.....	14 00	13 40	17 00	31 33	17 98
Hours of labor per week.....	59¼	59 3-5	58½	60	59 3-10

## MANUFACTURE OF CLOTHING.

The following were the general average weekly earnings of persons employed in the manufacture of clothing throughout the States in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Head cutters for custom clothing.....	\$28 34
Cutters for ready-made clothing.....	15 08
Bushermen.....	15 57
Machine operators.....	9 76
Finishers.....	11 22
Laborers or packers.....	10 66
Apprentices or boys.....	4 75
Ready-made clothing:	
On sack overcoats. { Fine.....	10 33
{ Cheap.....	9 33
Broadcloth frock coats.....	10 00
Cassimere business coats.....	9 33
Cassimere sack coats.....	8 92
Vests, woolen.....	4 44
Pantaloon, woolen.....	4 83
Shirts. { Muslin.....	3 50
{ Woolen.....	3 00
Custom-made clothing:	
Sack overcoats.....	22 25
Broadcloth dress coats.....	20 38
Cassimere business coats.....	20 62
Cassimere sack coats.....	18 87
Vests.....	12 62
Pantaloon.....	15 69

## MANUFACTURE OF LEATHER.

The following table shows the general average weekly wages paid to persons employed in the manufacture of the various kinds of leather in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Sole leather:	
Tanners.....	\$13 23
Beam hands.....	12 75
Yard.....	9 98
Rollers and spongers.....	13 16
Bark grinders.....	9 00
Common laborers.....	9 15
Upper leather and calf-skin:	
Tanners.....	13 00
Curriers.....	15 40
Splitters.....	14 70
Shavers.....	17 83
Table hands, scourers.....	11 50
Blacklers.....	12 18
Finishers.....	15 06
Morocco, patent, and enameled leather:	
Tanners.....	12 50
Beam hands.....	14 50
Shavers.....	17 25
Sewing girls.....	6 50
Finishers.....	18 25
Colorers.....	17 25
Sheep-skins, skivers, &c.:	
Engineers.....	12 27
Laborers or unskilled workmen.....	9 46
Apprentices or boys.....	4 75
Foremen or overseers.....	16 85

## MANUFACTURE OF FURNITURE.

The following were the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Cabinet makers.....	\$15 45
Chair makers.....	11 00
Carvers.....	16 50
Turners.....	13 50
Painters.....	10 00
Upholsterers.....	17 50
Varnishers.....	13 50
Scroll sawyers.....	12 16
Laborers or unskilled workmen.....	11 95
Apprentices or boys.....	16 00
Foremen or overseers.....	25 00

## CARRIAGE AND CAR FACTORIES.

The following were the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Body makers.....	\$18 46
Carriage-part makers.....	16 70
Wheelwrights.....	16 33
Coachsmiths.....	17 50
Helpers.....	9 50
Finishers.....	15 55
Ornamenterers.....	19 75
Painters.....	14 65
Trimmers.....	16 66
Stitchers.....	13 16
Engineers.....	27 00
Laborers.....	8 33
Apprentices.....	4 28
Foremen.....	22 66
Car builders:	
Wood-workers.....	13 75
Blacksmiths.....	16 33
Helpers.....	6 50
Painters.....	14 25
Hours of labor per week.....	.....

## FORGE AND BESSEMER PIG-IRON WORKS.

The following table shows the average weekly wages of persons employed in the Neutral Foundry (forge and Bessemer pig-iron) in Harrisburg, Pa.:

Occupation.	Wages.
Clerk.....	\$12 00
Foreman or founder.....	28 00
Engineer.....	17 36
Engineer's assistant.....	11 97
Blacksmith.....	12 12
Carpenter.....	12 18
Keepers.....	11 98
Keepers' helpers.....	10 07
Fillers and cinder-men.....	9 48
Iron-weigher.....	10 15
Carters.....	7 55
Laborers.....	7 36
Conductors on ore-trains.....	9 72

## PRINTING OFFICES.

The following table shows the rates of weekly earnings, also the price per 1,000 ems, paid to compositors in printing offices in the following named cities in the year 1875:

Cities.	Weekly wages.	Per 1,000 ems—			
		On bookwk.	On morning papers.	On evening papers.	
	Dollars.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	
Albany, N. Y.....	18	50	(a)	(b)	
Annapolis, Md.....	15	50			
Baltimore, Md.....	18	c55	50	50	
Boston, Mass.....	15 to 20	45	45	40	
Buffalo, N. Y.....	15	40	38	35	
Cambridge, Mass.....	18	d45			
Charleston, S. C.....	20	50	50	50	
Chicago, Ill.....	21	50	47	42	
Cincinnati, O.....	21		45	42	
Cleveland, O.....	15	e40	40	37½	
Columbia, S. C.....			50	50	
Columbus, O.....	16		40	37½	
Dayton, O.....	16		40	40	
*Denver, Col.....	25	55	55	50	
Des Moines, Iowa.....	15	35	35	35	
Detroit, Mich.....	16	40	40	35	
Harrisburg, Pa.....	15		35	35	
Hartford, Conn.....	18 to 20	40	45	40	
Indianapolis, Ind.....	18		45	40	
Jackson, Miss.....	27		65	65	
Jersey City, N. J.....	18		45	45	
Kansas City, Mo.....	18		45	40	
Little Rock, Ark.....	25	60	60	55	
Louisville, Ky.....	21		50	50	
Memphis, Tenn.....	25		60	60	
Milwaukee, Wis.....	15 to 18		40	35	
Mobile, Ala.....	24		60	60	
Montgomery, Ala.....	22½	45	40	40	
Nashville, Tenn.....	20	50	50		
Newark, N. J.....	18		45	40	
New Orleans, La.....	20		50	50	
New York, N. Y.....	20	f50	50	45	
Philadelphia, Pa.....	18	g50	50	48	
Pittsburg, Pa.....	15		45	45	
Portland, Me.....	14 to 18		35	30	
Providence, R. I.....	14	33	42	38	
Raleigh, N. C.....	18	50	50	50	
Richmond, Va.....	20	50	50	50	
Rochester, N. Y.....	14 to 18		35	35	
Salt Lake City.....	24	50	55	50	
*San Francisco, Cal.....	30	60	60	60	
Savannah, Ga.....			50	50	
Scranton, Pa.....	15		35	33½	
St. Louis, Mo.....	20	45	45	45	
Syracuse, N. Y.....	15		35	32	
Topeka, Kan.....	19		40	40	
Troy, N. Y.....	18		45	40	
Utica, N. Y.....	14	38	40	36	
Washington, D. C.....	24	60	60	60	
Wilmington, Del.....	12 to 18	35	35	35	

(a) \$18 per week.

(b) \$17 per week.

(c) 50 cents for reprint.

(d) 43 cents for reprint.

(e) 37½ cents for reprint.

(f) 47 cents for reprint.

(g) 48 cents for reprint.

(\*) Gold prices.

## COMPARATIVE RESULTS.

From the preceding tables the reader will be enabled to gather correct information showing the general average of wages paid for farm, mechanical, and factory labor in the United States. In *THE REPUBLIC* for January a series of tables were published showing similar results in England. The tables in both cases are based on the larger and more complete statements presented in Dr. Young's recent work on "Labor and Wages in England and America." By a careful comparison the reader will see that, when reduced to a gold basis, the wages paid in the United States vary from fifty to one hundred per cent. above the amounts paid for similar work in England. For example, we find that the wool-sorter in Bradford receives \$6.77 per week; in the United States \$10.91. A wool-washer \$5.08, against \$8.97 in this country. For drawing and spinning wool the wages are \$9.07 in Bradford, against \$18.61 here. The weaver receives \$7.25 in England, against \$9.84 in this country, while the overseer has only \$7.56, against \$18.05 in the United States. In woman's labor, in woolen mills, there is an equal advantage in this country, the American factory hand usually receiving double what the English woman can earn. And the result shows about the same difference in the wages paid in the respective countries indicated through the entire range of industries.

## PURCHASING POWER OF WAGES IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

In order, however, to complete the comparison, the cost of provisions, clothing, rents, &c., must be taken into consideration. By referring to Dr. Young's work for data, which, for want of space, has been omitted in the *REPUBLIC* articles, significant results are obtained. On comparing two manufacturing centers, such as Bradford, England, and the leading towns of Pennsylvania, in the United States, the values in all cases being expressed in gold, it will be found that the laborer in Bradford in 1874 paid \$7.35 for his barrel of flour; in Pennsylvania \$7 for the same quality. The Englishman's beef for roasting cost him 21 to 24 cents per pound, the American's 17; the English veal, the best cuts, was 24 cents, American, 18. English

leg of mutton 24 cents, American, 16 cents. The great stand-by of the laborer, corned or salted pork, was 16 to 20 cents in Bradford, 13½ in Pennsylvania. Butter was 35 to 38 cents for the English laborer, 35¾ for the American. Milk and eggs were about the same in the two countries.

In the above and other articles of provisions the American workman has a very considerable advantage. In the cost of groceries he is not so fortunate. The Englishman's Oolong tea costs him from 36 to 80 cents, the Americans 40 to 90; green Rio coffee is only 16 to 20 cents in Bradford and 26½ in Pennsylvania. Good brown sugar costs the Englishman 7 to 8 cents, the American 9¾. Coal is more expensive in Pennsylvania than in the English manufacturing town, being \$5.60 per ton in the former and \$4.38 in the latter. In dry goods the Englishman has no advantage, his brown shirtings being 12 to 16 cents per yard, while the American's are 13 1-5; the English brown sheetings are 42 cents, the American's very much cheaper, 17 1-3. Cotton flannel is 30 to 36 cents in Bradford, only 19 in Pennsylvania. In prints the American has an advantage, his being 11 cents, against 10 to 16 for the English. Medium satinets are, however, much more expensive in America, being 58 cents to about 40 in Bradford. Boots are cheaper to the Englishman, being \$2.88 to \$3.84, against \$4.40 in Pennsylvania. In house rent and board the Englishman's wages will go about fifty per cent. further than the American's, four-room tenements costing the Bradford laborer \$5.76 to \$8.20 per month, while the American must pay \$9.37. If a single man he can board himself in the English manufacturing town for from \$2.88 to \$3.60 per week; in the Pennsylvania town, if a mechanic, he must pay \$4.75. If the boarder is a woman she must pay in England \$1.68 to \$2.16 per week; in Pennsylvania, if a factory hand, \$3.50.

It will be seen from these figures that the purchasing power of money in the two countries is not materially different in regard to provisions, groceries, fuel, and domestic dry goods, the low prices of some articles in one country being counterbalanced by the higher



prices of other articles in the competing country. But when the matter of house rent and board is estimated the Englishman has a very considerable advantage, though he probably gets less for his money; that is, the American laborer gets better lodging and food than the English.

The condition, then, of the English factory laborer in a woolen and steel manufacturing region like Bradford, and also generally in other parts of England, as compared with manufacturing States like Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, would seem to be this: His money has about the same purchasing power in each country, excepting in house rent and board; in these the American is at a disadvantage of fully one-half, while on the other hand his average wage is nearly one hundred per cent. greater than his competitors. The ultimate superiority seems, then, to rest with the American factory laborer.

It may be argued by some that provisions are materially lower in England than in the United States. But when we recall the fact that about two hundred million dollars worth of provisions and bread stuffs are shipped annually from this country to England, the claim that board is cheaper in England than in the United States is shown to be without a basis. Included in these exports there is an average of one hundred million dollars worth of wheat and flour, and from thirty to forty million dollars worth of butter, cheese, and lard. These are articles that reach the table of every family, and must, of course, after paying transportation over three thousand miles, insurance, exchange, commissions, and two or three profits between the producer and the consumer, cost more in England than they do in America.

The evidence is conclusive, therefore, that labor is better paid by nearly one hundred per cent. in the United States than in England, or in any other portion of the world. And in this fact we have the secret of the constant flow of immigration from almost every other section of civilization to the United States.

Dr. Young in his recent work remarks, (page 820,) that "the great advantages enjoyed by the working men in the United States, as compared with those of the same

class in the Old World, are sufficiently attested by the deep and steady current of emigration which sets toward our shores. One of the most conspicuous of these advantages consists in the equality of political rights with which the working man is here invested, and the comparatively high respect and dignity attached to his calling; but not less solid and decided are the advantages connected with abundant employment, good wages, and the substantial comforts of life. It is true that, in common with other countries where the system of credit has been largely developed, our country has had its occasional financial crises, accompanied with serious interruption to the ordinary course of commerce and industry; but such effects have been comparatively transient in their duration, and the normal condition of the country has been marked by a degree of prosperity rarely, if ever, enjoyed elsewhere; and rarely, if ever, in the history of the world has national prosperity been so largely shared by those usually denominated the working classes."

And why is labor better paid here than elsewhere? As stated in the commencement of this article, it must be traced directly and mainly to the *American System of Tariff Protection* to our manufacturing and agricultural industries, which secures to our own workmen the manufacture and production of nearly everything required for home consumption. We say nearly everything, although the language may be considered too sweeping while our annual imports still continue to amount in value to about \$600,000,000 per annum. Still the tariff secures to our own workmen the preparation of the largest portion of the commodities consumed at home.

But with the tariff reduced, as proposed by the Morrison bill, what will be the result? Our imports will soon go up to eight or nine hundred million dollars in value per annum, taking just so much more work out of the hands of our own people. and so many more millions of gold out of the country to pay for the manufacture of these goods abroad. This will be the result, and the only result of the Democratic Free-Trade policy. Do the people wish to try the experiment?

## OUR CURRENCY—BANKS AND BANKING, PAST AND PRESENT.

The medium of exchange adopted upon the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, 1620, in their traffic with the natives, consisted of beads or wampum, made from the periwinkle and clam-shell. There was neither restriction upon nor limitation to its manufacture, and it was received as legal tender to the amount of 12*d*. Afterward it became the prevailing currency among the pioneers, and affords the first example we have of the evil results arising from inflation, though in a very primitive degree. The shell substitute was soon over-abundant, depreciated in value, then worthless, and abolished as a nuisance in 1650.

From beads the colonists took to barter to supply the deficiency; and at one time musket-balls were used for change, at a farthing apiece. These were legal in any sums below 12*d*.

There were some features in the barter currency of that day peculiarly characteristic of a much later period. When the common products of the land were made legal tender, no one would pay specie. This was hoarded for exports, which nothing but coin would satisfy, and the lesser value applied to liquidate indebtedness; thus steadily and surely impoverishing the standard of circulating medium. Or, if any one commodity lawfully paid a certain obligation to individual, State, or nation, the poorest article of the kind was selected. Many amusing incidents in this connection are related of those early times.

The urgent need of the new country was capital—solid substantial money for the legitimate transaction of business; and having but little of this, the momentous problem, even with Mr. Winthrop, was whether, being unable to have both, it were not better to do without foreign luxuries and retain the specie. This view has its application in many a financial stress long subsequent to the colonial day.

It has been often reiterated, and it appears incontrovertible, that the losses occasioned by irredeemable currency largely exceed the gains derived from importation. The surest

protection to industrial interests, to the general weal of the people, to the greatest good to all, is to keep a proper amount of national capital in coin circulation, and manufacture, or learn to do without such articles as are obtained only at the risk of crippling the resources, the energies, the progressive features of the country.

Massachusetts, in 1652, started a mint at Boston, to make what is known as "Pine Tree" coinage. The metal was chiefly procured through traffic with the buccaneers of the West Indies, who at that early date carried on a profitable trade with the colonies. This coin was below the standard of European money, the issue illegal, and though continued in operation thirty years the coins were all dated 1652.

A mint was established in Maryland in 1661, but nothing is known of its history. A bank was proposed in Massachusetts in 1686, but this, also, is obscure. In Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, however, it is recorded that this colony, in 1690, issued "paper notes" to defray the expenses of an expedition against Canada. The issue at first was moderate, and promptly redeemed upon maturity; but in 1704 the redemption was postponed two years, then indefinitely. Upon this, other issues were made for the current expenditures of the colony, and still others to loan to less fortunate communities. When once the scheme was in operation, and the tone of the people in harmony with the movement, the cost of production being light, it was deemed well enough to make the amount sufficient to cover all purposes. The ability to pay coin for this currency never once entered into the calculation, and the result was in keeping with the circumstances. Mr. Hutchinson, in his chronicle of that period, tells us, "there were special hard times in Massachusetts in 1715." He further asserts, "that of all those issues not one dollar in one hundred was ever redeemed."

This was the first experiment with a paper substitute for coin, and though this proved

disastrous, the country still smarting under the depression, steps were immediately taken to repeat the hazard.

Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey issued paper money in 1709; Pennsylvania in 1723; Maryland in 1734, while Virginia used tobacco warehouse receipts for currency till 1755. North and South Carolina also issued paper notes early in their history.

Of all the issues at that time put in circulation Massachusetts alone attempted to meet her obligation, and she only at eleven to one.

The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and deliberately proceeded to do what many a Congress has since done—just what it should not. With no plausible excuse, trade was thrown away when it should have been retained. It was decided that after December, 1774, nothing should be imported to any part of the British Empire, and from September, 1775, nothing should be exported from the same.

The short-sightedness of this legislation was soon apparent. On the eve of a great war English goods were needed for the army, and came around from the Continent and West Indies, while tobacco and lumber in exchange took a similar roundabout course.

The Second Congress, May 10, 1776, made war, but had no power to tax or borrow, and as the only available means, notwithstanding past experience, resorted to paper currency. The first issue was ordered June 23, 1775, and accompanied with a promise to pay 2,000,000 Spanish dollars. This issue was apportioned among the colonies, which were expected to redeem their quota by levying taxes. Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire did this entirely. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia did so in part. This issue, however, went on, and in January, 1777, the depreciation commenced.

Every possible means were resorted to by public officers and private committees to enforce the legal tender character of the bill, but with indifferent success. In 1779 the issue was \$160,000,000. At this time the

notes were twenty-eight to one; and in 1780 they were worth only two cents on the dollar.

In 1781, when Morris took charge of the finances, the notes were regarded as utterly worthless, and yet some eventually were redeemed at one hundred to one, in Hamilton's funding scheme.

This was the third attempt at a substitute for coin, and a much greater calamity than either that had preceded it. To enhance the sufferings arising from a general suspension of business, throwing thousands of men out of employment, there was an almost total failure of crops in 1779 and 1780.

In 1780, several wealthy men of Philadelphia, entering into a specific arrangement, took Government bills of exchange, and issued their own notes to purchase supplies for the army. December 31, 1781, this company was incorporated by Congress as the Bank of North America. The validity of this act being questioned, a charter was obtained from Pennsylvania, in 1783, for ten years, with a monopoly. In 1785 the State charter was repealed, but in 1787 renewed without the monopoly.

This enterprise being apparently successful, other States adopted a similar method. Massachusetts Bank was chartered in 1784; then, immediately one in New York, and another in Maryland. These temporarily relieved the pressing need of the country, and business began to revive. The industrial interests assumed a more healthful appearance, and this would have continued uninterrupted had the currency been based upon a coin valuation.

In 1787 the Federal Constitution was framed and contained this clause: "No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts." Thus did the wise men of that day express their condemnation of the paper system of money, and the people, groaning under recent experience, acquiesced.

The finances of that period, however, were in a deplorable condition. There was enough currency, but it had an uncertain value. The Confederation was little more than a shadow. It could not collect revenue or adjust its accounts. These were in inextric-



cable confusion, with no one on whom to charge the responsibility.

September 2, 1789, the Treasury Department was established, with Alexander Hamilton as Secretary. His report of the national debt, January 14, 1790, was \$42,000,000 domestic; \$11,000,000 foreign; States, \$25,000,000.

With this formidable array of figures, and no coin sufficient for needed purposes, Hamilton proposed a National Bank. There being no other alternative, this was incorporated by act of March 3, 1791, with a capital of \$10,000,000—\$8,000,000 subscribed by individuals (one-fourth in specie, three-quarters in United States stock) and \$2,000,000 by the Government. The charter was for twenty years, and no notes below \$10 were to be issued.

Soon afterward the Government sold its interest at 20, 25, and 40 per cent. premium. This was a wonderful incentive, and speculation ran high. From 1792 to 1812 one hundred and three banks were chartered, and expansion began.

In Massachusetts this took the form of "Wild-Cat." The new financial machine was powerful, in fine condition, and worked to its utmost capacity. The stock of specie was insignificant, but this did not check the issues. The precious metal was indeed scarce, and the little that could be collected under a combination of bankers was stealthily moved from bank to bank just in advance of the inspector.

A crisis under these circumstances was inevitable. It came in 1809. Some of the banks are reported as having \$20 to \$40 in specie, with circulation of notes ranging from \$100,000 to \$500,000. Not a few of the banks had not a dollar in specie, and none of them had any very considerable amount.

The Farmers' Exchange Bank of Gloucester, Rhode Island, chartered in 1804, was a fair representation of the class, as operated at that time, and we give a citation of facts relative to this from which to reach a proper understanding of the others.

Its capital stock was put down on the record at \$1,000,000. Only \$19,141, however, were ever paid in, and of this the directors drew out until there was a working capital

of only \$3,081. One Dexter, so we are told, bought up eleven of the directors at \$1,300 apiece, paying from the bank funds. He then borrowed of the bank \$760,265. This was a sharp trick of a stock gambler, and threw the concern into bankruptcy. When it failed it had \$86.46 in specie, with an outstanding circulation of not less than \$580,000.

Similar facts were developed all over the country, and the distress was universal. A few individuals, perhaps, had made vast fortunes, but the great mass of people were thrown into a financial crash from which it took years of patient toil to extricate themselves.

The question of coinage was taken up in 1781, and August 8, 1786, a general mint law was passed; yet silver was not coined till 1794, and gold in 1795.

Coin, however, was more difficult to be obtained than paper money, and the slow but sure road to solid substantial prosperity through a currency based upon an actual gold and silver basis, redeemable at par, was not suited to the progressive ideas of those who could discern more rapid wealth through a system of fraud as practiced by banking institutions of that period. Coin could only be manufactured as the metal was obtained; but paper notes could be printed in sums to meet the wants of all.

In the midst of these reckless financial theories there were a few good men who foresaw inevitable ruin from again flooding the country with a cheap substitute for money, and did all in their power to thwart a return to the previous irresponsible banking system. Governor Snyder, of Pennsylvania, in 1813 vetoed twenty-five bank charters, but in 1814 forty were passed over his veto.

Banks now multiplied on every hand, and the chief occupation of those in the Middle States was speculating in Government stock. This was a huge swindle, carried to the fullest extent, and laid the foundation for another collapse. Had the result fallen upon these banks, or the Government, it would have been a righteous retribution; but they escaped with coffers full, while the honest hard-working people—the mechanic, farmer, and tradesman—were the principal sufferers.

New Orleans banks refused to redeem in April, 1814; those of Philadelphia in August of the same year. The Southern States went with the rest, but Ohio and Kentucky paid specie till early in 1815, and the only bank then in Tennessee continued to redeem its circulation till August, 1815.

Directly upon this, the country staggering under a worthless currency, banks increased more rapidly than ever before, and this, too, while the notes of even the new banks required elaborate quotations. Brokers had a rich harvest negotiating them.

Niles' *Register*, from 1814 to 1820, is full of bitter denunciation against the system of "shaving" practiced upon the people. Many incidents and illustrations might be introduced, showing the baneful influence upon the best interests of the country growing out of this inability to redeem.

In this condition of the currency, October 17, 1814. Dallas, then Secretary of the Treasury, proposed a national non-specie-paying bank. Calhoun proposed a bank on Treasury notes, which should not suspend specie payment. Dallas' scheme passed the Senate, but was lost in the House. Then a plan for a bank that should be prohibited from suspending passed both houses, and was vetoed by the President January 30, 1815. Dallas' scheme again passed the Senate February 17, 1815, but as before was defeated in the House.

Calhoun, at the next session, reintroduced the bank proposition, and assisted by Dallas; a charter was passed April 10, 1816. This bank was to have \$35,000,000 capital, \$7,000,000 to be subscribed by the Government in five per cent. stock; \$28,000,000 by the public. Of this, \$7,000,000 was to be specie, \$21,000,000 six per cent. United States stock, and to issue no notes below \$5. This bank Calhoun and Dallas boastfully asserted "was established to correct the currency, and be a financial providence to the country."

See how well they kept the promise. Three brief years of existence, and upon the supposition the affairs of the bank were not properly conducted, Congress appointed a committee to investigate January 16, 1819; this committee made its report, fully sustaining the charges. Thereupon the President and

managers resigned, and Langdon Cheves took charge of the bank. He found the institution insolvent, and the liabilities not less than \$3,000,000.

This was the key-note of another general suspension—another strain upon the country's honor, and it came with a vengeance. Twenty thousand persons in Philadelphia alone were thrown out of employment. New York, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh—great manufacturing centers—were in the same condition. The entire industrial interests of the nation were paralyzed—hopelessly prostrated through this curse of cheap substitute for money.

Niles, under date of May 17, 1823, in his *Register*, alluding to this period, says: "The banks were gambling hells." He further tells us that there were three grades of paper "called money" afloat at that time. The first was notes of incorporated companies that still retained some pretense to solvency; the second was notes of banks which had no local habitation, save in a name, the bills being printed in some obscure counting-room, known only to the initiated, and invariably circulated at a distance, so that by the time they reached home for redemption the bank had ceased to exist, or could not be found; the third consisted of counterfeits, and of these there was a bountiful stock.

The total amount of the three species in circulation cannot even be approximated, but the number of banks was not far from three hundred and ninety-seven.

Notwithstanding these salutary lessons, which should have taught the people better than again venturing upon the sea of an uncertain circulating medium, in 1824 all the banks expanded. Pennsylvania re-chartered its banks of 1814; a better tariff was obtained, duties rose, and a feeling of security gave to business renewed life.

In the spring of 1825 fifty-two bank charters were petitioned for in New York alone. Alabama and Tennessee were still struggling with the past, but putting forth every effort to sustain their bank circulation. Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were hampered by the "relief" system, a code of stay laws against the collection of debts. New York and Boston were fighting these banks, hoping

to obtain a monopoly, and the United States Bank increased its issue \$3,000,000.

English manufacturers were prosperous, and the demand for raw material unprecedented. Cotton reached twenty-seven cents, and corn was pulled up to plant cotton. Speculation was rife, and the excess of exports over imports, in 1825, was \$2,646,290.

In July the prices in England fell. It created a panic here. Fifty failures took place in New York before December. Banks failed by the score, and even the United States Bank was in trouble. The Government had \$7,000,000 in coin to pay, and the money was to come through this bank. The payment was delayed. When paid, the bank was debtor to the State banks, and could not redeem its circulation. Then followed a repetition of 1819.

Niles, in his *Register*, under date of May 9, 1835, says that new banks opened and a period of speculation began in 1834. In 1835, he adds: "This became wild, seizing upon cotton, lands, negroes, city lots, western lands, and every form of stock;" but the administration having learned wisdom from experience, foreshadowing the inevitable result, induced most of the States to forbid notes under \$5.

At that time there was supposed to be \$64,000,000 of specie in the banks. In the winters of 1835-36, however, indication of weakness became apparent, and quotations began to fluctuate. A feeling of uneasiness pervaded the masses—especially affecting manufacturing and agricultural interests.

July 11, 1836, the Secretary of the Treasury issued a circular forbidding the receipt of anything but specie for public lands. Congress, fearful of the consequences, at once passed a resolution practically rescinding this order, which was sent to the President, and by him forwarded to the State Department, where it was filed March 3, 1837. But the crisis was at hand.

Early in March, 1837, an important firm in New Orleans failed, because of decline in cotton. An equally extensive establishment in New York closed its doors immediately upon the receipt of this news. This was the beginning. The whole southwest was at once prostrated, and May eighth, of the same

year, a run was made on the Dry Dock Bank of New York, causing its suspension. The other banks throughout the country were forced to succumb. Gold went up to 107; all specie had disappeared, and the market was once again flooded with worthless paper.

To present in detail a description of the various effects these monetary disasters produced, the sufferings of the poor, the destruction of industrial schemes, the injury to husbandry, to every species of individual and national interests, would fill volumes. It is, however, surprising with what wonderful persistency the country, emerging from one of these reckless schemes, plunges headlong into another.

In 1838 business again revived, and a moderate feeling of security took possession of the masses. There was, however, a disposition to enter upon a more careful system of banking; but a proper solution of the currency problem had not yet been made, and further experience was necessary.

Scarcely had the country settled down from the previous shock when the United States Bank became involved in cotton speculation, and there was again symptoms of trouble in the finances. The old bank worked hard to sustain itself, but there was no coin, and the notes were sold in New York and Boston at 18 to 24 per cent. discount.

Upon this several banks failed in different parts of the country. Throughout the Western States, especially Michigan and Illinois, suspensions were numerous. The notes of several joint-stock companies were discounted at 25 to 60 per cent.

Alabama, during 1838, created a debt of \$15,000,000 to found banks. This was nearly all lost. Mississippi, the same year, borrowed \$7,000,000 for similar purposes, and the whole debt eventually was repudiated.

September 10, 1839, a draft of the United States Bank was refused in Paris. A respite, however, was obtained through small loans. This could not long continue. The bank owed \$20,000,000 in New York, \$800,000 in Boston.

A spirit of rivalry seems to have always existed among banks, and this indebtedness was promptly brought home for payment.



The pressure was too great, and October 10, 1839, the doors were closed.

This event was followed by the suspension of nearly every bank in the South and West. New England held out for a time, but finally suspended wholly or in part. Three hundred and forty-three banks, out of eight hundred and fifty, closed entirely, sixty-two partially, and over \$2,000,000 Government deposits were lost.

Again we have an instance of the recuperative powers of the nation. There was a period of universal prosperity from 1841 to 1853. Business men had regained confidence and all classes expanded their engagements, many, however, going far beyond the protection of their resources. This was particularly the case of those engaged in banks and bank speculation.

The first alarm came from the discovery of the Schuyler frauds. At this time Ohio had a large circulation of bank notes, mostly of what was known as "free banks." When the contraction began, these notes came in only to find the banks unprepared to redeem them. Stronger indications of the shock were felt in 1857, upon the suspension of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, of Cincinnati, with liabilities upward of \$7,000,000; and the loss of the steamer "Central America," with a million of specie, enhanced the stringency.

Following this were several failures of more or less importance, and in September a large number suspended. Stocks fell 40 to 50 per cent., and a panic ensued. This was short, sharp, and severe, but did not reach the productive powers of the country. The recovery was rapid, the reaction healthy. The losses were immense, but, as Professor Sumner says, "it was only a bad stumble in a career of great prosperity."

The public debt, January 1, 1861, was \$90,500,000. There were 1,605 banks, with \$429,600,000 capital, \$207,200,000 deposits, \$91,300,000 specie, \$202,000,000 circulation, and \$695,700,000 loans. The number of failures during 1861, consequent upon the seceding of the Southern States and the political excitement of the period, was 5,935, for \$178,600,000.

February 25, 1863, a bill proposing the

present system of national banks passed and became law, fixing the bank capital at \$300,000,000. An act approved July 12, 1870, increased this \$45,000,000, and January 14, 1875, all restriction on the amount was removed.

October 5, 1865, there were 66 banks in operation. December, 1874, the Comptroller of the Currency reported 2,200 banks as having been organized, 35 of which had failed, 137 closed business, and 2,028 remaining. December 31, 1874, there was one less—2,027.

The bank capital at this time was \$495,800,000; loans, \$955,800,000; bonds to secure circulation, \$412,900,000; specie, \$22,400,000; United States Treasury certificates of deposit, \$133,500,000; legal tenders, \$82,700,000; five per cent. redemption fund, \$76,900,000; circulation, \$332,000,000; deposits, \$682,800,000.

July, 1864, gold reached its highest—235. May, 1865, it was down to 140.

The same startling premonitions preceding the financial disasters of the past were apparent in 1871-2, and were significant of the approaching absorption by expanding credit of the legally limited amount of paper currency.

September 8, 1873, the New York Warehouse and Security Company failed. Then one or two firms involved in railroad speculation. Confidence was at once shaken, and banks known to be carrying this species of stock were subjects of suspicion. With past experience in such matters, to suspect was to act, and a run on the deposits of these doubtful concerns was made. September 18, 1873, Jay Cooke & Co. fell under this demand, and a panic ensued.

The crisis was ominous in its effects, producing a general and widespread doubt and want of confidence, and a stagnation of business was the result. Wages were at once reduced, and workmen by the tens of thousands discharged or put upon half time. The poor, as is ever the case, were the first to suffer. There has been a marked lack of reviving courage and enterprise the past two years. Millions upon millions of money are lying idle in banks or hoarded away, held back through fear to enter upon any commercial or manufacturing engagements.

June 30, 1875, the total paper currency in circulation was: National bank notes, \$351,-869,008; old demand and legal-tender notes, \$375,841,687; fractional currency, \$42,129,-424. Total, \$769,840,119.

In preparation for the redemption provided for in act of June 20, 1874, there has been deposited with the United States Treasurer, for purposes of retiring bank circulation, \$19,709,666.

The operations of the three mints—Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Carson City—in total for the year ending June 30, 1875, were as follows: Gold, \$33,553,965; silver, \$10,070,368.

Professor Sumner says: "For us the currency question is of the first importance, and we cannot solve it nor escape it by ignoring it. We have got to face it and work through it, and the best way to begin is, not by wrangling about speculative opinions as to untried schemes, but go back to history and try and get hold of some firmly established principle from which we can proceed with

some degree of confidence and a certain unanimity."

Hon. John Sherman says: "Convince the commercial world that you will redeem this currency in gold when presented, and it becomes par in gold. It will then buy as much food and clothing as the best gold coin issued from the mint. Then the note and the gold will circulate side by side, the one interchangeable for the other. To accomplish this is now the highest object of statesmanship and the greatest good to all classes."

In view of the past, as we have it from history, and in the presence of the present, seen and comprehended through enlarged experience and through tests, can there be any doubt, any hesitancy, in the proper action to be taken? No man possessed of his reasoning faculties, having the indisputable proofs accumulated through a period of two hundred and fifty years without a single deviation in results, and having the best interests of his country at heart, will pronounce in favor of inflation.

## THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

### SMALL PROGRESS.

April 17, 1876.—Another month is gone, and of the fourteen regular appropriation bills only the fortification bill and the diplomatic bill have passed both houses of Congress; meanwhile some of the appropriations of the last year have run out, with no provisions for the continuance of the work to which they were applied, and thus the legitimate business of the Government has been arrested, hundreds turned out of employment and plunged into the greatest distress. The public accommodation has been interfered with, and propositions have been suggested to supply the lack and avoid the wide-spread inconvenience by a resort to private contributions, in default of the most-needed and legitimate action of Congress. That such an abnormal state of things should exist is due wholly to the selfish and obstinate perversity of the Democratic majority in the House.

### PROPOSALS IN CONGRESS.

The principal subjects which have claimed the attention of Congress during the last

month, aside from the numerous investigations now on foot, are as follows: A vast number of petitions, memorials, reports of committees, and bills for private claimants; declaratory statements of the nationality of the Republic; final action of Congress providing for payment of interest on District bonds; discussion of the Government policy in regard to the interests of the Sioux reservation; action of the House on various matters pertaining to the District of Columbia, its railroads, business companies, and charitable institutions; debate on a proposed plan of government for the Indian Territory; debate on a post route bill in the Senate; making April 14th a holiday; discussion on the resumption of specie payments; debate on commerce, navigation, and the regulation of steam vessels, with a bill passed in the House in relation thereto; debate on the pay of army officers, also with a bill passed in the House; elaborate discussion by Senator Sherman on the value of the trade-dollar; appropriation of forty thousand dollars in aid of the Government exhibition



at the Centennial Exposition; protracted debate against the confirmation of the Hawaiian treaty; memorial of the women of America who are urging the question of female suffrage, praying that in the formation of a government for the District of Columbia this feature may be incorporated; proposed amendment of the bankrupt law; proposition to restore pensions to the soldiers of the war of 1812 in the rebel States, with a bill to this effect passed in the House; a full statement of the increasing troubles on the Texas frontier, and the wrongs inflicted on property and person by Mexican invaders; appropriation for Treasury expenditures; for gas, fuel, &c., in the Government buildings throughout the country; action in regard to the receivers of national banks; debate on the proposal of a national rate of interest accordant with the exigency and demands of the times; the exposition of affairs of the mint at San Francisco; proposed action in regard to the tax on tobacco; strong debate and protest against the further granting of subsidies to railroad and other corporations; discussion on the duty of the Government to foster the interest of agriculture; action in regard to the improvement of Pennsylvania avenue; protracted debate on the proper disposition of the public lands, and introduction of the deficiency bill in the House. From such an enumeration of subjects some idea may be obtained of the immense pressure of business upon Congress and of the value of time and its economy in the progress of legislation.

#### SET SPEECHES.

A very large number of carefully-prepared speeches have been made, on a variety of topics, during the last month. On Tuesday, March 21st, Mr. Hubbell spoke on the question of the tariff, criticising the features of the proposed bill of Mr. Morrison, and showing, by a great variety of statistics, the wisdom of the policy of protection. On Wednesday, March 22d, Mr. Philips made a speech on party politics and the Federal Constitution, in which he attempted to show that there is a strong tendency under Republican rule toward the centralization of Federal power, to the detriment of the rights of the States guaranteed by the Constitution. On

Friday, March 24th, Mr. White delivered a speech on standard money and low salaries, in which he urged that the public faith is pledged to the resumption of specie payments, and that there should be a reduction of all salaries alike. The speech was full of the sentiment of the early and economical days of the nation. On Thursday, March 23d, Mr. Durham made a speech on honesty, reform, and economy, replete with valuable statistics, showing that the annual expenses of the Government had steadily increased from 1789-1791, when they were \$1,919,589.52, to 1874-1875, when they were \$171,529,848.27; and that, while this was indicative of a monstrous growth of the country, it gave rise likewise to thoughtful suggestions upon the wide-spread extravagance, speculation, and temptation to fraud from which so many evils flow. On Wednesday, April 5th, Mr. Cox made a speech on the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department, in which he argued strongly against the proposed transfer, and attempted to show how detrimental the change would be to the 300,000 Indians scattered over 200,000 square miles of our territory. He proceeded at great length, and adduced a variety of considerations of a telling kind against the proposition. On the same day Mr. Sparks also delivered a speech on Indian affairs, in favor of the transfer, contending that in the last two hundred and fifty years the red man has faded away before the advance of the white man, and that the present system of peace and civilization under missionary agents has proved a practical failure. On Friday, April 7th, Mr. Stone delivered a speech on "straw bids" in the contracts of the General Post Office Department, attempting to show a loss to the Government arising from abuse and irregularity in the letting of contracts. But the speech was behind the time, since months ago the Postmaster General had investigated and exposed the facts, and adopted a safer policy on the whole subject. On April 6th Mr. Gibson delivered a speech on the Hawaiian treaty, and on April 8th elaborate speeches were made by Mr. Joyce on the resumption of specie payments, by Mr. Williams on the reduction of salaries, and by Mr. Dibrell on river and harbor improvements. This range of subjects will serve to give some a more



adequate idea of the vast amount of work performed, and the information collected upon the state of the country in the wondrous progress of our civilization, in the midst of conditions never before combined on so great a scale in the history of nations. Party considerations of course enter into these investigations, but it may be even doubted whether this is an unmixed evil. It is better that there should be diversity of views than unbroken despotism.

#### THE PAY OF WITNESSES.

The Democratic majority of the House have been so eager to hunt out fraud by the wholesale, they have summoned so many witnesses from every quarter of the country, that in the midst of their professions of retrenchment and reform they have incurred a bill of expense which is growing to be formidable, and they have asked for an appropriation of sixty thousand dollars to meet the exigency. But this item, large as it is, will be augmented to a sum far greater before the matter is ended. It seems somewhat strange in connection with this lavish expenditure on investigations that Congress should have agreed to cut down the President's salary again to twenty-five thousand dollars, besides abolishing many useful offices, and grinding the faces of Government employes to a still greater extent.

#### THE INDIAN DEFICIENCY BILL.

This appropriation was finally disposed of, Tuesday, March 28th, by the adoption of the report of the conference committee of the two houses, and is one of the very few appropriations which have received the sanction of law during the present session.

#### TEXAS PACIFIC RAILWAY.

A strong case in argument has been made in behalf of this grand enterprise, but as yet without avail. On Wednesday, March 15th, Mr. Atkins, in a carefully prepared speech upon the subject, stated that within the last year a railroad convention had been held at St. Louis, composed of representatives from thirty-one States and Territories, and comprising the leading business men of the nation, and that this convention had given expression of its conclusion to Congress that there should be an open highway for all time to come for the Government and

people from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This fact, together with many others, was argued in support of the project. It was stated that from the foundation of the Government to the present time the enormous sum of \$104,705,163.43 had been appropriated for railroads, canals, and wagon-roads throughout the older portions of the country, and on April 8th Mr. Woodburn followed up the subject in a speech of remarkable power, but the temper of Congress does not seem to be favorable to any present action in the premises.

#### FRACTIONAL CURRENCY AND SILVER COIN.

Much discussion has risen in both branches of Congress upon the proposal to retire a portion of the fractional currency and to substitute silver in its stead. On Wednesday, March 27th, Mr. Payne introduced in the House a bill to provide for the gradual resumption of specie payments, involving in part the principle of the substitution of silver for legal-tender notes, but the House refused to suspend the rules to take it up. The discussion on this subject ran through several successive days, embracing every conceivable theory for the remedy of our financial difficulties, till at length a bill providing for the deficiency in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving and for the issue of silver coin in place of fractional currency passed the House and was sent to the Senate. On April 10 Senator Sherman called up this bill, and after having explained its provisions and shown the necessity of immediate action it was put upon its passage, so that the functions of this bureau of the Treasury Department which have been for some time suspended may be resumed and a partial remedy applied to the general distress.

#### THIRD CLASS MAIL MATTER.

A modification of the law concerning the carrying of books, magazines, and heavy matter of all kinds by the United States mails has occupied the time of Congress. On Wednesday, April 5th, Senator Hamlin called up the bill upon this subject.

The first section declares that mailable matter of the third class shall embrace all pamphlets, occasional publications, regular publications devoted primarily to advertising purposes or for free circulation or for

circulation at nominal subscription rates, prices-current, catalogues, annuals, hand-bills, posters, unsealed circulars, prospectuses, books bound or unbound, book-manuscripts, proof-sheets, maps, prints, engravings, blanks, flexible patterns, samples, merchandise, sample cards, photographic paper, letter envelopes, postal envelopes and wrappers, cards, plain and ornamental paper, photographic representations, seeds, cuttings, bulbs, roots, scions, and all other matter which may be declared mailable by law, and all other articles not above the weight prescribed by law which are not from their form or nature liable to destroy, deface, or otherwise injure the contents of the mail-bags or the person of any one engaged in the postal service. All liquors, poisons, glass, explosive materials, and obscene books or papers shall be excluded from the mails.

Section 2 provides that packages of matter of the third class shall not exceed four pounds in weight, and shall be subject to examination and rates of postage as hereinafter provided. The postage on mail matter of the third class is to be, for all distances of one thousand miles or less, one cent for each ounce or fractional part thereof; for all distances over one thousand miles, two cents for each ounce or fractional part thereof. Every package of the third class of mail matter is to bear the post-mark of the office at which it shall be mailed for transportation.

By the third section, postages on third-class matter are to be prepaid by stamps. If, however, the postages on third-class matter mailed at an office be less than the full amount prescribed, in cases where the sender is known he shall be notified of the fact and the amount of postage due be collected from him. In case the sender is not known, and where it has not been the evident intention of the party so depositing the package to place less than full postage thereon, the package shall be forwarded, and double the amount of deficient postage shall be collected from the party to whom it is addressed or delivered at its proper destination.

Section 4 provides that the sender of any article of the third class of mail matter may write his or her name and address therein or on the outside thereof, with the word "from" above or preceding the same, or may

write briefly or print on any package the number and names of the articles inclosed. Publishers of newspapers and periodicals may print on the wrappers of newspapers or magazines sent from the office of publication to regular subscribers the time to which subscription therefor has been paid.

Section 5 provides that transient newspapers and magazines shall be admitted to, and transmitted in, the mails at the rate of one cent for every three ounces or fractional part thereof, and one cent for each two additional ounces or fractional part thereof.

By section 6 the act is to take effect on and after the 1st day of July, 1876.

A number of amendments have been proposed and the question having been daily discussed by several Senators is still unfinished.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO ELECTION FUNDS.

On Tuesday, March 21st, Mr. Caulfield, from the Committee on the Judiciary, in the House, reported to the House a bill, with an amendment, making political contributions for the purposes of elections a misdemeanor, and punishing the same by fine and imprisonment. This measure has called forth a spirited discussion, and seems to be an attempt to regulate a subject so ramified and shaded off by fine degrees that any practical control of it would appear impossible. On Wednesday, March 22d, the bill was called up in the House, and, after a spirited and brilliant discussion and some amendment, was passed by a vote of 175 to 8—106 not voting.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION BILL.

This bill, which is one of the largest appropriation bills for annual expenses, embracing a great variety of subjects, has been more or less daily discussed in the House for a month past. Over every department and almost every office of the Government a contest arises as to the necessity of continuing it, or, if this be conceded, as to the feasibility of cutting down the salaries and expenses pertaining to it. One of the most amusing as well as suggestive features of the debate is that which exhibits the honorable gentlemen discussing the propriety of cutting down their own salaries. This, of course, is a delicate matter, and it may turn out at last that the whole Democratic majority of



the House will wheel directly about and go in for double appropriations as a measure of popularity and political effect in the country. The bill is still pending, with no prospect of conclusion.

#### MISSISSIPPI ELECTION.

Senator Morton, after having struggled for days and weeks to bring the deplorable state of things in Mississippi, as evinced by the last State elections, to the notice of the Senate, and after having encountered a strong opposition from Democratic Senators, has at length succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a committee of five Senators to investigate these frauds, with plenary powers to go into the State and to send for persons and papers. On Tuesday, April 4th, this committee, consisting of Messrs. Boutwell, Cameron of Wisconsin, Oglesby, Bayard, and McDonald, was appointed.

#### COUNTING ELECTORAL VOTES.

Early in the session Senator Morton introduced a bill providing for the counting of electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States. It is in effect the same bill which passed the Senate in the last Congress, and would no doubt obviate many of the difficulties which might prove very serious in certain contingencies. This bill has been very thoroughly discussed, and was finally passed in the Senate, Friday, March 24th. But a motion to reconsider it was subsequently made by Senator Thurman, and so the matter remains. This, no doubt, is one of the most important subjects of legislation and the final action of Congress should make such provision as will render it impossible for any serious disorder to arise in case of a contested election.

#### HALLET KILBOURN.

The case of this gentleman bids fair to become one of the celebrated cases of personal rights and Congressional power in the history of the country. Called before the House investigating committee on the case of what is now known as the real estate pool, he was required to produce his private books, papers, and documents that the committee might rummage them over and see if they could find anything to criminate anybody. This was on the pretext that the house of Jay Cooke & Co. having failed and being a

debtor to the Government of the United States, it is legitimate to trace any transactions of the said Company with "the real estate pool" to see if any of the money belonging to the Government had been there swallowed up. No one asserted that such was the fact, nor has any one claimed a knowledge of any transaction on which such an inquiry could be based. In these circumstances Mr. Kilbourn refused to produce his books. He was brought to the bar of the House and required by its authority to produce his books or show cause for his refusal. To this demand he replied in an elaborate statement setting forth the facts of the case, at the same time signifying his willingness to answer any questions pertinent to the legitimate purpose of the investigation, and claiming the right to protection as an American citizen, under the Constitution and laws, against improper search and seizure of his person and effects. This reply was not satisfactory to the Democratic majority of the House, and they forthwith, in violation of a specific statute provided for such cases, turned him over to the sergeant-at-arms of the House to be confined in the common jail. Soon after an indictment was found against Mr. Kilbourn by the grand jury of the District of Columbia, under the statute for recusant witnesses; and then the question arose between the right and authority of the court and of the House of Representatives as to the custody of the prisoner. The House refused to turn the prisoner over to the court; whereupon the Chief Justice of the court issued a writ of *habeas corpus* upon the sergeant-at-arms of the House to produce the body of Mr. Kilbourn, that he may show cause, if any he has, why he should not be detained in the custody of the House. The issue of this writ and the power of the House in the premises has just been fiercely discussed in the House, and has resulted in a vote directing the sergeant-at-arms to obey the writ. Accordingly, on Tuesday, the 18th of April, Mr. Kilbourn was brought before the court to show cause why he should not be kept in the custody of the House. This is the condition of the case at the present writing.

To all unprejudiced minds the House has been acting in direct violation of an express



law by which Mr. Kilbourn should have been turned over to the court; and he has thus been unlawfully confined for several weeks by the mere arbitrary will of the House. It is a case in which the rights of all citizens are involved, and ought to be a warning to the American people, who are ever jealous of such unwarranted encroachment on their constitutional prerogatives.

#### IMPEACHMENT OF W. W. BELKNAP.

During the last month the Democratic leaders in the House have been busy in preparing the articles of impeachment against the late Secretary of War, and after all the preliminaries had been arranged on Monday, April 17th, the Senate was constituted as a High Court of Impeachment, and the parties all appeared amid a great concourse of spectators. The proceedings were opened in due form and General Belknap was called to respond to the charges exhibited against him.

He answered by his counsel that he was a private citizen and denied the jurisdiction of the Senate in the premises. To this pleading the managers on the part of the House replied by requesting an adjournment of the court to Wednesday, April 19th, in order to prepare the answer of the House. Thus today the matter stands.

From this review it may be seen how small a portion of the necessary legislative business of the present Congress at the end of four and a half months has been accomplished. Meanwhile the country is becoming more and more demoralized and sickened. It is a strange spectacle for the thoughtful and patriotic citizens in this Centennial year of the Republic. But we still have faith in "the sober second thought" of the people. We believe in the perpetuity of our institutions and in the theory of our civilization.

## REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

#### NATIONAL.

...It is gratifying to observe how steadily the Republican press, especially that portion of it which is sometimes sneered at by the self-righteous metropolitan journals as "provincial," keeps in mind the real character of the present campaign of slander and scandal waged under pretense of investigation by the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives. A great mistake is made in supposing that the dozen newspapers which are so euphoniously and egotistically styled the "great dailies" either lead or represent public opinion. They are sometimes able to pervert and mislead it, and sometimes, it is to be said with truth, to concentrate and intensify its force. A notable illustration of this may be recalled in the downfall of the Tweed *regime* mainly through the vigorous editorial assaults of the New York *Times*, and the very graphic and powerful satire embodied by Thomas Nast in wonderful cartoons which were, like Luther's words, "half battles." He made the crimes of Tammany so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, might understand. But it remains true that the editorial departments of the great dailies do not either

lead or represent the average public opinion of the masses. This is true of both parties, but especially so of the Republican organization. The American people are not cavers and critics; they are creators and believers. They know well that there is not the reckless corruption charged, and a large majority have a sufficiently intelligent knowledge, of contemporaneous history at least, as to be fully aware of the fact that the affairs of the United States are, as a rule, more honestly conducted than are those of other leading nations. They know the law of cause and effect quite enough to understand how much of individual malfeasance is due to the corrupting influence of a false and speculative money-making era, and how much of it is due to the demoralizing tendencies which inevitably follow in the train of a great war. If history is philosophy teaching by example, daily journalism has become the best teacher of the inductive process the world has seen since Francis Bacon formulated his great theory into a scientific method of thought. The power of the leading dailies lies not in their editorial lucubrations, which, except under special conditions, have now-a-days but very little weight with intelligent

readers, but is found in news-gathering and news-presenting functions. Given a certain line of facts bearing on some obscure issue likely to become of importance, and let some one or more of the prominent journals present them day after day *as news*, apparently or actually without comment, and it will not be long before it will become apparent that the obscurity vanishes, and that the public is becoming cognizant of what they convey or teach. The power of the leading dailies, then, is no longer that of journals either of opinion or convictions, but that of the *news* paper only. This truth has been evident for some years past, to some at least of the more unscrupulous managers of such papers; and, as a consequence, we have witnessed the most adroit prostitution of this important function of the journalist and journal that the history even of the American press contains. It is a far more dangerous method of assault on not only party, but national character, than the editorial fashion of a former generation, so mercilessly satirized by a Trollope and a Dickens.

The people begin to understand this quite fully, and everywhere it is manifest by the care which the local press observes in sifting the facts from the insidious garb of slander and innuendo wherewith they are presented, and the hesitancy displayed in quoting, as formerly, from any one of the dozen papers whose names naturally come to our pen's tip in this connection.

THE REPUBLIC can judge fairly as to these tendencies, receiving and examining as it does over a thousand papers each week. They come from all sections, and represent various opinions, though mainly belonging to the national party. It is gratifying, therefore, to find how steadily most editors keep in view and discriminate the false and the true in the present condition of general politics. The "country" press, so called, is the best possible mirror of neighborhood opinion to be found. One statement will prove this to the dullest person. Suppose oneself to be living in an interior town of some distant State or rural district, able to subscribe to two papers and no more. What are the probabilities? Why, that one would be a daily or tri-weekly from some one of the large cities and the other the local paper.

In subscribing for the first the effort will be to obtain that paper which is most enterprising and presents the largest amount of news. This, too, without regard to its political views. At any rate, if there is a choice, it will be decided in favor of the best *news* paper. As to the local paper, the subscription will invariably be for that one which advocates opinions harmonious with those of the patron. Herein lies the reason for asserting that the local press best represents the average opinion. What, then, are the current opinions thus represented? They may be emphasized in this form:

A clear comprehension among all Republican and loyal newspapers, outside of the commercial center, of the fact that the vital and overshadowing issue in the pending campaign is, whether the *party policies and principles which saved the Union, or those which deliberately attempted to destroy it, are or not to control its immediate future*. It is clearly understood that the election in November next decides, for a decade at least, whether the pestilential doctrine of State sovereignty, with its inevitable tendencies to disrapture of the Union, or that superb unifying and creative spirit and philosophy of national sovereignty which was animated into activity and vigor by the crimson forces of the struggle for liberty and union, and by which alone the Continental Republic can be preserved intact, shall be or not the permanent moulder and controller of our public affairs and administration.

Next there is equally as clear an apprehension of the necessity of honest government, the checking of abuses, the correction of systems which tend to evil results, and an honest determination to make all needed reform *from within* and through trusted hands—hands that have heretofore saved and never sought to destroy.

Another important fact, incidental though it be, is found in the readiness with which the Democratic thieves who are crying "stop thief" so lustily are discomfited by the reproduction of their party's own infamous record. The "country" press everywhere shows that the people know who are to be trusted by the manner in which all these pertinent facts are recalled.

...There has been a marked improvement in the tone and ability of the local press everywhere, during the past year especially. Their editors are doing their own thinking. The change in the attitude of the two *Tribunes*, New York and Chicago, of late years has done very much to emancipate the rural Republican journalists. In former days an editorial cue was too often implicitly followed; now, however, it is combatted. The Republican masses have not followed them since 1868; and the country press looked more to their own resources to conduct the new discussions that arose. Mr. Greeley's candidacy completed an emancipation already begun, and there is no return to the same sort of dependency that once existed.

CONGRESS.

...It is many years since the public business has dragged behind so far as at the present time. Only ten weeks of the current fiscal year remain, and not a single one of the important appropriation bills have become law. The policy which controls the Democratic majority is simply infamous in its spirit. Messrs. Randall and Holman are responsible for shaping it, and their followers are obedient, even in face of better impulses. As shown elsewhere in the present number the aim of the reductions attempted in force and salaries is not that of economy and good Government, but only to obtain a rallying cry for the canvass, or, worse still, to cripple the Administration and render it impotent to carry on the work of government. The earnestness manifested in applying party discipline and forcing the bills through the House without amendment is based upon the expectation of making party capital out of the resistance which the Republican Senate will necessarily make to such reckless legislation. The Democratic leaders and their following appear to have no other aim than that of making party capital. The Northern managers hope to repair the breaches in their fortunes constantly made by the Southern hot-spurs like Hill, Tucker, Blackburn & Co., by means of the slanderous investigations they are carrying on in secret, and though the *eclat* they expect to gain by their pretended economy

and cutting down. They will fail of both. There never was a more pitiable illustration of demagogism than the manner in which they treat the character and reputation of gentlemen distinguished in the public service and honored in private life. It is a base and contemptible partisanship which turns aside from discussion of principles or policy and rakes the slums of slander and the sewers of defamation to assail with filth gentlemen whose crime it is that they are political opponents, and have been or are still trusted by the American people. Secretary Bristow is the latest target. He fitly reproves the malignantly discourteous spirit referred to in the following words extracted from a letter addressed by him to Representative Caulfield, of Ill., chairman of the Committee on Expenditures of the Department of Justice, before which it was reported certain accusations had been made. Mr. Bristow very pointedly writes:

"It is difficult to credit the statement that an officer of the Government who could be reached by your committee in a few minutes should be allowed to remain in ignorance of the exact character of such testimony for nearly a week, and that no opportunity to meet charges of so serious a nature should be afforded him."

...In the British House of Commons no member can be assailed in his personal or legislative honor and integrity, either by petition or direct attack on the floor, without having first been notified and being himself present and ready to respond. No petition can be read, if it makes charges against a member of either the government or the opposition, if the party assailed has not been duly notified and is present. In the American House of Representatives, however, under the guidance of the Democracy, members, either of the House or of the Executive branch of the Government, are assailed in secret, and evidence taken by inquisitorial committees from the veriest *mouchards*, and the first knowledge obtained by either the public or the accused is through some sensation paragraph in journals whose agents are engaged in the work of systematizing public libel. But there is a difference. In Great Britain all parties seek to conserve the honor and characters of their public men,



believing that thereby the national reputation is ennobled. In America it would seem to be a Democratic rule never to avoid an opportunity to blacken the reputation of a public man, provided only he is not a Democrat, no matter what may be the effect of the slander on personal or national character.

...Two important issues are on trial at the present writing. One is involved in the impeachment proceedings against Mr. Belknap, and the other in those against Mr. Kilbourn over the writ of *habeas corpus* issued by Chief Justice Cartter, of the District Supreme Court. In the first, apart altogether from the questions of fact and personal or official character which are involved, an important precedent is to be made, and the Senate, sitting in its high judicial character, will decide whether or not a citizen can, now or hereafter, escape trial by impeachment by resigning an office pending the examination into alleged malfeasance and corruption. In the other case it is to be considered whether or not the Congress of the United States is the only function or body in this Government wherein rests absolute power, even though it is restrained only to the imprisoning of a contumacious witness. The President can exercise the power of pardon on his own will and motion, but he may be impeached for its misuse or abuse. The Supreme Court has the power of review, and may declare laws to be unconstitutional, thereby nullifying the work of legislation, but its members may be impeached, or Congress may so legislate as to increase their numbers or otherwise modify the adverse *dicta*, by changing the *personnel* or duties of the court itself. But the plea of the extreme defenders of parliamentary power would, in cases like that of Kilbourn, leave no review or recourse except that of the popular vote. It is to be noted that the larger portion of the votes given in support of legislative omnipotence come from the Democratic supporters of the extreme States' rights school. This fact illustrates a criticism often made on them, and that is, that when in control of the Federal Government or any portion thereof they have always been found ready to strain their powers to the utmost.

#### STATE AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

...The result in Connecticut could not have been unexpected by any close observer of current politics. The Republican canvass seems to have been characterized chiefly by indifference and want of skill in conducting a campaign. The Democracy shrewdly concentrated themselves on the doubtful towns in order to secure the Legislature, the election of a United States Senator being in the balances. In this policy they were successful, gaining 22, and carrying all but eight of the doubtful towns and districts. The total vote this year was but 99,600, as against 100,966 in 1875, or 1,366 less. The Republican vote was 43,516, or 1,236 less than in '75; the total Democratic vote was 51,136, or 2,132 less than the year before. The green-back vote was 2,038; the prohibition 1,910—a total "parasite" vote of 3,948. The voting population of Connecticut cannot be less than 137,000 at the present time, adding the natural increase since 1870, when, according to the census, it was 127,499. On this estimate the recent vote was 37,400 less than the full vote of the State. One fact should be noticed, and that is that the Republican vote increased in all the large towns. A canvass half as active as that in New Hampshire would have given the Nutmeg State to the Republican candidates, and the grounds whereon that statement is based justify belief in a Republican victory there next November.

[It is proper at this point to correct a blunder accidentally made in a table contained in an article to be found elsewhere in this number of THE REPUBLIC on the New Hampshire election. The male adult population of Connecticut is set down, by a mistake in copying, at 265,270. It should be 150,415.—*Ed.*]

...The election in Rhode Island resulted in a large Republican majority to the Legislature, but no election of Governor by the people. The majority last year against the Republican nominee, General Lippitt, was 5,522. This year he has a considerable plurality, and will be chosen Governor by the Legislature, which is five-sixths Republican, and likely to return its present influential and accomplished Senator, H. B. Anthony, to the seat he so well fills. The vote stood,

Lippitt, 8,212; Howard, (temperance) 6,277; Beach, (Democrat) 3,472; a total vote of 17,961. The total vote for Secretary of State (only two candidates) was 18,334. The Legislature stands:

	Repub.	Dem.
Senate .....	27	9
House .....	63	9
Total .....	90	18
Republican majority on joint ballot, 72.		

...From every quarter the municipal elections have been largely favorable to the Republicans. In 45 counties of New York the returns show a gain in supervisors of 186, and of 133 towns over similar elections in 1875. During April, the Republicans carried the municipal elections in Jersey City; Lockport, N. Y; Cleveland, Dayton, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio, the latter city for the first time. In Cincinnati "honors were easy," the Democrats electing a majority of the aldermen and board of works, the Republicans a majority of the common council and school board. About one-third more of the municipal elections in Ohio went Republican than usual; a number of Democratic towns were divided. Atchison and Topeka, Kansas, were carried by the Republicans, the former having usually been close or uncertain. At Denver, Colorado, the mayor elect is a Democrat, a majority of the aldermen being Republicans. In the Illinois elections the Republicans gain considerably, especially in the South and West. The Chicago city election was fiercely contested. It was crowned by a Republican triumph. In Michigan the result is the same, party lines being closely drawn. At Albany, New York, the result was a divided election. The election at St. Louis was non-political in character, and the nominees were nearly evenly divided. In nearly all the close or divided municipal contests it is a noteworthy fact that the school boards invariably remain in Republican hands.

#### STATE CONVENTIONS.

...The Republican State Convention of New York, meeting at Syracuse March 22d, attracted very general attention, owing not only to the high representative character of its membership, but also as to the earnest discussion over the question of a direct pre-

sentation of the name of Senator Conkling as the choice of the Empire State Republicans for President. Mr. G. W. Curtis led the opposition, and made a very brilliant and able speech. The Convention finally adopted a resolution presenting the name of Mr. Conkling to the Cincinnati Convention. The resolutions adopted reaffirmed Republican principles, charged the Democracy with reasserting and applauding the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion, with sending Union soldiers to the rear and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front, with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government, with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions, with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation, with proving itself utterly incompetent to administer the Government, and warned the country against trusting a party alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable. A resolution warmly commending the President was adopted.

...The Pennsylvania Democrats met at Lancaster on the 22d of March. A platform was adopted demanding general amnesty, and stating that the statute for the resumption of specie payment on the first day of January, 1879, is impossible, and ought to be forthwith repealed. The name of Jeremiah S. Black as a candidate for President was laid on the table. The delegation was not instructed.

...Gov. Hendricks was indorsed as a Presidential candidate by the Indiana Democratic Convention, and the following State ticket put in nomination: For Governor, James D. Williams; Lieutenant Governor, Isaac P. Grey; Judge of the Supreme Court—1st district, S. H. Buskirk; 2d district, A. G. Downey; 3d district, John Pettit; 4th district, James L. Worden; Secretary of State, John E. Neff; Auditor, E. Henderson; Treasurer, Benjamin C. Shaw; Attorney General, C. A. Buskirk; Superintendent of Public Instruction, J. H. Smart; Clerk of Supreme Court, Gabriel Schmuck; Reporter of Supreme Court, Augustus N. Martin. The platform favored the Holman money policy, and demanded the repeal of the resumption act.



...The Ohio Republicans have indorsed Governor Hayes as their choice for the Presidency, and placed the following nominations before the people: Secretary of State, Milton F. Barnes; Supreme Judge, W.W. Boynton; Member Board of Public Works, James C. Evans; Presidential Electors, Aaron E. Perry and E. H. Bohm.

The resolutions adopted sustain the Republican party, its national policy, and the Administration; demand that corruption be exposed and punished; the national credit be maintained; currency placed on a gold basis; favors a revenue tariff with incidental protection, and defends the free-school system. The second resolution reads, that the citizens of the several States of the Union are also citizens of the Nation, and are equal under the Constitution and laws in all rights of citizens, and are entitled to full and equal protection in their exercise. Among the delegates at large to Cincinnati are ex-Senator Wade and Gen. B. F. Noyes.

...The Eleventh Annual Labor Congress met at Pittsburg, April 18th. One hundred and forty-five delegates were present. John M. Davis was elected President. The platform adopted urges the necessity of revoking the Burlingame treaty, characterizing its effects as little better than slave trade, and requests Congress, in order to give the co-operative scheme a fair trial, to select some branch of industry, such as that of miners and iron-workers, to which to apply such system, and appropriate therefor a loan, payable in twenty years, at a low rate of interest, not exceeding three per cent. It demands a strong protective tariff, and asks that duties be such as to protect home industry against foreign competition; declares in favor of the election of President of the United States by the popular vote of the people; demands the strict enforcement of the eight-hour law and of Congress of the enactment of stringent usury laws; heartily condemns the "store-order" system, as practiced by manufacturers, and also the prison contract system of labor; asks that Congress shall enact laws to give money due for labor precedence over all other claims; that Governments, both State and National, shall pass laws against all discriminations by common carriers, under penalty of forfeiture of charter; recommends a liberal system of internal improvement, and urges upon different State legislatures to pass such apprentice laws as will insure competent workmen in every branch of industry. After considerable discussion the convention declared against the organization of a third political party, but

appealed to all workingmen to unite so as to attain the advancement of the class through existing political parties. The power of calling future conventions was delegated to a committee appointed for that purpose, and after passing a vote of thanks to the officers the convention adjourned *sine die*.

#### POLITICAL CONVENTIONS FOR MAY.

May 4.—Maryland Republican Convention, Frederick City.

May 10.—Michigan Republican Convention, Grand Rapids.

May 10.—Independent Reform Convention, Des Moines, Iowa.

May 16.—Alabama Republican Convention, Montgomery.

May 17.—National Greenback Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana.

May 17.—National Prohibition Convention, Cleveland, Ohio.

May 17.—Tennessee Republican Convention, Knoxville.

May 18.—Delaware Republican Convention, Dover.

May 18.—Kentucky Republican Convention, Louisville.

May 23.—Nebraska Republican Convention, Fremont.

May 24.—Kansas Republican Convention, Topeka.

May 24.—California Democratic Convention, San Francisco.

May 24.—Alabama Republican Convention, Montgomery. (Minority call.)

May 24.—Illinois Republican Convention, Springfield.

May 31.—Missouri Democratic Convention, Jefferson City.

#### REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.

...Political observers and workers will find the following of use:

States.	Electoral vote.	Delegation instructed for.	Candidate approved.	
Maine.....	14	Blaine.....	.....	
Wisconsin...	20	.....	Blaine...	
Indiana.....	30	.....	Morton...	
New York....	70	.....	Conkling	
Pennsylv'a..	54	Hartmanft	.....	
Ohio.....	44	Hayes.....	.....	
Virginia.....	22	.....	Blaine...	
Mississippi..	16	.....	.....	Unin-
Texas.....	16	.....	.....	structed
Connecticut.	12	.....	.....	"
Vermont....	10	.....	.....	"
S. Carolina..	14	.....	.....	"
Rhode Island	8	.....	.....	"
Dist. of Col.	2	.....	.....	"
Wyoming Ty	2	.....	Bristow..	
Montana Ty.	2	.....	Blaine...	
Colorado Ty.	2	.....	.....	"

The above list includes all the conventions up to date, April 20th.



## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

## THE EXECUTIVE.

CLERK AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION.

Mr. C. L. Chapman, one of the most efficient clerks of the pay department of the army, has been detailed by the Secretary of War for service as executive clerk at the Executive Mansion. Mr. Chapman excels in penmanship, and possesses the ability of writing rapidly as well as beautifully. He will have abundant opportunities for the display of his powers in his new office.

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

NATIONAL DEBT STATEMENT FOR MARCH.

The following is a recapitulation of the debt statement issued on April 1:

Debt bearing interest in coin:	
Bonds at 6 per cent.....	\$984,999,650 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	710,037,600 00
	<u>\$1,695,037,250 00</u>

Debt bearing interest in lawful money:	
Navy pension fund at 3 per cent,	<u>\$14,000,000 00</u>

Debt on which interest has ceased since maturity.....	<u>\$9,183,360 26</u>
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Debt bearing no interest:	
Old demand and legal-tender notes.....	\$370,823,645 50
Certificates of deposit.....	34,230,000 00
Fractional currency.....	42,604,893 71
Coin certificates.....	32,337,600 00
	<u>\$479,996,139 21</u>

Total debt.....	<u>\$2,198,216,749 47</u>
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Interest.....	<u>\$26,455,110 94</u>
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Total debt, principal and interest.....	<u>\$2,224,671,860 41</u>
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Cash in Treasury:	
Coin.....	\$73,756,794 42
Currency.....	5,965,626 11
Special deposit held for redemption of certificates of deposit as provided by law.....	34,230,000 00
	<u>\$113,952,420 53</u>

Debt, less cash in the Treasury April 1, 1876.....	\$2,110,719,439 88
Debt, less cash in the Treasury March 1, 1876.....	<u>2,114,960,306 80</u>

Decrease of debt during the past month.....	<u>\$4,240,866 92</u>
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Decrease of debts since June 30, 1875	<u>\$17,969,286 44</u>
---------------------------------------	------------------------

Bonds issued to the Pacific railway companies, interest payable in lawful money—Principal outstanding, \$64,623,512; interest accrued and not yet paid, \$669,352.68; interest paid by the United States, \$30,141,519.06; interest repaid by transportation of mails, &c., \$6,791,012.53; balance of interest paid by the United States, \$23,360,500.50.

## U. S. CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION.

The following is an official statement of United States currency outstanding March 31, 1876:

Old demand notes.....	\$68,397 50
Legal-tender notes:	
New issue.....	\$29,678,748 00
Series 1869.....	233,981,212 00
Series 1874.....	61,749,777 00
Series 1875.....	40,345,511 00
	<u>370,755,248 00</u>
One-year notes, 1863....	62,695 00
Two-year notes, 1863....	19,450 00
Two-year coupon notes 1863.....	26,000 00
	<u>108,145 00</u>
Compound interest notes.....	<u>340,420 00</u>
	<u>340,420 00</u>
Fractional currency:	
First issue.....	4,297,610 46
Second issue.....	3,119,186 99
Third issue.....	3,066,071 34
Fourth issue, first series.....	4,788,490 24
Fourth issue, second series.....	1,218,034 05
Fourth issue, third series.....	2,860,062 75
Fifth issue.....	23,235,437 88
	<u>42,604,893 71</u>
Total.....	<u>\$413,877,104 21</u>

## COINAGE FOR MARCH.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold—		
Double eagles.....	183,974	\$3,679,480
Half eagles.....	4,000	20,000
	<u>187,974</u>	<u>\$3,699,480</u>
Silver—		
Trade dollars.....	728,200	\$728,200
Half dollars.....	78,200	39,100
Quarter dollars.....	2,672,200	668,050
Twenty cents.....	10,200	2,040
Dimes.....	3,290,200	329,020
	<u>6,779,000</u>	<u>\$1,766,410</u>
Minor—		
Cents.....	1,470,000	14,700

## Recapitulation.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold coinage.....	187,974	\$3,699,480
Trade dollar.....	728,200	728,200
Subsidiary silver.....	6,050,800	1,038,210
Minor.....	1,470,000	14,700
Total.....	<u>8,436,974</u>	<u>\$5,480,590</u>

## IMMIGRATION INTO NEW YORK.

Official returns made to the Bureau of Statistics show that during the month ended March 31, 1876, there arrived at the port of New York 4,881 immigrants, of whom

3,400 were males and 1,481 females. The total number of arrivals at the port during the quarter ended March 31, 1876, was 9,056, as compared with 12,449 during the corresponding period of 1875—being a decrease of 3,393. Of the total arrivals in March, 1876, there were from England, 1,068; Scotland, 209; Wales, 15; Ireland, 691; Germany, 1,732; Austria, 229; Sweden, 114; Norway, 6; Denmark, 59; Switzerland, 67; Spain, 8; Italy, 217; Holland, 70; Belgium, 13; Russia, 47; Poland, 27; Hungary, 84; China, 9; Canada, 6; Nova Scotia, 3; Mexico, 5; Venezuela, 4; Cuba, 5; Chili, Barbadoes, Curacao, and Asia, 2 each; Portugal, Finland, Turkey, Greece, West Indies, Antigua, Nassau, Bermuda, Persia, Australia, Africa and born at sea, 1 each.

#### REFUND OF DUTIES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 18, 1876.

*To Collectors of Customs and others:*

The Department has been informed that there is a lack of uniformity at the various ports in the manner of refunding duties levied in excess on imported merchandise.

To render the practice uniform, it is hereby directed that, when duties have been once liquilated and paid, no refund of any portion of such duties, decided by this Department, *on appeal*, to have been exacted in excess of the amount imposed by law, shall be made, except on certified statement forwarded to the Department, for examination and settlement by the accounting officers, according to the usual course of procedure.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

#### ACCURATE STATISTICS OF EXPORTS REQUIRED.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1876.

*To Collectors of Customs:*

The attention of the Department has been called to the imperfection of the statistics of our exports, which is said to arise from erroneous manifests, shippers often clearing only approximate amounts of the goods on board, notwithstanding the penalty attached to such violations of law.

In order to put an end to such practices, and to obtain full and accurate statistics of the exports of domestic and other merchandise to foreign countries from your port, you are directed to require the masters and shippers of such goods to comply strictly with the Regulations of 1874, (Art. 964.) And in the case of those lines of

steamers sailing under special regulations with a view to avoid detention and to facilitate their business generally, you will see that correct manifests of the cargoes they take shall be lodged at the custom-house.

It is important that every effort should be made, under the law, to render our statistics of this trade as perfect as practicable, and it is your duty to assist in making them so. The Department, therefore, expresses the hope that you, and the other officers of the port, will exercise due vigilance and remove all cause of complaint in the future.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

#### INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF SILVER COIN OF THE UNITED STATES IN PLACE OF FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

Washington, D. C., April 18, 1876.

By virtue of the authority vested in the Secretary of the Treasury by the second section of an act entitled "An act to provide for a deficiency in the Printing and Engraving Bureau of the Treasury Department, and for the issue of silver coin of the United States in place of fractional currency," approved April 17, 1876, the several officers below named are hereby authorized, upon the presentation at their respective offices, for redemption, of the fractional currency of the United States, in sums of five dollars, or multiples thereof, assorted by denominations, and in amount not to exceed one hundred dollars, to issue therefor a like amount of the silver coin of the United States of the denominations of ten, twenty, twenty-five, and fifty cents; and furthermore, upon the presentation for redemption, at the office of the Treasurer of the United States in this city, of any amount of such currency, properly assorted, and in sums of not less than five dollars, the Treasurer is authorized to issue silver coin therefor to the amount of the currency presented, or he may issue his check therefor, payable in silver at either of the offices hereinafter named, at the option of the party presenting the currency, as far as may be practicable, from time to time.

Fractional currency redeemed in silver under these instructions by any of the assistant treasurers or designated depositaries of the United States will be sent in sums of one thousand dollars, or multiples thereof, to the Treasurer of the United States in this city, the amount to be charged in the Treasurer's general coin account as a transfer of funds, and any amount of such currency, for which silver has been paid, remaining at any time in the cash of the several offices will be treated as coin assets, and in no case will such fractional currency be reissued.

Fractional currency sent by express, or otherwise, to the officers below-named for

redemption in silver, under the provisions of this circular, should be accompanied by a letter of advice, stating fully the address of the sender, and how the remittance in payment therefor is desired, and, if by Treasurer's check, the office at which the check should be made payable.

The Government will not pay express charges on the silver issued, or the fractional currency presented for redemption under the provisions of this circular.

The officers herein referred to are as follows:

The Treasurer of the United States, Washington, D. C.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Boston, Mass.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, New York City, N. Y.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, St. Louis, Mo.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Charleston, S. C.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, New Orleans, La.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Chicago, Illinois.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, San Francisco, Cal.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Baltimore, Md.

The United States Depositary, Buffalo, N. Y.

The United States Depositary, Pittsburg, Pa.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

#### COLLECTION OF TEN PER CENT. ADDITIONAL DUTIES.

##### TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25, 1876.

To *Collectors of Customs and others*:

The following instructions are issued for the information and guidance of customs officers:

1. Upon the expiration of one year from the date of importation of merchandise remaining in warehouse under bond, the collector and naval officer, if there be one, will cause a memorandum to be made in red ink upon the debit side of the bond account in the warehouse ledger, showing the amount of additional duties which would accrue upon the withdrawal of such merchandise for consumption.

2. In case of the withdrawal of such merchandise, or any portion thereof, for transportation to another port, a memorandum of the ten per cent. additional duties will be made upon the transportation entry sent to the collector of the port of destination, such

memorandum to be entered upon his warehouse ledger in the manner above prescribed.

3. When merchandise has remained in warehouse beyond three years, and is sold pursuant to the provisions of Section 2972 of the Revised Statutes the ten per cent. additional duties will be added to and included in the duties, charges, and expenses required to be deducted from proceeds of sale before payment thereof to the owner, consignee, or agent of such merchandise, the Department having heretofore decided that the sale of such merchandise at public auction after three years is equivalent to a withdrawal thereof for consumption after one year, and, hence, that the additional duty necessarily accrues, and must be deducted from the proceeds as provided in Article 764, General Regulations.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

##### ATTORNEYS.

##### TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1876.

In order to secure uniformity of practice throughout the several offices and bureaus connected with this Department, hereafter no person will be prohibited from practicing as an attorney before any such office or bureau, except upon the order of the Secretary.

CHAS. F. CONANT,  
*Acting Secretary*.

##### KEEPERS AND CREWS OF LIFE-SAVING STATIONS.

In view of the recent disaster near life-saving station No. 4, district No. 6, North Carolina, at the wreck of the Italian bark *Nuova Ottavia*, off Currituck beach, in which the keeper and his crew of five of the surfmen belonging to the station, and one volunteer from the party engaged in constructing the lighthouse at Whale's Back, in addition to nine of the crew of the *Nuova Ottavia* were drowned, the Treasury Department calls the attention of keepers and surfmen to the importance of always wearing, when using the boats, the cork life-belts furnished for them. While commending the brave and eager spirit of the crews, the Secretary enjoins prudence in availing themselves of all the means provided for success in their perilous service, and says: "Keepers are strictly charged to see that every member of their respective crews is properly equipped with his life-belt before taking his place in the boat on occasion, and they will be held responsible for any infraction of this order."



## WAR DEPARTMENT.

## ARMY HEADQUARTERS.

The order issued from the War Department transferring army headquarters from St. Louis to Washington has been amended so as to direct the Adjutant General and Inspector General to report to the General of the Army. The following is the order, as amended :

## WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1876.

The Adjutant General will promulgate the following order for the information and guidance of all concerned :

The headquarters of the army is hereby re-established at Washington city, and all orders and instructions relative to military operations or affecting the military control and discipline of the army held by the President through the Secretary of War shall be promulgated through the General of the army, and the departments of the Adjutant General and the Inspector General shall report to him and be made under his control in all things relating thereto.

ALPHONSO TAFT, *Secretary of War.*

## INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

## GREAT INCREASE OF BUSINESS IN THE PATENT OFFICE.

The receipts at the Patent Office for January, February, and March of the present year were, respectively, \$72,070.40, \$74,651.62, and \$80,459.07, making an aggregate of \$227,181.09. This is, by far, the largest amount of money received in any one quarter since the office was established, and the earnings of each of the three months are larger than those of any of its predecessors. The greatest number of patents ever issued in any one week was 482 for the week ending Tuesday, February 22, 1876. The balance standing to the credit of the patent fund on the books of the Treasury Department January 1, 1876, was \$386,909.62, and must, at the present time, be not short of \$900,000.

To show the astonishing increase of the business of the Patent Office, it is only necessary to make a few comparisons. The whole number of patents issued in the year 1840 was 473, being nine less than the issue of the week in February above referred to. The entire receipts for the year 1849 were \$80,752.98, being only about \$300 more than the amount received during the past month.

In view of the foregoing facts and figures, which have been obtained from official

sources, will not Congress be liable to cripple the capabilities of the only profitable bureau of the Government, and of throwing obstacles in the way of the inventive minds of the country if it gives its approval to the reductions in the Patent Office contemplated by the appropriation bill now under consideration in the House of Representatives?

## THE NEW PENSION COMMISSIONER.

Hon. John A. Bentley, the newly-appointed Commissioner of Pensions, assumed his duties on April 1st. Mr. Bentley is one of the foremost lawyers of Wisconsin, was formerly attorney for the Sheboygan railroad, served four terms in the State Senate, and has held many other prominent and responsible positions. Those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance say that a better selection could hardly have been made.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.  
FEES, ETC., OF THE MONEY-ORDER OFFICES NOT  
REVENUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the case of the United States against Norton the Supreme Court of the United States held that the money-order act being expressly intended for the convenience of the public, and for the better security of money sent through the mail, and directing that all moneys transferred in the administration of the act should be regarded as money in the Treasury, fees, etc., received in such offices were not revenues within the meaning of the act of 1804; and that therefore Norton, who was indicted for embezzlement of such moneys in the New York office, could not be tried under that act, which prescribed a limitation of five years; and that, as the indictment was not within two years from the date of the offense, it could not be tried under the act of 1790; so Norton goes free. Mr. Justice Swayne delivered the opinion.

THE RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN IN THE UNITED  
STATES.

In the case of Kohl and others against the United States it was held that the Government of the United States is vested with the right of eminent domain by the Constitution, so far as is necessary to enable it to acquire real estate within the States for purposes of forts, arsenals, armories, post offices, etc., and that a citizen or a State cannot be permitted by any act to prevent the exercise of this power.

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1876.

Vol. 6.

PREMIUMS.

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JUNE, 1876.

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Vol. 7.

**PROSPECTUS.**

Vol. 7.

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Its past course—consistent, fearless, patriotic—is the index of its future. It will defend the right, denounce the wrong, and endeavor to point out, at all times, the true path for all who love their country to follow.

A sentinel upon the watch-tower of freedom, it will be found at its post of duty to give the word of warning, and sound the alarm should any danger threaten the peace of the Nation.

It will favor the maintenance, by all legitimate means, of free schools, devoid of sectarian influences, and will oppose any attempt to divide the school funds, believing that such division, whether made in the interest of the Catholic Church or its opponents, will ultimately destroy the system of free education, and that civil and religious toleration on which our institutions rest.

It will do all within its power to develop true friendship between the citizens of the North and the South, and for this purpose will advocate the recognition of justice and equality before the law as the only means to secure lasting friendship and its two allies, peace and security.

The Presidential contest of 1876 will be one of the most important in our history. On its issue depends the future policy of the Government. The vital question to be answered by the people is, "Shall the party that proved faithless in war be trusted in peace, and those who saved the country be set aside for those who endeavored to destroy it?"

On this question THE REPUBLIC will take its position at the head of the loyal column, and will do its best to keep the old flag flying until the voice of the people shall announce that Republicanism—the synonym of justice and liberty—has again triumphed over the enemies of good government.

THE REPUBLIC calls upon its friends to aid it in the great work of the present and future. It desires each subscriber to send in at least one additional name to help swell its ranks, and thus add to its power and activity. Is it asking too much—in consideration of the valuable material furnished the cause—to ask that our friends everywhere exert themselves to secure for THE REPUBLIC as many new subscribers as possible?

To the Republican press of the country the magazine sends greeting and cheer. The signs of the times indicate a glorious victory in November. Let no effort be relaxed to make it complete and effective. Insist upon thorough organization, a personal canvass of all doubtful or close districts, the distribution of well-considered documents, and the practice of that vigilance which alone can secure success. If our brethren of the press will but do their duty as faithfully as in the past, victory will be certain.

For their generous confidence and warm support the publishers of THE REPUBLIC return thanks, and hope in the future, as in the past, to deserve by well-doing the good-will so often expressed.

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# THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE, 1876.

No. 6.

## THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

### INVESTIGATIONS.

Another month (May 15th) has slipped away and Congress is sticking in the morass. The Democratic House has been largely occupied with the sixty or seventy investigations, more or less prominent, which were set on foot some months ago, and while very little that is new or exciting has transpired, the country has been wearied with charges and counter charges, with accusations and personal explanations without end. When the reports will be made up and submitted to the House is uncertain. Nor can it be anticipated what the tenor of them will be save from the daily rumors which float over the country. It does not yet appear who will be exonerated and who will be disgraced. The principal object seems to be to kill off all the Presidential aspirants and to make as much political capital for the approaching campaign as possible. The charges against Blaine, Bristow, and Morton have been persistently pressed, and when exploded in one direction at once trumped up in another, on the principle that "a lie well stuck to is as good as the truth." The spirit of investigation which has reached the leading departments of the Government, the Emma Mine scandal, the Government Printing Office, the Insane Asylum, and the President's House, and others too numerous to mention, has yet to reach out to a number of other institutions here and elsewhere not yet overhauled. Meantime the Democratic Doorkeeper of the House seems to be getting into hot water to a very fearful extent, and some of the prominent Democratic members who commenced

these investigations with evident gusto have gradually subsided into a very quiescent state.

### THE CASE OF KILBOURN.

The courts have finally triumphed over Congress on the great question of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and Mr. Kilbourn has been released from the custody of the House and turned over to the jurisdiction of the court. He has given bail for his appearance on his trial, having been indicted under the statute for a refusal to have his private books and papers ransacked to gratify the idle curiosity of a mousing Congressional committee. After the great writ of American liberty had triumphed Mr. Kilbourn wrote a very respectful letter to the House offering to show his books to the committee in his own office, and to submit them to any examination which they might choose to make, but the letter was treated with contempt and laid upon the table. It is not precisely known what tale of corruption the committee on the real estate pool will report to the House.

### THE IMPEACHMENT.

The impeachment of General Belknap drags its slow length along. Several sessions have been spent in a skirmish between managers and counsel for advantages coveted on both sides, and in the discussion of the question of jurisdiction, which is the question pending before the Senate at the present date, (May 15th, Monday.) Should the Senate decide that it has no jurisdiction the decision will end the case. Should they decide that they have jurisdiction the trial will be vigorously pressed to a conclusion of acquittal or of guilt. It is a very grave con-



stitutional question, and which ever way it goes will furnish a precedent for all time to come.

#### THE APPROPRIATIONS.

Not a single bill of the dozen yet to be acted on has become a law. It is wholly problematical when they will be finished. Whatever work has been done upon them, so far as the public is concerned, is yet entirely in the clouds. All that is known is, that two or three of the most important have been discussed for many days, and that the contest between parsimony and liberality in conducting the affairs of the Government is raging in full fury. In this discussion the paramount influence is political rather than patriotic. To cripple the functions of the Government and to pour distress on many innocent persons appears to be but a minor consideration when compared with the prospect of political success and the seizure of the whole federal power of the country.

#### TWO GREAT SPEECHES.

During the last month Senator Sargent, on the perils of Chinese emigration, and Senator Jones, of Nevada, on the restoration of silver coin, delivered two of the most elaborate and exhaustive speeches that have ever been listened to in the halls of Congress. That of Senator Jones must become a treasure-house of information on the whole subject of metal currency in all time to come. He has left but little to be said on the subject, so far as facts and statistics are concerned. He has traced the history of metal currency from old Egypt and the days of Solomon down to the present time, and has shown conclusively the fundamental connection between the use of such currency and the public prosperity of any and every nation. It is a powerful and convincing argument for as speedy a return to specie payments as it is possible to conceive.

#### DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.

The approaching opening of the Centennial Exposition has drawn to the capital the vanguards of that army of strangers who will during the present season pour into the country from all parts of the world. On Monday, May 8th, the Brazilian Emperor, Dom Pedro, was a visitor to the halls of Congress, and seemed to witness with ab-

sorbed attention the proceedings in the impeachment trial then going on. It was a notable occasion, and the reflections arising from the scene must have been mingled with surprise in the imperial mind. One thing is clear: Providence does not permit to any people a scene of unalloyed prosperity, success, and honor. The lights and shades of our glory and our shame chase each other across the national firmament.

#### THE CENTENNIAL.

The great event of the past month, which in common with the whole world has absorbed the attention of Congress, is the ceremony of the opening of the Centennial Exposition on Wednesday, May 10, 1876, at Philadelphia. The members and officials of Congress were among the invited guests, and special trains were provided for conveying them to the grounds. An adjournment from Tuesday to Friday was the consequence. The concourse of people assembled on the great day is variously estimated at from 150,000 to 200,000. The city was crowded with visitors, and the streets profusely decorated with banners and ensigns of every conceivable form, size, and color. The Centennial buildings are on the most magnificent scale, and filled with the products of every considerable nation of the world. The opening ceremonies were simple and grand beyond expression. The music from an orchestra of instruments accompanied by a thousand voices was a most wondrous feature. As the great volume of sound rose up and floated away on the air over the vast multitude the scene was inspiring and sublime beyond description. It would be idle to attempt any detailed account of the arrangements already made for this remarkable undertaking, or of the results which are to flow from it to the remotest ends of the earth. That such an exhibition can be made is proof of the transcendent progress of the world, for in no former age of human history would it have been possible. None of the preceding expositions could compare with this in variety and extent. This is freely admitted on all sides. That our centennial year should be thus signalized is a ground of just pride to every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian.

The two houses of Congress having witnessed the mighty spectacle returned and resumed their labors on Friday, the 12th of May. The tide of time and the rush of events stop for no man, and the interest which was so recently centered upon the city where our Declaration of Independence was signed a hundred years ago is already divided and turned to approaching events, which will decide the political contest on which we are about to enter. Meanwhile the work of

Congress which must be done before the session closes is yet hanging, and the business of legislation goes tardily onward. To manage the affairs of so great a government has become simply a herculean task. Who can venture to predict the condition of the country when another hundred years shall have rolled away. Let us hope the best things, and as faithful and true citizens endeavor to submit our splendid heritage unimpaired.

## STATE ELECTIONS PRECEDING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1876.

Political interest inevitably concentrates itself at the opening of a Presidential campaign on the States which hold during the year regular elections prior to the Presidential election itself. It is not intended to speculate on the chances of any particular candidate or of parties, but to present the facts on which political calculations can properly be made, and then to urge, by reasonable argument and as conclusive citation and illustration as possible, what action may be necessary, or what result may properly be claimed, as helpful or probable in the progress of the principles and policy herein defended and supported. To that end the tables that follow will be of value. It cannot be denied that during the last three years there has been a series of marked rebuffs administered to the party in power. It is not essential to deny that such rebuffs have been the result of dissatisfaction on the part of Republicans themselves. But it is necessary, in order that there may be a right comprehension of the present situation, to call attention to the undeniable fact that a very large proportion of the decreased Republican vote is due to two causes—the indifference always felt in State elections by a very large body of citizens, and the increase in civic absenteeism which has been produced by the reaction inevitable after twelve years and more of continuous public excitement. This latter is a growing evil, and with the increasing activity and importance of our complex busi-

ness and professional interests, threatens to become more serious. A very instructive review can be obtained by a comparison of the voting population in each State as reported by the United States census of 1870, the presidential vote of 1872, and the State votes of 1874-'5-'6. The State elections indicated will show the rising and falling of the feeling to which reference is made.

The receding of this feeling is very apparent. Of the twenty-two elections held since August, 1875, thirteen of them were triumphantly carried by the Republicans. Nine are recorded in the Democratic column. Of these, five, at least, California, Connecticut, New York, Oregon, and Mississippi, ought to be carried for the nominees presented by the National Republican Convention at Cincinnati. The Empire State elected a Republican legislature last year, and the town elections during the present year have shown a remarkable Republican activity, resulting in a general victory. The elections for supervisors are watched with very great care, as indicating the drift of public opinion on the issues of an impending national campaign. Connecticut can be carried by the Republican party with proper local organization and active effort. In California the Republicans united ought to be masters of the situation. In Mississippi there is a legitimate Republican majority of at least 30,000. The shotgun policy pursued therein by the Democratic White League may prevent this majority

from voting; but at any rate an honest effort must be made to vote, and then legislation may be had hereafter to cure with the appropriate punishment such crimes. It must be so framed that even a technical Supreme Court, that divideth on the letter in order to kill the spirit, may not be able to decide it unconstitutional.

Since the Presidential election of 1872, forty-six regular elections have been held. Of these the following table shows that the Democracy or opposition have carried twenty-five, and the Republicans twenty-one. So it appears that in 1873 and '74, the opposition carried fifteen States and the Republicans but eight; while in 1875, and up to April of the current year, (1876,) the Republicans carried thirteen and the Democracy nine; a majority of the latter being fairly, as for the Presidential fight, to be classified among the "doubtful" States, at least.

Besides the regular elections, special polls have been had in the States of Arkansas, (October, 1874,) California, (October, 1875,) Connecticut, (October, 1875,) Missouri, (November, 1875,) and Colorado, (October, 1875.) Of these only that of California was for the election of a State officer. It resulted in a Republican triumph. In Arkansas and Missouri the ballot was for the rejection or ratification of new State constitutions. The Democracy by whom they were framed triumphed at the polls. The vote in each State was very light. The Connecticut vote ratified constitutional amendments framed by a Republican legislature. Nebraska ratified a new State constitution. New Jersey and Kansas approved several amendments, and North Carolina elected a constitutional convention. Each of these results were favorable to the Republican party. North Carolina and Texas are placed in the following table, the former as Democratic. The latter elected State officers and ratified the Bourbon constitution recently framed. It appears, therefore, that out of the fifty-one general and special elections held since that for President in 1872, twenty-seven were carried by the Democracy and twenty-four by the Republicans.

The following statement exhibits at a glance these facts:

*Table showing the party results at the several elections, regular, Congressional, or special, held since the Presidential election of 1872.*

States.	Republican.		Democratic.		Last Presidential elec'n.	
	No.	Years.	No.	Years.	R.	D.
Alabama.....			1	1874-'5	1	...
Arkansas.....			2	1874	2	...
California.....			3	1873-'5	3	...
Connecticut.....			4	1873-'4-'5	4	...
Delaware.....			5	1874	1	...
Florida.....	1	1874			5	...
Georgia.....			6	1874	2	...
Illinois.....	2	1874			6	...
Iowa.....			7	1874	7	...
Kansas.....	3	1873-'4-'5			8	...
Kentucky.....	4	1874			9	...
Louisiana.....			8	1874-'5	3	...
Maine.....	5	1874			10	...
Maryland.....	6	1873-'4-'5			11	...
Massachusetts.....			9	1873-'4-'5	4	...
Michigan.....	7	1873-'5	10	1874	12	...
Minnesota.....	8	1874-'5			13	...
Mississippi.....	9	1873-'4-'5			14	...
Missouri.....	10	1873	11	1875	15	...
Nebraska.....			12	1874	5	...
N. Hamp'sre.....	11	1874-'5			16	...
Nevada.....	12	1873-'5	13	1874	17	...
New York.....	13	1874	14	1874	18	...
New Jersey.....			15	1873-'4-'5	19	...
N. Carolina.....	14	1875	16	1874	20	...
Ohio.....	15	1875	17	1874	21	...
Oregon.....	16	1875	18	1873-'4	22	...
Pennsylvania.....			19	1873-'4-'5	23	...
R. Island.....	17	1873-'5	20	1874	24	...
S. Carolina.....	18	1873-'4-'5			25	...
Tennessee.....	19	1874			26	...
Texas.....			21	1874	6	...
Vermont.....			22	1873-'6	7	...
Virginia.....	20	1874	23	1873	27	...
W. Virginia.....			24	1874	28	...
Wisconsin.....	21	1875	25	1873-'4	29	...
<i>Special Elections.</i>						
Arkansas.....	22	Oct. 1875	26	Oct. 1874	...	...
California.....	23	Nov. 1875			...	...
Connecticut.....			27	Nov. 1875	...	...
Missouri.....					...	...
Colorado.....	24	Oct. 1875			...	...

It will be observed that in the States of Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, that the parties have alternated in triumphs, the latest, however, being with the Republicans. This indicates the re-aroused interest which the Presidential year brings with it, and shows also that merely local disaffections are not always or often to be regarded as evidences of permanent change in national politics. In Nevada the Republicans carried the Representative to Congress and the Democrats the Governor. In California, as in Wisconsin, the opposition success, though set down as Democratic, was in



fact largely composed of disaffected Republicans—made so on railroad issues.

To complete the analysis the following will be of service. It will enable the reader to estimate the probabilities; and to reach reasonable conclusions :

States.	Electo- ral vote.	Republican.	Democratic.	Other votes.	Total vote.	Date of election.
Alabama .....	10	93,928	107,118	.....	201,046	November, 1874.
California .....	6	31,922	61,509	20,752	122,583	September, 1875.
Connecticut .....	6	43,516	51,136	3,948	98,600	April, 1876.
Georgia .....	11	33,161	93,347	.....	126,508	October, 1874.
Indiana .....	11	164,902	182,154	16,233	363,289	October, 1874.
Iowa .....	11	125,638	93,359	565	218,982	October, 1875.
Kentucky .....	11	90,795	126,976	.....	217,771	August, 1875.
Maine .....	7	57,085	53,213	420	110,718	September, 1875.
Nebraska .....	3	31,226	15,091	.....	46,317	October, 1875.
New Hampshire .....	3	41,719	38,154	.....	80,293	March, 1876.
North Carolina .....	10	84,181	98,217	.....	182,398	August, 1874.
Ohio .....	22	297,817	292,273	2,593	592,683	October, 1875.
Oregon .....	3	9,106	9,373	1,182	19,661	November, 1875.
Rhode Island .....	4	33,212	3,472	6,277	42,961	April, 1876.
West Virginia .....	5	33,882	13,298	.....	48,840	October, 1875.
Texas* .....	5	28,874	37,853	.....	66,697	November, 1874.
Colorado† .....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	January, 1876.
	145	1,276,418	1,176,484	60,970	2,513,872	October, 1875.

\*No official statement of the vote for this State is at hand. The election was a special one, called to ratify or reject the new constitution and elect State officers thereunder. The vote was not full, and the Democratic majority about 50,000.

†Colorado voted for delegates to a constitutional convention, and elected a Republican, majority 71.

In further elucidation of the situation the following is presented :

Table showing results of latest elections had in States that hold State elections prior to the general election in November, 1876, with the month of said election.

States.	Repub- lican.	Demo- cratic.	Next elec- tion, when—
Oregon .....	.....	1	June.
Kentucky .....	.....	2	August.
North Carolina .....	1	.....	August.
Alabama .....	.....	3	August.
Maine .....	2	.....	September.
California .....	3	.....	October.
Indiana .....	.....	4	October.
Iowa .....	4	.....	October.
Ohio .....	5	.....	October.
Vermont .....	6	.....	October.
Nebraska .....	7	.....	October.
Georgia .....	.....	5	October.
Colorado* .....	8	.....	.....

\*This Territory has framed its State constitution, and will vote during the summer on its ratification and for State officers. It will then be admitted by proclamation. The Constitutional Convention was carried by the Republicans.

The total vote at the last Presidential election was 6,457,315. The total vote in the above table is very nearly two-fifths of the vote of 1872. By far the larger portion of the total recorded under the head of "other votes"—60,970—will naturally be added to the Republican vote on national questions. If there lingered any doubt of this at the beginning of the present year the conduct of the Confederate Democracy in the House of Representatives must have dispelled it long since. A brief analysis of this vote will illustrate this assertion. The "Independent" vote in California was entirely a local Republican disaffection. That of Indiana in 1874 was nearly of a similar character. The Connecticut vote is one-half at least affiliated, on national questions, with the Republican party. So also with the fragmentary temperance votes in Iowa, Ohio, and New Hampshire. The Rhode Island vote—6,277—is avowedly Republican in character. In Oregon the opposition votes—1,182—were cast for a Republican, the division being personal and local. If 50,000 be taken from this column and added to the Republican total it will not, by any means, be an over-statement. This, then, will make a total division between the parties, as per the latest polls had, in the States above tabulated, as follows :

Republican .....	1,326,418
Democratic .....	1,187,454
Being a Republican majority of .....	138,964

By the figures, as given in the table itself, it will be seen that the Republicans have an actual majority, as follows :

Total Republican vote .....	1,276,418
Total Democratic.....	1,176,484
Total other votes.....	60,970
	<u>1,237,454</u>

Republican majority ..... 38,964

In truth the majority is really much larger. In North Carolina, for instance, the vote of 1875, upon the election of delegates to the constitutional convention, was much heavier than that of the State election of 1874, and resulted in a Republican majority of over 19,000. The Republican vote in Texas was also increased. As part of the *res gestæ*, the following table of votes cast for President in 1872, in the same States as have been embraced already, will be of value :

States.	Grant.	Greeley.	O'Conner.	Other votes.	Total vote.
Ala.....	90,272	79,444	.....	.....	169,716
Cal. ....	54,020	40,718	1,068	.....	95,806
Conn.....	50,638	45,880	204	206	96,928
Georgia ..	62,550	76,356	4,000	.....	142,906
Indiana ..	186,147	163,632	1,417	.....	351,196
Iowa ...	131,566	71,196	2,221	.....	204,983
Ken.....	88,766	99,995	2,374	.....	191,135
Maine....	61,422	29,087	.....	.....	90,509
Nebr'ka ..	18,329	7,812	.....	.....	26,141
N. H.....	37,168	31,424	100	.....	68,692
N. C.....	94,304	69,474	.....	.....	163,778
Ohio.....	281,852	244,321	1,163	2,100	529,436
Oregon....	11,819	7,730	572	.....	20,121
R. I.....	13,665	5,329	.....	.....	18,994
Texas....	47,406	66,500	2,580	.....	116,486
Verm't. ..	41,481	10,927	593	.....	53,001
W. Vir'a ..	32,315	29,451	600	.....	62,366
	<u>1,303,720</u>	<u>1,079,276</u>	<u>16,892</u>	<u>2,306</u>	<u>2,402,194</u>

The foregoing table shows the relative difference of votes as cast in the elections held during 1874 and 1875, and in the spring elections of 1876, as compared with the totals of the Presidential party votes of 1872. The following summary presents an illustration of this :

Parties.	Totals of latest vote from 1874 on.	Total Presidential vote 1872 by parties.	Opposition increase over 1872.	Republican Decrease from 1872.
Republican.	1,276,418	1,303,720	.....	27,302
Democratic.	1,176,484	1,096,168	80,316	.....
Other votes.	60,970	2,306	58,664	.....
	<u>2,513,872</u>	<u>2,402,194</u>	<u>138,980</u>	<u>27,302</u>

Total increase of opposition votes over that of 1872.....	138,980
Decrease of Republican vote from 1872..	<u>27,302</u>

Total increase of the latest votes over that of 1872.....	111,678
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The difference is slight as between the two totals, and if the 50,000 which legitimately belong to the Republican party on all national questions be taken from the 60,970 found in the column of latest votes, and they be added to the Republican vote, it will be found that the national party has not, for a Presidential race, lost a voter, but in reality shows an increase of at least 22,000. Taken for all in all, the prospects of the nominees of the Republican National Convention are quite encouraging.

**MUD THROWING.**—Political mud throwers are hard at work. No reputation is safe from their attacks. Should a saint appear on earth and these political buzzards suspect a leaning toward the Presidency, the saint would soon become a sinner if persistent lying could bring about the transformation. From the present indications the coming campaign, on the part of the Democrats, is to be no exception to the rule—mud throwing against the Republican party in lieu of legitimate argument. It has failed in the past ; it will fail in the future.

**SLANDER.**—The public man who tries to answer every slander set afloat against him will be kept as busy as a thin-skinned fisherman on a salt meadow in mosquito time. He may kill off a dozen tormentors, but a hundred will come to their funeral. Happy is the man who can sit unmoved in the presence of partisan malice, and feel that his record is all right, and that the confidence of the people in his integrity cannot be shaken by the idle breath of slander.

**LUCKY LETTERS.**—Anti-Tilden Democrats are trying to prove that the letter T will not win in the Presidential race. The indications are that all letters will be unlucky in the Democratic alphabet this year. The Centennial year has opened the eyes of the people. Patriotism is to be again called to the front, and this means a glorious Republican victory.



## INDIANA'S WAR GOVERNOR.

The folly of the Confederate Democracy and their associates in Congress becomes every day more evident. Being themselves atheists and unbelievers, in regard to all political principles and acts which purport to be grounded on motives of human well-doing and the welfare of all the people, they cannot of course comprehend the character of the nation they now in part misrepresent. In their vain attempts to besmire the good name of political opponents, and to drag down into the mire of corrupt motives and acts all the heroic services of the war period, they succeed only in re-invoking the sacred associations of that period and re-arousing the slumbering spirit of patriotism and devotion. They illustrate the Hebrew declaration that the "heathen rage and the wicked imagine a vain thing." Commencing with Hill's defense of Andersonville and the Confederate atrocities there, they have run the entire gamut of impolitic absurdities and outrages, until at last Representative Springer, of Illinois, in the vain attempt to become the champion slanderer of his party, evokes the manes of Indiana treason, and brings from the mouth and memory of Senator Oliver P. Morton the following trenchant statement of the conduct of Mr. Springer's friends.

Truly, the brevet Confederates like he of Illinois "work better than they know," in their haste to return to the vomit of that subserviency and sycophancy to the rebel South which has characterized the Northern and Western Democrats.

MR. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask the Secretary to read an article from the New York *World* of last Saturday, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read the paper referred to, if there be no objection.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

MORTON NEXT—ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE'S HONESTY IMPUGNED—ALLEGED MISAPPLICATION OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS.

[Special dispatch to the World.]

WASHINGTON April 28.

Several days ago a correspondent of the *World* was informed that there were important documents in the Second Comptroller's office of the Treasury which would reveal

another Republican presidential candidate, Senator MORRIS, in an unpromising light. The correspondence, whatever it might be, was between MORRIS and one of the State agents in Indiana during the war, and is on file in the Department.

The facts of the case, as alleged, are these. In the Thirty-seventh Congress an act making an appropriation to pay the expenses of transporting and delivering arms and munitions of war to the loyal citizens of the States of which the inhabitants now are or hereafter may be in rebellion against the Government of the United States, and to provide for the expense of organizing them into companies, battalions, regiments, or otherwise, for their own protection against violence, insurrection, invasion, or rebellion, was passed July 31, 1861. Two million dollars were appropriated under this act. It will be observed that the title is very loosely drawn, and is susceptible of various constructions. Among the list of war expenditures in connection with the above is this item: "For supplying transportation and delivery of arms and munitions of war in States in rebellion against the Government of the United States." O. P. MORTON, Governor of Indiana, \$250,000. Indiana was never in rebellion against the Government of the United States, and it was a query why MORRIS should have had \$250,000 when there was no purpose under the statute making the appropriation for which the money could have been legally expended.

It was brought to the attention of the correspondent that in the Indiana Legislature of 1861 some difficulty had occurred between the Democrats and the Republicans. The two parties were a tie in the senate and the Democrats had a majority in the house. The Republican senators broke the quorum to prevent some party legislation, and the time of the session slipped by until compelled to adjourn without the transaction of any business. No appropriations were made, not even for the expenses of running the State government. Everything seemed to be in danger of coming to a stand-still in Indiana, when MORRIS made a trip to Washington, and upon his return to Indianapolis he opened the paymaster's office and began to pay the expenses of the State government. No one except MORRIS's bosom friends knew where he got the money; but very few know to this day. The proper way to have obtained money to run the State machinery would have been to convene the Legislature for the purpose of passing appropriation bills. This the radical MORTON would not do, as the Legislature was Democratic. That MORRIS obtained his money from the two million dollar appropriation above referred to is certain; that he misapplied \$250,000 the correspondence in the Treasury Department will show. Three unsuccessful attempts have been made by members of Congress to obtain this correspondence. Secretary Bristow, perhaps with a desire to avoid doing anything that would injure a candidate in the presidential race, for which he is an aspirant, seems to be unwilling that it shall be made public. Upon the first request for the correspondence Mr. Bristow signified a wish that Mr. MORTON should know what was coming before any steps were taken in the case. The member prosecuting the search acquiesced, and was soon interviewed by MORRIS, who was considerably excited, demanded to know if a public investigation into the affair was to be made, and said he should summon witnesses from Indiana to testify in his behalf. He did telegraph for a man by the name of Sturm, who arrived in this city to-day. Sturm was



arsenal agent in the State during the war. Another attempt to obtain or at least examine the correspondence pertaining to the case will be made on Monday, and Secretary Bristow will do well to open every avenue that can place light on the transaction. It will be investigated by Mr. GROVER's committee on the real-estate pool.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, the President of the United States in the spring of 1863 advanced to me \$250,000 to enable me to carry forward military operations in the State of Indiana. Of this sum I expended \$133,302.91 in the service of the State and with which I charged the State in my settlement with it, and the remaining \$116,697.09 were not expended. This amount I returned to the Treasury of the United States, as is shown by the following voucher and receipt:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *April 11, 1865.*

SIR: Yours of the 6th instant, inclosing a duplicate certificate of deposit issued by the First National Bank of Indianapolis, Indiana, in your favor, No. 360, date of the 6th instant, for \$116,697.09, on account of moneys due and refunded to the United States, has been received.

I am, very respectfully,

GEO. HARRINGTON,  
*Assistant Secretary.*

HON. O. P. MORTON,  
*Indianapolis, Indiana.*

The \$133,302.91 which I had expended on behalf of the State were paid back to the Government by giving the Government credit for that amount upon advances which had been made by the State in the conduct of the war, which advances were duly audited by the Treasury Department and allowed as just and valid claims against the Government in favor of the State. This settlement and final adjustment of the whole sum of \$250,000 are shown by the following voucher and quietus from the office of the Second Auditor of the Treasury:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
SECOND AUDITOR'S OFFICE,  
*November 8, 1865.*

SIR: The charge of \$250,000 on the books of this office on account "supplying arms to loyal citizens in revolted States" has this day been closed on the books of this office, to wit, by a deposit by you of \$116,697.09 and a transfer of \$133,302.91 of funds from the books of the Third Auditor's office to your credit on the books of this office.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
JNO. M. SIMS,  
*for Auditor.*

His Excellency O. P. MORTON,  
*Governor of Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana.*

From these vouchers it will appear that the whole sum of 250,000 was accounted for and repaid to the Government.

It will be proper in this connection to state the circumstances under which the \$250,000 were advanced to me by the President and the use made of it, to show that it was not misapplied.

At the October election in 1862 in Indiana the Democrats carried the State by a majority of over 10,000, electing a large majority

in each branch of the Legislature and their candidates for the State offices. The Democrats had the Legislature, all the State offices, and the judges of the Supreme Court, and possessed the whole power in the State government except the executive. When the Legislature assembled, in the first week in January, 1863, its conduct was characterized by the most intense hostility to the administration and to the prosecution of the war. I sent my message to the two houses on the second day of its session. The Senate received, read, and printed it in the usual way. The House refused to receive it and directed the clerk to return it to me, and on the next day adopted a resolution approving the message of Governor Seymour, of New York.

The revolutionary policy thus inaugurated was pursued with increased violence and open disregard of constitutional obligations. The time was chiefly consumed by the introduction of disloyal resolutions, the utterance of factious and treasonable sentiments, intended to excite the people against the Government and destroy its power to suppress the rebellion. On the 17th of February a bill was introduced into the House which was intended to strip me as Governor of all military power in the State. It provided that all the arms should be placed in the custody of the auditor, treasurer, secretary, and attorney-general of the State, to be kept, issued, or disposed of only by them. It deprived the Governor of all power to call out the militia for any purpose whatever. It provided that all officers of the militia should be appointed and commissioned by these four State officers, and not by the Governor, as required by the constitution of the State. It provided for the repeal of the existing militia law, the dissolution of all brigades, regiments, and companies formed under that law, the surrender of their arms into the hands of the agents to be appointed by the four State officers, and rendered null and void all outstanding commissions. In short, this bill transferred to the four State officers the military power which was vested in the Governor by the constitution, was revolutionary and unconstitutional in every feature, and intended for disloyal purposes. The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time by a strict party vote.

The legislative history of this bill could not be better given than in language employed by the Union members of the Legislature in their "Address to the people of the State:—"

The military bill had come from the midnight caucus to the House; had been printed and forced to its engrossment without the change of a word or letter, all amendments and substitutes had been voted down; all references to committees had been refused, although every other bill of a general charac-

ter that had gone to a second reading had been referred to some committee; the previous question had been sustained, the gag applied, and all debate cut off, and the bill engrossed. Nothing was left for us but to sit by and see this infamous measure passed through, the revolution consummated, and civil war begun, or to quietly retire and leave the house without a quorum; there was no other peaceful and constitutional remedy. If it had been left to the courts to annul it before the question could have been determined the law would have done its work.

The military power once in the hands of the conspirators, it would be a matter of no importance what the courts might decide; and if the question took the course of others before the Supreme Court it might be months or years before the decision was made. The path of duty was the path of safety, and we had no doubt nor hesitation as to the course we should pursue.

We were willing and anxious and repeatedly proposed to the majority to return and pass the appropriation bills with all other legitimate and lawful legislation; but they replied to us contemptuously that they intended to pass every one of their ultra measures before they took up the appropriation bills.

The military bill violated absolutely no less than seven plain and vital provisions of the State constitution, and subverted entirely the scheme of government invented by the framers of that instrument. Its passage would have been an act of revolution inevitably attended by civil war and a collision with the Government of the United States.

It had become manifest that the Democratic members of the Legislature were determined to pass the bill at all hazards, which would unquestionably have resulted in civil war. I could not and would not surrender my powers as Governor under the constitution, nor could the Government of the United States afford to have me do so, for the purpose of the proceeding was to neutralize the position of Indiana in the war and to take her out of the line of loyal States Northwest of the Ohio river. The very pendency of the bill and the avowed purpose to pass it caused the most intense ferment, and at once threatened the peace and safety of the State. I could veto the bill, but a simple majority could pass it over the veto, so that that would amount to nothing. The Republicans had barely enough members in the House of Representatives to break the quorum and break up the Legislature. Consultations were had with the Republican members of the Legislature and leading Republican citizens from different parts of the State, who were summoned for that purpose, and it was the deliberate judgment of all, in which mine fully concurred, that the passage of the bill would involve the State in civil war. The Republican members of the House therefore withdrew from the body to prevent the final passage of the bill. All the appropriation bills to carry on the State government, except one to pay the per diem and mileage of members, had been kept behind this military bill, so that when the Legislature adjourned there

were no appropriations made for any civil or military purpose. There was plenty of money in the State treasury, but it was locked against me. I made an appeal to the people of the State, setting forth the situation and asking them to furnish me with money to carry on the State government, to support the militia, and organize troops for the United States. The county commissioners in the county of Marion, in which the capital is located, came forward and advanced me \$20,000 out of the county treasury. This example was followed by many other counties in the State, by several banks, railroad companies, and by individuals, until a large sum of money had been raised. Under the constitution the Legislature met but once in two years unless convened in extra session by the Governor, and the next session in course would not begin until January, 1865.

After obtaining all the money I could from the counties and other sources, I made a calculation and found that I would lack about \$250,000 to carry me through to January, 1865, and to make my position secure came to Washington to see if I could not obtain that amount from the Government of the United States. After a careful review of the situation by the President, Mr. Lincoln, and the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, the President advanced me the sum of \$250,000. They both agreed that Indiana was threatened with rebellion and that the condition of the State came directly within the letter and spirit of the act of Congress approved July 31, 1861. Mr. Stanton declared to the President with great emphasis that if Indiana lost her position as a loyal State the final success of the Government in suppressing the rebellion would be endangered, and that the Governor must be sustained at whatever cost or hazard. The history and character of the transaction is shown by the following extract from my annual message to the Legislature of Indiana in January, 1865:

Upon the adjournment of the Legislature I found myself unprovided, with the exception of a small balance of the military contingent fund, with money or appropriations for military purposes. New regiments could not be raised under the requisitions of the Government, nor recruiting carried forward, without the use of large sums of money. The legion (militia) had received no pay for their services from the beginning of the war, and the organization could not be successfully continued unless payment was made, and the men reimbursed for their actual expenditures, for which the appropriation for the legion fund, made in 1861, was inadequate. The southern border was still disturbed by threats and danger of invasion, and such steps were to be taken, if possible, as would guarantee peace and security to our people. In this dilemma, I determined to apply to the President for an advance under an appropriation made by Congress, on the 31st of July, 1861, which act is in these words:

*"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America*



*in Congress assembled*, That the sum of \$2,000,000 be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be expended, under the direction of the President of the United States, in supplying and defraying the expenses of transporting and delivering such arms and munitions of war as in his judgment may be expedient and proper, to place in the hands of any of the loyal citizens residing in any of the States, of which the inhabitants are in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or in which the rebellion is, or may be threatened, and likewise for defraying such expenses as may be properly incurred in organizing and sustaining, while so organized, any of such citizens into companies, battalions, regiments, or otherwise, for their own protection against domestic violence, insurrection, invasion, or rebellion."

After a full consideration of the condition of affairs in Indiana, the President advanced to me, as a disbursing officer, out of said appropriation, the sum of \$250,000. It will be perceived that this money was not paid to me as a loan to the State or an advance to the State upon debts due to her from the General Government, and creates no debt against the State whatever, but that in theory it is an expenditure made by the president, through me, as his disbursing agent. It has, however, been disbursed exclusively in the name and for the benefit of the State, in the payment of necessary military expenses, for which the State should have made ample appropriations. I have advanced to the paymaster of the State forces, at different times, the sum of \$171,661.88, of which the greater portions, however, has been reimbursed to me by the General Government, upon my filing, in the proper Department, the receipted pay-rolls of the Indiana legion for services rendered in the war. For a detailed account of the expenditures of the military fund the Legislature is referred to the financial report of Hon. W. H. H. Terrell, financial secretary, which is herewith submitted, and to the vouchers on file in this department. All of these expenditures were laid before the auditing committee, appointed by the late Legislature, for examination, and received their approval. As will be shown by the report, I had on hand, on the 1st day of January, 1865, of the military fund, the sum of \$115,487.28, and the question is now presented as to the proper method of settlement with the Government for this fund. One of two ways may be adopted. First, by returning to the Government the balance of the fund unexpended, and by settling with it for the amount expended, upon vouchers of expenditures, after the same shall have been approved by the Legislature, and this would be in accordance with the theory upon which the money was originally advanced by the President. Second, by paying into the State treasury the unexpended part of the fund, and treating the whole as an advance to the State, to be accounted for by her in her general settlement with the Government for advances made. This latter plan is, in my judgment, more consonant with justice and the honor of the State, the money having been expended for purposes for which the State was honorably and patriotically bound to make provision.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

The total amount of cash received by me is.....	\$1,026,321.31
I have disbursed—	
For civil purposes, on vouchers.....	\$199,644.93
For military purposes, on vouchers.....	702,420.15
Total.....	902,065.08
Leaving a balance in my hands of..	124,256.23

Of this balance, \$8,768.95 belong to the funds received on account of civil expenses and \$115,487.28 on account of funds received for military expenses.

In conclusion on this subject, I respectfully request that a joint committee of the two houses be speedily appointed to investigate the civil and military expenditures I have made since the adjournment of the last Legislature, and to examine the vouchers for the same on file in my department, and that the Legislature will make prompt provision for the repayment of the money I have borrowed for public purposes. It was advanced from patriotic motives, with a full reliance upon the good faith of the State for its reimbursement, and without it the machinery of the State government could not have been kept in motion.

A joint committee of the two houses, embracing some of the ablest Democratic members, was appointed, as requested in my message, who patiently investigated all my accounts, including the expenditure of \$133,302.91 which I had obtained from the President, and unanimously reported them correct, taking no exception even to the amount of one cent. The unexpended portion of the \$250,000 which I had received from the President and which I described in my message as the military fund, but which was erroneously stated in the message as \$115,000 instead of \$116,000, I did not pay into the State treasury, as suggested in the message, but refunded directly to the General Government, as before shown; and the \$133,302.91 which I had expended for the State were settled with the Government by giving credit to the Government for that amount on the indebtedness of the Government to the State, as before shown. After the full examination of my accounts the Legislature made appropriations to pay my borrowed money and the debts I had contracted; also the sum of about \$600,000—the exact amount, however, I am not able to state from memory—which I procured Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., of New York, to advance in the payment of the interest upon the bonds of the State during the years 1863 and 1864, the payment of which interest had been withheld by the auditor and treasurer of the State. During these two years all payments for civil and military expenses of the State, including the benevolent institutions and the penitentiaries and excepting only the salaries of public officers, were paid upon my own check through a financial bureau established in my office, the State auditor and State treasurer declining all co-operation.

My course was approved by the people of Indiana by my re-election as Governor in October, 1864, by a majority of more than 20,000, and by the election of a Republican Legislature and Republican State officers. The intermediate history between the events I have described in the spring of 1863 and the meeting of the Legislature in January, 1865, I will refer to but briefly, although it



is extraordinary in its character and unlike that of any other State.

The State was honey-combed with secret societies formerly known as Knights of the Golden Circle, but at that time as Sons of Liberty. They claimed in 1864 to have 40,000 members in the State, were lawless, defiant, plotting treason against the United States and the overthrow of the State Government. In some counties their operations were so formidable as to require the militia to be kept on a war footing, and throughout 1863 and until the final explosion and exposure of the organization in August, 1864, kept the whole State in an uproar and alarm. So bold were their demonstrations through the summer of 1863 that General John Morgan, of Kentucky, was induced to invade the State with his forces, in the belief that there would be a general uprising in his support. In 1864, so numerous were these treasonable organizations and so confident were they of their strength, that they matured a plan for a general uprising in the city of Indianapolis on the 16th of August, to be under cover of a mass meeting of the Democratic party, to be attended by the members of these organizations from all parts of the State. The plan, as shown by subsequent confessions of some of the leading conspirators, was on that day to release about seven thousand rebel prisoners confined in Camp Morton, seize the arsenal and arm these prisoners, overturn the State Government, and take possession of the State. This plan could not be kept secret. It was developed some three weeks before the time fixed, and was abandoned by the leading conspirators, and orders issued countermanding the march of their forces upon Indianapolis. Subsequently the discovery and seizure of a large amount of arms and ammunition collected at Indianapolis for treasonable purposes, and the seizure of the records and rituals of the order of the Sons of Liberty, giving the names of the principal conspirators, and the arrest of some eight of the ringleaders, had the effect to break up and destroy the power of the organization; and I regret to have to state that in the list of the principal members of this organization were found the names of three of the State officers, into whose hands the Legislature of 1863 had attempted to place the whole military power of the State. Upon the trial of these ringleaders before a military tribunal appointed by the President under an act of Congress, some of them turned State's evidence and disclosed the full character and extent of the conspiracy. Four of them were convicted and sentenced to death, one of whom made his escape; another was pardoned outright by President Johnson, and two others, Bowles and Milligan, had their punishment commuted by

President Johnson to imprisonment for life, but were afterward released by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that the military commission had no jurisdiction to try them for the offense. There is a large volume of unpublished history showing in detail the operations of these organizations, who were their aiders and abettors, and the connection they had with the politics of the day.

It may be proper to state here that the Democratic Legislature of 1863, before its sudden adjournment, had appointed an auditing committee of its own members to audit and supervise all of my accounts and expenditures for military purposes, which sat almost continuously until January, 1865, and that this committee did audit and approve every one of my expenditures, including that of the \$133,302.91 of the fund obtained from the President. The same Legislature also appointed a committee to investigate all my expenditures and accounts from the beginning of the war up to January, 1863. This investigation was prosecuted with great diligence until late in the spring of 1863, and after the breaking up of the Legislature. Failing to find anything wrong in my accounts, to the amount of even one cent, the Democratic majority of the committee refused to make any report at all; but the Republican minority made a report indorsing and sustaining my official conduct in every particular.

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THE TRADE of California and China, as carried on through the port of San Francisco, shows the following results:

The total of imports from that country for 1875 was \$4,688,797; of exports, \$3,542,720, divided about as follows: Imports of coffee, \$162,823; of opium, \$757,640; of rice, \$1,141,462; of silk, raw and manufactured, \$315,706; of sugar, \$183,656; of tea, \$518,926; miscellaneous, \$1,608,584. Exports of flour, \$571,271; of ginseng, \$577,109; of gold and silver coin and bullion, \$5,674,907; of potatoes, \$13,315; of quicksilver, \$942,522; of all other commodities, \$605,569. The imports fell off \$26,875 over 1874, but the exports increased \$717,865. This year the increase of exports promises to be still greater.

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THE Chamber of Commerce of Charleston, South Carolina, on May 16th, adopted resolutions opposing the passage of the bill to carry into effect the Hawaiian treaty on the ground that the removal of duty on rice will seriously injure the rice planters and throw out of employment thousands of colored laborers. A delegation was appointed to proceed to Washington and lay the facts before the Senate.

## THE UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

There is perhaps, no Department of the Government in which the people of the country have a greater interest than that of the Patent Office. It is through its operations that the most humble as well as the most prominent inventor finds full and adequate protection for the products of his brain work, and secures to himself for a stated term of years the emoluments and benefits arising from his genius and industry. The system of securing to men of genius the fruits of their own labor is highly commendable, and while it thus protects the inventor in that which is unquestionably his own, it works no injustice to other individuals or to the community at large, but, on the contrary, stimulates trade and manufactures, and opens up avenues for investment, and gives employment to both capital and labor. On this point General Leggett, Commissioner of Patents in 1873, in his annual report to Congress, wrote as follows:

"The inventive genius of our people has largely contributed to the enormous growth in the manufacturing interests of our country during the last twenty-five years. By as careful an inquiry as I have been able to make, without legal authority to obtain exact figures, I am satisfied that fully nine-tenths of all the capital invested in manufacturing in the United States is thus invested because of the security given to it by patents. Very few men are willing to invest their money in manufacturing if, when they have established a market and rendered their articles of manufacture popular, other establishments may be built up in their immediate vicinity, and compete with them in the market, and reap the advantages of their pioneer work. Consequently, manufacturers have sought patents to cover the principal articles they manufacture, thus securing a specialty that will be certain to give them a remunerative market. This fact has given to patents a largely-increased importance, and added much to their commercial value."

The protection by law of inventive genius was not known to the ancients, nor is it at present practiced outside of our own country and Europe. In England it is but little more than two centuries since such laws were enacted, and in France the first law looking to the protection of inventors was

promulgated in 1790. In the United States the first statute extending such protection was passed by Congress in 1793. Numerous laws have since been enacted to perfect the system and meet the growing demands of the business of the office.

Among the thousands of patents that are annually issued from the Patent Office there are many that are worthless, while others are really valuable and useful. There are now comparatively few articles of manufacture that are not patented. The pen with which we write, the process of manufacturing the ink and paper, and the machinery with which they are made, the press on which these papers are printed, and the appliances with which this book is bound are all protected by letters patent. As you look about your own household almost every article that meets your gaze, from the kitchen stove and coal-hod to the indispensable sewing machine and the grand piano that adorns your parlor, are all the products of inventive genius, and are protected, in whole or in part, by patents. The same is true of agricultural implements, of vehicles, and the mechanical industries.

In speaking of the inventive genius of the American people General Leggett says:

"As mere mechanics and copyists our people are greatly excelled by the older nations; but in useful and labor-saving inventions the people of the United States excel all others. It is difficult to overestimate the extent to which our country is indebted to the genius and industry of our inventors. No other nation has done so much to secure to its inventors the results of their brain labor. In no other country have the legislatures and courts been so liberal and just in affording protection to the peculiar class of property covered by patents for inventions. The rich development of valuable inventions which have so distinguished our country is largely due to our recognition of the just rights of inventors."

If he who lightens the burdens of the laboring classes, and at the same time produces greater results with less physical effort, may be considered a public benefactor then the inventor of the sewing machine, the reaper, and other equally important labor-saving machines, must stand pre-eminent.



Notwithstanding the prejudice against "patent rights" that is known to exist among certain people, there are few, if any, who would willingly see these labor-saving machines swept out of existence.

To show the amount of business done by the Patent Office for the year 1875, we subjoin the following official statement:

Number of applications for patents during the year 1875 .....	21,638
Number of patents issued, including reissues and designs .....	14,837
Number of applications for extension of patents .....	2
Number of patents extended .....	38
Number of caveats filed during the year .....	3,094
Number of patents expired during the year .....	1,323
Number of patents allowed but not issued for want of final fee .....	3,518
Number of applications for registering of trade-marks .....	1,055
Number of trade-marks registered .....	1,138
Number of applications for registering of labels .....	566
Number of labels registered .....	313

Of the patents granted there were to—  
 Citizens of the United States ..... 14,274 || Subjects of Great Britain ..... | 358 |
| Subjects of France ..... | 83 |
| Subjects of other foreign governments .. | 122 |

The subject-matter of these patents are classified into 145 general classes, and subdivided into 8,000 smaller classes. 174,000 patents have been issued since 1836.

The following is a financial statement of the office for the same year:

#### *Moneys received.*

Amount received on applications for patents, reissues, designs, extensions, caveats, disclaimers, appeals, and trade-marks .....	\$670,180 00
Amount received for copies of specifications, drawings, and other papers .....	45,380 85
Amount received for recording assignments .....	18,012 18
Amount received for subscriptions to the Official Gazette .....	6,646 33
Amount received for registration of labels .....	2,334 00
Total .....	743,453 36

#### *Moneys expended.*

Amount paid for salaries .....	\$430,218 00
Amount paid for photolithographing current issues .....	46,986 59
Amount paid for photolithographing back issues .....	67,322 91
Amount paid for illustrations for Gazette .....	49,428 34
Amount paid for tracings of drawings .....	34,072 90
Amount paid for contingent and miscellaneous expenses, viz:	
Stationery .....	\$16,599 27
Painting, glazing, varnishing, paper-hanging, &c. ..	1,067 21
Furniture, carpeting, &c. ..	8,593 96
Fitting up cases in model-rooms, carpenter's work, and repairing furniture ..	20,073 33
Plumbing and gas-fitting ..	1,054 17
English patents and foreign periodicals .....	1,793 44

Hardware .....	\$2,269 61
Pay of temporary clerks ..	29,512 52
Miscellaneous items, viz:	
Books for library, ice, subscriptions to journals, freight, washing towels, withdrawals, money refunded paid by mistake, repairing carriage and harness, keeping horse, advertising, &c .....	11,765 46
	\$92,728 97
Total .....	721,657 71

*Balance in the Treasury of the United States on account of the patent fund.*

Amount to the credit of the patent fund January 1, 1875 .....	\$965,113 97
Amount of receipts during the year 1875 .....	743,453 36
Total .....	1,608,567 33
From which deduct expenditures for the year 1875 .....	721,657 71

Balance January 1, 1876 .....

It will be seen by the foregoing statement that the Patent Office is not only self-sustaining, but has to its credit in the United States Treasury the snug sum of \$886,909.62.

The following table presents an interesting feature in regard to the inventive genius of the country, and is worthy of more than a casual glance:

*Number of patents issued by the United States Patent Office to residents of the different States, Territories, and Foreign Countries, from January 1, 1875, to December 31, 1875.*

[The proportion of patents to population is shown in last column.]

States, &c.	No. of patents.	One to every—
Alabama .....	31	32,161
Arizona Territory .....	2	4,829
Arkansas .....	11	44,042
California .....	399	1,404
Colorado Territory .....	36	1,107
Connecticut .....	706	761
Dakota Territory .....	3	4,727
Delaware .....	44	2,841
District of Columbia .....	214	615
Florida .....	7	26,821
Georgia .....	63	18,795
Idaho Territory .....	1	14,999
Illinois .....	1,098	2,313
Indiana .....	378	4,462
Iowa .....	315	3,790
Kansas .....	66	5,521
Kentucky .....	142	9,303
Louisiana .....	103	7,057
Maine .....	158	3,904
Maryland .....	290	3,003
Massachusetts .....	1,846	787
Michigan .....	405	2,923
Minnesota .....	146	3,011
Mississippi .....	38	21,787
Missouri .....	362	4,754
Montana Territory .....	4	9,974
Nebraska .....	22	5,833
Nevada .....	16	3,669
New Hampshire .....	127	2,506
New Jersey .....	656	1,534
New Mexico Territory .....	3	37,101
New York .....	3,771	1,163
North Carolina .....	37	23,959



*Number of patents issued, etc.—Continued.*

States, &c.	No. of patents.	One to every—
Ohio.....	1,091	2,443
Oregon.....	22	4,631
Pennsylvania.....	2,034	1,728
Rhode Island.....	229	943
South Carolina.....	46	17,513
Tennessee.....	117	10,765
Texas.....	118	6,939
Utah Territory.....	5	19,916
Vermont.....	122	2,709
Virginia.....	101	12,130
Washington Territory.....	3	12,710
West Virginia.....	48	9,209
Wisconsin.....	284	3,743
Wyoming Territory.....	2	5,759
Great Britain.....	371	.....
France.....	91	.....
Other foreign countries.....	123	.....
United States Army.....	5	.....
United States Navy.....	1	.....
United States in general.....	.....	2,412

On the 15th of December, 1836, the Patent Office, together with most of the records, were destroyed by fire. As it was impossible to repair the loss, the records of the office prior to that year are necessarily incomplete. The following is a comparative statement of the business of the office from 1837 to 1875, inclusive:

Year	Applications.	Caveats filed.	Patents issued.	Cash received.	Cash expended.
1837.....	.....	.....	435	\$29,289 08	\$33,506 98
1838.....	.....	.....	520	42,123 54	37,402 10
1839.....	.....	.....	425	37,260 00	34,543 51
1840.....	735	228	473	38,056 51	30,020 67
1841.....	847	312	495	40,413 01	52,666 87
1842.....	761	391	517	36,505 68	31,241 48
1843.....	819	315	531	35,315 81	30,776 96
1844.....	1,045	380	502	42,509 26	36,244 73
1845.....	1,246	452	502	51,076 14	39,395 65
1846.....	1,272	448	619	50,264 16	46,158 71
1847.....	1,531	553	572	63,111 19	41,878 35
1848.....	1,628	607	660	67,576 69	58,905 84
1849.....	1,955	595	1,070	80,752 98	77,716 44
1850.....	2,193	602	995	86,927 05	80,100 95
1851.....	2,258	760	869	95,758 61	86,916 93
1852.....	1,639	996	1,020	112,656 34	95,916 91
1853.....	2,673	901	958	121,527 45	132,869 83
1854.....	3,324	868	1,902	163,789 84	167,146 32
1855.....	4,435	906	2,024	216,459 35	179,540 33
1856.....	4,960	1,024	2,502	192,588 02	199,931 02
1857.....	4,771	1,010	2,910	196,132 01	211,582 09
1858.....	5,364	934	3,710	203,716 16	193,193 74
1859.....	6,225	1,097	4,583	245,942 15	210,278 41
1860.....	7,653	1,084	4,819	256,352 59	252,820 80
1861.....	4,643	700	3,340	137,354 44	221,491 91
1862.....	5,038	824	3,521	195,754 99	182,810 39
1863.....	6,014	787	4,170	215,593 29	189,414 14
1864.....	6,932	1,063	5,020	240,919 98	229,868 00
1865.....	10,664	1,937	6,616	348,791 84	274,199 34
1866.....	15,269	2,723	9,450	495,065 38	361,724 28
1867.....	21,276	3,597	13,015	640,581 92	639,263 32
1868.....	20,420	3,705	13,378	681,565 86	628,679 77
1869.....	19,271	3,624	13,986	693,145 81	486,430 78
1870.....	19,171	3,273	13,321	699,456 76	557,149 19
1871.....	19,472	3,366	13,063	678,716 46	560,595 08
1872.....	18,246	3,090	13,590	699,726 39	665,591 36
1873.....	20,414	3,248	12,864	703,191 77	691,178 98
1874.....	21,602	3,181	13,599	738,278 17	679,288 41
1875.....	21,638	3,094	16,288	743,453 36	721,637 71

The foregoing table shows accurately the business of the office for the time specified—the number of applications, the number of caveats filed, the number of patents issued, and the amount of cash received and expended. For the last few years the expenses of the office have been increased by the reproduction of old drawings, which are now being first traced and then photographed, which, when completed, will make a uniform set of records and greatly facilitate the current work.

As an indication of the growing increase in the business of the office since the first of January last we present the following statement of moneys received and expended, applications and caveats filed, and patents granted during January, February, March, and April, 1876:

Date.	Applica-tions filed.	Caveats filed.	Patents granted.	Cash received.	Cash expended.
January, 1876.....	2,173	267	1,391	\$72,070 40	\$52,624 30
February, 1876.....	2,337	305	1,914	74,651 62	52,076 34
March, 1876.....	2,575	345	1,441	80,459 07	56,553 16
April, 1876.....	2,268	234	1,498	68,415 19	53,955 54

*Statement of receipts and expenditures during the quarters ending March 31, 1875 and 1876.*

Month.	1875. Receipts.	1875. Expenditures.
January.....	\$61,385 22	\$60,991 68
February.....	60,116 24	50,364 91
March.....	70,122 36	63,397 45
	191,623 82	174,754 04

Excess of receipts over expenses March 31, 1875, \$16,869 78.

Month.	1876. Receipts.	1876. Expenditures.
January.....	\$72,070 40	\$52,624 30
February.....	74,651 62	52,076 34
March.....	80,459 07	56,553 16
	227,181 09	161,253 80

Excess of receipts over expenses March 31, 1876, \$65,927 29.

Total amount of appropriation proposed by the Committee on Appropriations for the next fiscal year, \$695,220.

Total amount of receipts for the year 1875, \$743,453.

The above, taken as a standard, shows an excess of receipts over expenses of \$48,233.

Estimated receipts for 1876, \$800,000.

## THE PATENT OFFICE AND THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.

Judge Duell, the present able and efficient Commissioner of Patents, with commendable promptness and pride, has completed extensive preparations to have the office as fully represented at the exhibition as the space allotted to him will permit. The room assigned to the use of the Patent Office contains 10,000 square feet, from which aisles and passage-ways are to be deducted, leaving but about 4,000 square feet for actual use in the exhibition of models. Under the immediate supervision of Mr. E. H. Knight, who has been intrusted with these responsibilities, there have already been selected and sent to the Exhibition about 5,000 models. These embrace all the principal classes, such as agriculture, (of which harvesters is the principal feature,) steam, wood-working, metallurgy, and metal working, navigation, (including a model of the first steam propeller that crossed the ocean,) civil engineering, land conveyance, (vehicles,) railways, hoisting, mills and presses, mechanical movements, journals and bearings, textile, (including the model of Whitney's original cotton gin, patented in 1791,) sewing machines, calorifics, chemistry, electricity, (including Morse's original model of the telegraph apparatus,) leather working, clay, stone working, printing, household, &c.

The old screw printing press on which Dr. Franklin worked in London in 1724, and which has been standing in the Museum of the Patent Office since 1842, is on exhibition in contrast with the Web printing machine.

The great feature of the exhibition will be the "Patent Office in miniature," which will contain a complete set of files, records, blanks, &c., for the transaction of the daily routine business of the office. This will show the *modus operandi* of obtaining patents in the United States, and the business will be conducted in strict conformity to the rules and practice governing the business of the national Patent Office. The "miniature" will be supplied with a corps of competent officers and clerks, who will make it a specialty to explain to visitors the whole minutiae of the system.

The indefatigable efforts of the Commissioner, and of those gentlemen whom he has called to his assistance, to make this branch of the exhibition both attractive and interesting, and to successfully demonstrate the practical working of the office under the laws and rules regulating the same must meet with popular approbation.

## Raw Silk.

According to statistics compiled by Dr. Engel, director of the Berlin Bureau of Statistics, the production of raw silk during the years 1872, 1873, and 1874 was as follows:

Countries.	1872.	1873.	1874.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
France .....	1,401,000	1,207,800	1,608,200
Italy .....	6,875,000	5,139,200	6,292,000
Spain .....	376,200	286,000	309,300
Turkey .....	243,500	415,600	811,800
Syria .....	236,500	330,000	375,600
Greece .....	14,080	39,600	28,600
Georgia, Persia, and Kurdistan...	242,000	697,400	880,000
China, (exports)...	7,447,000	6,819,800	8,096,000
Japan, (exports)...	1,536,200	1,579,400	1,219,000
East Indies, (ex- ports) .....	1,262,800	1,069,200	935,000
Total .....	19,685,000	17,584,000	20,547,000

This leaves out California, which has of late years produced an appreciable amount of raw silk, manufacturing the same also.

INCREASE OF WEALTH IN ENGLAND.—A recent British Parliamentary return which has just been issued gives an effective bird's-eye view of the progress of that nation in material wealth since 1814. In that year the gross annual value of the lands, houses, quarries, mines, canals, and gasworks of Great Britain was £60,138,330; in 1844—and here we get fairly into the railway era—it had mounted to £95,300,248. The figures for 1854 embrace the United Kingdom, and cannot, therefore, properly be compared with those for 1814 and 1844. The necessary corrections for Ireland can, however, be roughly made without much difficulty. The valuation for 1854 is stated at £124,871,885; ten years afterwards it stood at £161,397,345; and in 1873, the total was £212,922,851. So with incomes from trades and professions. The ascertained total in 1814 was £37,058,989; in 1844 it was £65,095,191; in 1854, £91,280,131; in 1864, £124,075,550; and in 1873, £197,237,339.



## ADDRESS TO THE GERMAN RADICALS AND REPUBLICANS OF THE UNION, AND TO THE GERMAN FREE PRESS.

The great danger which threatens the Republic, in the increasing power of the reactionary Democratic party, demands a harmonious co-operation of progressive German-Americans and a vigorous opposition to the Democracy.

The Democratic party is the decided enemy of national education, which unquestionably forms the foundation of all intellectual, political, and industrial progress of the Republic; the Democratic party, in league with the dark forces of Vaticanism, seeks to demolish those thoroughly Republican institutions, the public schools; the Democratic party denies the American nationality and declares literally, "that every true Democrat utters the detestable word 'Nation' only with disgust;" it places the sovereign States *above* the nation; the Democratic party is in continued rebellion against the achievements of the late bloody war of secession; the equal political and civil rights guaranteed to all citizens have already been brought to naught in the Southern States by the Democratic party; the purity of the ballot-box has been defiled by it, with the murder of many thousands of Republicans; the honor and credit of the nation is threatened and endangered by a Democratic inflation of rag money. In short, the Democratic party is the reactionary and Bourbonistic element of the Republic, having its head center in the rebel States, which are still spurring out the poison of sectional hate at the Union.

In the forthcoming important election, two and only two parties are opposed to each other: the Democratic and the Republican. To prevent the impending danger of a Democratic victory, a coalition of all liberal-minded Germans with the Republican party is necessary. Every breach will be a gain for the Democratic party.

Notwithstanding the wrongs and errors which Republican politicians have committed, the Republican party has nevertheless always proclaimed and defended progressive principles. Its principles are: equal rights to all; the resumption of specie payments;

the maintenance of the honor and credit of the nation by prompt payment of the public debt in coin; civil service reform; national sovereignty above State sovereignty; national education and the free public school system, prohibiting the division of public school funds for sectarian purposes; the purity of the ballot-box, the guarantee of the elective franchise, as well as of the attainments of the late war.

The core of the Republican party is sound and capable of progression.

On the 14th of June next the Republican party will assemble in National Convention at Cincinnati. The German element will then have an opportunity of making, by a hearty co-operation, its influence for national progress felt. We therefore propose that the German Radicals and Republicans, personally or by representatives, convene in Cincinnati on the 10th day of June, reporting at the office of the Cincinnati *Freie Presse*. Subjects of the highest importance will present themselves for the consideration of this convention. We mention only the following: the labor question, the emigration and naturalization question, the Presidency, the accountability of Representatives, religious, social, and industrial liberty, the taxation of church property, etc.

We request of such German papers as coincide with the import and object of this address to support our proposition, and earnestly co-operate for the accomplishment thereof.

### THE GERMAN REPUBLICAN CLUB.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 3, 1876.

CARL ROESER, JR.,  
*President.*

C. F. SCHMIDT,  
J. H. SCHULTHEISS,  
*Vice Presidents.*

L. EISINGER,  
*Recording Secretary.*

CARL STIERLIN,  
*Corresponding Secretary.*

DR. F. W. BOGEN,  
*Treasurer.*



## RELATIONS OF THE STATE TO RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

ANALYTICAL SUMMARY OF ALL THE PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES; ALSO THE PROVISIONS OF LAW IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND OF THE SEVERAL TERRITORIES BEARING UPON THE CHURCH, THE STATE, AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

## Second Division.

## PART IV.—Public or Private Support of Religion.

The Legislature is empowered to authorize the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies to make adequate provisions, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality. (Obselete.)—*N. H.*, 1792.

No person or sect shall be compelled to pay toward the support of the teachers of another sect or denomination.—*N. H.*, 1792.

No man ought to, or of right can, be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any minister, contrary to the dictates of his conscience.—*Vt.*, 1793.

No person shall by law be compelled to join or support, or be classed with or associated to, any congregation, church, or religious association.—*Conn.*, 1818.

No man shall be compelled to attend any religious worship.—*Del.*, 1831.

No man shall be compelled to contribute to the erection or support of any place of worship, or to the maintenance of any ministry, against his own free will and consent.—*Del.*, 1831.

No man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Pa.*, 1838.

No man shall be compelled to frequent or to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, except in fulfillment of his own voluntary contract.—*R. I.*, 1842.

No person shall, under any pretense whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his faith and judgment.—*N. J.*, 1844.

Nor shall any person be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for building or repairing churches or other places of worship, or for the maintenance of any ministry.—*N. J.*, 1844.

Nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Wis.*, 1848.

The Legislature shall pass no law to com-

pel any person to attend, erect, or support any place of religious worship.—*Mich.*, 1850.

Or to pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for the support of any minister of the people or teacher of religion.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Ky.*, 1850.

No person shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or maintain any form of worship, against his consent.—*Ohio*, 1850–51.

No man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Ind.*, 1851.

No person shall be compelled to attend any place of worship, pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for building or repairing places of worship, or the maintenance of any minister or ministry.—*Iowa*, 1857.

Nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any religious or ecclesiastical ministry, against his consent.—*Minn.*, 1857–8.

Nor shall any person be compelled to attend or support any form of worship.—*Kansas*, 1857.

No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever.—*W. Va.*, 1861–72.

No person shall be compelled to erect, support, or attend any place of worship, or maintain any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion.—*Mo.*, 1865.

No person ought to be compelled to frequent or maintain any place of worship or any ministry.—*Md.*, 1867.

No man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Texas*, 1869.

No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent.—*Ill.*, 1870.

No man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any minister, against his consent.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever.—*Va.*, 1870.

The General Assembly (the Legislature, *W. Va.*) shall not enact or pass any law requiring or authorizing any religious society, or the people of any district within this Commonwealth (*W. Va.*, State) to levy on themselves or others any tax for the erection or repair of any house of public worship, or for the support of any church or ministry.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861-72.

But it shall be left free to every person to select his religious instructor, and to make for his support such private contract as he shall please.—*Va.* 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861-72.

#### *Religious Protection.*

Every denomination of *Christians* demeaning themselves quietly, and as good subjects of the State, shall be equally under the protection of the law.—*N. H.*, 1792.

All religious societies, or bodies of men that may be hereafter united or incorporated for the advancement of religion and learning, or for other religious and charitable purposes, shall be encouraged and protected in the enjoyment of the privileges, immunities, and estates which they in justice ought to enjoy under such regulations as the General Assembly of this State shall direct.—*Vt.*, 1793.

Every society or denomination of *Christians* shall have equal rights and privileges, &c.—*Conn.*, 1818.

All religious sects and denominations demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good citizens of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1822.

It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of public worship.—*Ohio*, 1850-51; *Neb.*, 1867.

Every religious denomination shall be protected in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of worship.—*Ark.*, 1868.

It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of worship.—*S. C.*, 1868.

It shall be the duty of the Legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of their own mode of public worship.—*Texas*, 1869.

#### *Establishment of Religion.*

There shall be no establishment of one religious sect in preference to another.—*N. J.*, 1844.

The General Assembly shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.—*Iowa*, 1857.

No religion shall be established by law.—*Ala.*, 1868.

No form of religion shall be established by law.—*S. C.*, 1868.

The Legislature shall not confer any peculiar privileges or advantages on any sect or denomination.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861-72.

No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship.—*Pa.*, 1838; *Wis.*, 1843; *Minn.*, 1857-8; *Kansas*, 1859; *Tenn.*, 1870.

No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious societies or mode of worship.—*Ky.*, 1850; *Ind.*, 1851; *Texas*, 1869.

No preference can ever be given by law to any church, sect, or mode of worship.—*Mo.*, 1865; *Fla.*, 1863.

No preference shall be given by law to any *Christian* sect or mode of worship.—*Conn.*, 1818.

No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious sect or mode of worship.—*Miss.*, 1868.

No preference shall be given by law to any religious societies, denominations, or modes of worship.—*Del.*, 1831.

No preference shall be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship.—*Ill.*, 1870.

No preference shall be given by law to any religious society.—*Ohio*, 1850-51; *Neb.*, 1867.

No subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.—*N. H.*, 1792.

No subordination nor preference of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.—*Maine*, 1820.

No subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1833.

#### PART V.—*Freedom of Religious Opinion, Conscience, and Worship.*

No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to his own conscience; or for his religious professions or sentiments: *Provided*, He doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.—*Mass.*, 1780.

No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or of his religious profession, sentiments, or persuasion: *Provided*, He doth

not disturb the public peace, or disturb others in their religious worship.—*N. H.*, 1792.

No one shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, nor for his religious professions or sentiments, provided he does not disturb the public peace, nor obstruct others in their religious worship.—*Me.*, 1820.

No person shall be enforced, restrained, or burdened in his body or goods, or otherwise suffer, on account of his religious belief.—*R. I.*, 1842.

Perfect toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured, and no inhabitant shall ever be molested, in person or property, on account of his or her mode of religious worship.—*Nev.*, 1864.

*Note.*—This provision is irrevocable without the consent of the United States and of the people of Nevada.

No person ought, by any law, to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious persuasion or profession.—*Mo.*, 1865-75.

No person ought, by any law, to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious practice, unless, under the color of religion, he shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the State, or shall infringe the laws of morality, or injure others in their natural, civil, or religious rights.—*Md.*, 1867.

No inhabitant of this State shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his religious opinions.—*Ga.*, 1868.

Nor shall any man be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, or otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861-72.

Every man shall be free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and to profess, and by argument to maintain, his opinions in matters of religion.—*R. I.*, 1842.

Full liberty in religious concernsments declared.—*R. I.*, 1842.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind.—*N. Y.*, 1846-67.

The exercise of religious profession and worship shall be forever free.—*Conn.*, 1818.

The free exercise of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall be forever allowed.—*Cal.*, 1849.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without dis-

crimination or preference, shall forever be allowed.—*Nev.*, 1864.

All persons are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty.—*Md.*, 1867.

The free exercise and enjoyment of all religious profession and worship shall forever be allowed in this State.—*Fla.*, 1868.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall be forever guaranteed.—*Ill.*, 1870.

All men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861.

Perfect freedom of religious sentiment shall be, and the same is hereby, secured.—*Ga.*, 1868.

The free enjoyment of all religious sentiments, and the different modes of worship, shall ever be held sacred.—*Miss.*, 1868.

Among the natural rights, some are in their very nature inalienable, because no equivalent can be given or received for them. Of this kind are the RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE.—*N. H.*, 1792.

No authority can or ought to be vested in any power whatever that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control, the rights of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship.—*Vt.*, 1793.

No human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Pa.*, 1838; *Tenn.*, 1870.

No human authority ought, in any case whatever, to control or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Ky.*, 1850.

No human authority can control or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Mo.*, 1865.

No human authority should, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*N. C.*, 1868.

No human authority ought, in any case whatever, to control or interfere with the rights of conscience in matters of religion.—*Texas*, 1869.

No power shall be vested in or assumed by any magistrate to interfere with or control the rights of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship.—*Del.*, 1831.

No person shall be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience.—*N. J.*, 1844.

The legislature shall pass no law to prevent any person from worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No law shall, in any case whatever, control the free exercise and enjoyment of reli-



gious opinions or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Ind.*, 1851.

No law shall, in any case whatever, control the free exercise and enjoyment of religious opinions or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Oregon*, 1857.

And, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.—*Va.*, 1870.

Nor shall any control of or interference with the rights of conscience be permitted.—*Wis.*, 1848; *Minn.*, 1857-58; *Kansas*, 1859.

Nor shall any interference with the rights of conscience be permitted.—*Ohio*, 1850-51; *Neb.*, 1867.

Every individual has a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.—*N. H.*, 1792.

All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.—*Me.*, 1820; *N. C.*, 1868.

All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.—*Pa.*, 1838; *Mo.*, 1865; *Ky.*, 1850; *Ohio*, 1850-51; *Neb.*, 1867; *Texas*, 1869; *Tenn.*, 1870.

It is the right of all men to render worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of their own consciences.—*Conn.*, 1818.

All men have by nature the right of worshipping and serving their Creator according to the dictates of their consciences.—*Del.*, 1831.

All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences and understandings, as in their opinion shall be regulated by the word of God.—*Vt.*, 1793.

Every person has the natural right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.—*La.*, 1868.

All men shall be secured in the natural right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.—*Ind.*, 1851; *Oregon*, 1857.

No person shall be deprived of the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.—*Ala.*, 1868; *S. C.*, 1868.

The right of every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed.—*Wis.*, 1848; *Minn.*, 1857-8.

The right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience shall never be infringed.—*Kan.*, 1859.

#### Marriage.

No contract of marriage, if otherwise duly made, shall be invalidated for want of conformity to the requirements of any religious sect.—*Cal.*, 1849.

#### PART VI.—*Religious Tests.*

No other oath, declaration or test (than the oath of office) shall be required as a qualification for any office of public trust.—*Cal.*, 1849; *Mich.*, 1850; *N. Y.*, 1846-47; *Ill.*, 1870.

No religious test ought ever to be required as a qualification for any office of profit or trust in this State, other than a declaration of belief in the existence of God;\* nor shall the Legislature prescribe any other oath of office than the oath prescribed by this Constitution.—*Md.*, 1867.

(\*NOTE.—The oath of office prescribed by the Constitution of Maryland does not embrace such declaration.)

No political or religious test, or other than an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State, shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this State.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

No religious tests shall ever be required as a qualification for any office of public trust under the State.—*Wis.*, 1848; *Minn.*, 1857-8; *Texas*, 1869-75; *Me.*, 1820; *Del.*, 1831; *N. J.*, 1844; *Iowa*, 1857; *Ind.*, 1851; *Oregon*, 1857; *Neb.*, 1867-75; *Ohio*, 1850; *La.*, 1868.

No religious test as a qualification for office shall ever be required.—*Miss.*, 1868.

No religious test shall be required for any office of public trust, nor for any vote at elections.—*Kan.*, 1859.

No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to vote or hold office.—*Ark.*, 1868.

No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification of any voter at any election in this State.—*Minn.*, 1857-8.

No religious or political test shall ever be required as a qualification for jurors.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

The General Assembly (or the Legislature) shall not prescribe any religious test whatever.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861.

No man shall be disqualified from holding any office on account of his religious belief.—*R. I.*, 1842.

No person can, on account of his religious opinions, be rendered ineligible to any office of trust or profit under this State.—*Mo.*, 1865.

No inhabitant shall be prohibited from holding any office or public trust on account of his religious opinions.—*Ga.*, 1868.

#### Competency of Witnesses.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity in consequence of his opinions on the subject of religion.—*Wis.*, 1848.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief.—*Cal.*, 1849.

No person shall be incompetent to be a witness on account of his religious belief.—*Ohio*, 1850-51; *Neb.*, 1867.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness in consequence of his opinion on matters of religion.—*Ind.*, 1851.

Nor shall any person be incompetent to testify on account of religious belief.—*Kan.*, 1859.

No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness on account of his opinions in matters of religious belief.—*Nevada*, 1864.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religion.—*N. Y.*, 1866-67.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to give evidence in consequence of his opinion upon the subject of religion.—*Arkansas*, 1868.

No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness on account of his religious opinions.—*Fla.*, 1868.

No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness or juror in consequence of his opinions on matters of religion, nor be questioned in any court of justice touching his religious belief to affect the weight of his testimony.—*Oregon*, 1857.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity in consequence of his opinion upon the subject of religion.—*Minn.*, 1857-8.

No person can, on account of his religious opinions, be disqualified from testifying, or serving as a juror.—*Mo.*, 1865.

#### PART VII.—*Religious Opinions Not to Abridge Rights.*

No person shall be deprived of any of his rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified from the performance of any of his public and private duties, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of his opinions on the subject of religion.—*Iowa*, 1857.

Nor can any man be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship.—*Vt.*, 1793.

Religious opinions shall in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect any civil capacity.—*R. I.*, 1842.

No person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles.—*N. J.*, 1844.

The civil rights, privileges, or capacities of any citizen shall in nowise be diminished or enlarged on account of his religion.—*Ky.*, 1850.

The Legislature shall not diminish or enlarge the civil or political rights, privileges, and capacities of any person on account of his opinion or belief concerning matters of religion.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege, or capacity on account of his religious opinions.—*Ill.*, 1870.

Opinions in matters of religion shall in nowise affect, diminish, or enlarge any civil capacities.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861-72.

#### *Religious Disqualifications.*

No person who acknowledges the being of God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this Commonwealth.—*Pa.*, 1838.

No person shall be deemed incompetent as a witness or juror on account of his religious belief, *provided* he believes in the existence of a God, and that, under His dispensation, such person will be held morally accountable for his acts, and be rewarded or punished therefor, either in this world or in the world to come.—*Md.*, 1867.

No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor, or be capable of being a Senator, who is not of the Protestant religion.—*N. H.*, 1792.

All persons who deny the existence of Almighty God shall be disqualified for office.—*N. C.*, 1868.

No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor who denies the existence of the Supreme Being.—*S. C.*, 1868.

No person who denies the existence of the Supreme Being shall hold any office under this Constitution.—*S. C.*, 1865.

No person who denies the existence of a Supreme Being shall hold any office in this State.—*Miss.*, 1868.

No person who denies the being of a God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the civil department of this State.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

#### *Clerical Disabilities.*

No [ordained] clergyman, or [ordained] preacher of the gospel of any denomination shall be capable of holding any civil office in the State, or of being a member of either branch of the Legislature while he continues in the exercise of the pastoral or clerical functions.—*Del.*, 1831.

No person, while he continues to exercise the functions of a clergyman, priest, or teacher of any religious persuasion, society, or sect, shall be eligible to the General Assembly.—*Ky.*, 1850.

No minister of the gospel, or priest of any



denomination whatever, who accepts a seat in the Legislature as representative, shall, after such acceptance, be allowed to claim exemption from military service, road duty, or serving on juries by reason of his said profession.—*Texas*, 1869.

No minister of the gospel, or priest, of any denomination whatever, shall be eligible to a seat in either house of the Legislature.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

#### PART VIII.—*Recognition of God.*

Acknowledging the goodness of the great Legislator of the Universe, &c.—*Mass.*, 1780.

Acknowledging the good providence of God in permitting the enjoyment of free government.—*Conn.*, 1818.

Acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, &c.—*Me.*, 1820.

Grateful to Almighty God for the free exercise of the right to choose our own form of government.—*Ind.*, 1851.

Grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, &c.—*Iowa*, 1857.

Grateful to Almighty God for our civil and religious privileges.—*Kansas*, 1859.

Grateful to Almighty God, the Sovereign Ruler of Nations, for our State government, &c.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Grateful to Almighty God for the free exercise of the right to choose our own form of government.—*Miss.*, 1868.

Grateful to God for our civil and religious liberty.—*Ark.*, 1868; *Ill.*, 1870; *Md.*, 1867; *Minn.*, 1857-8; *R. I.*, 1842.

Grateful to Almighty God for our freedom.—*N. J.*, 1844; *Wis.*, 1848; *Cal.*, 1849; *Ohio*, 1850-51; *Ala.*, 1868; *Neb.*, 1867.

Grateful to Almighty God.—*Nev.*, 1864; *S. C.*, 1868.

Grateful to Almighty God, the Sovereign Ruler of Nations.—*N. C.*, 1868.

Acknowledging and invoking the guidance of Almighty God, the Author of all good government.—*Fla.*, 1868.

Invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God.—*Ala.*, (preamble,) 1868.

Invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God.—*Va.*, 1870.

#### *Obligations of Religious Worship.*

It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the Universe.—*Mass.*, 1780.

[NOTE.—The provisions of the constitution of 1780 enjoining attendance upon public worship and providing for the compulsory support of "Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality," were abrogated in 1833.]

Nevertheless, every sect or denomination of Christians ought to observe the Sabbath, or Lord's day, and keep up some sort of religious worship, which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God.—*Vt.*, 1793.

It being the duty of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the Author and Preserver of the Universe, &c.—*Conn.*, 1818.

It is the duty of all men frequently to assemble together for the public worship of the Author of the Universe.—*Del.*, 1831.

It is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to Him.—*Md.*, 1867.

That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence.—*Va.*, 1870.

"Morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles," commended.—*N. H.*, 1792.

Piety and morality enjoined.—*Del.*, 1831.

The public worship of God and instruction in piety, religion, and morality promote the happiness and prosperity of a people and the security of a republican government.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1833.

Religion, morality, and knowledge essential to good government.—*Ohio*, 1850-51; *Neb.*, 1867.

Religion, morality, and knowledge, being essential to good government, &c.—*Ark.*, 1868.

Religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind.—*N. C.*, 1868.

#### PART IX.—*Restriction upon Liberty of Conscience.*

The liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State.—*Cal.*, 1849; *Conn.*, 1818; *Fla.*, 1868; *Ga.*, 1868; *Minn.*, 1857-8; *Nevada*, 1864; *New York*, 1846-67.

The liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations, or excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State.—*Ill.*, 1870.

Shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, nor to justify practices inconsistent with the good order, peace, or safety of the State, or with the rights of others.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Shall not justify practices inconsistent with the peace and moral safety of society.—*S. C.*, 1868.



Shall not be construed to justify acts of licentiousness injurious to morals, or dangerous to the peace and safety of the State.—*Miss.*, 1868.

*Official Oaths.*

The constitutions of the following States make provision for "oaths or affirmations:"—*Ala.*, 1868; *Ark.*, 1868; *Cal.*, 1849; *Conn.*, 1818; *Del.*, 1831; *Fla.*, 1868; *Georgia*, 1868; *Iowa*, 1857; *Ill.*, 1870; *Ky.*, 1850; *La.*, 1868; *Me.*, 1820; *Md.*, 1867; *Mich.*, 1850; *Minn.*, 1857-8; *Miss.*, 1868; *Mo.*, 1865; *Nev.*, 1864; *N. J.*, 1844; *N. Y.*, 1846-67; *N. C.*, 1868; *Ohio*, 1850-1; *Oregon*, 1857; *Pa.*, 1838; *R. I.*, 1842; *S. C.*, 1868; *Tenn.*, 1870; *Texas*, 1869; *Vt.*, 1793; *Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861; *Wis.*, 1848.

Persons being "of the denomination called Quakers" may affirm.—*Mass.*, 1780-1821.

[NOTE.—The Constitution of 1780 required a

declaration of belief in the "Christian religion."]

Quakers, and persons scrupulous of swearing, may affirm.—*N. H.*, 1792.

The mode of administering an oath or affirmation shall be such as most consistent with and binding upon the conscience of the person to whom administered.—*Ark.*, 1868; *Ind.*, 1851; *Oregon*, 1857.

That the manner of administering an oath or affirmation to any person ought to be such as those of the religious persuasion, &c., of which he is a member generally esteem the most effectual confirmation by the attestation of the Divine Being.—*Md.*, 1867.

The manner of administering an oath or affirmation shall be such as is most consistent with the conscience of the deponent, and shall be esteemed by the General Assembly the most solemn appeal to God.—*Ky.*, 1850.

## THE TRUTH OF HISTORY AND THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

BROOKLYN, IOWA, *February 28, 1876.*

EDITOR REPUBLIC: I have read the Davis letter written in denial of the charges of Blaine, and in support of Hill, of Georgia, touching the treatment of the prisoners in the South during the late war. I desire, as one of those who passed through the horrors of Andersonville and other prisons of the South, to deny each and every allegation in Davis' letter contained pertaining to such treatment.

While I may not answer his letter in detail, neither may I present one so well written, this communication has the merit of being true in every particular, which his has not. I belonged to the Ninety-second Regiment, Illinois Mounted Infantry, and occupied a position on General Kilpatrick's staff, while he commanded the Third Cavalry Division, D. C., under Sherman. I was, on the 19th of October, 1864, at Vining Station, Georgia, while shipping ammunition from Atlanta to Cartersville to supply the division for the Savannah campaign, taken prisoner, in company with forty-six others, by the First Mississippi Cavalry. My sword and revolvers I surrendered. My hat, watch, money, and pocket knife were taken from me forcibly by different members of the command. We were hurried across the country to Oxford, Alabama, where I was despoiled of my boots, coat, and vest, and put in charge of Lieutenant Will. D. Stone, of Clanton's scouts. Lieutenant Stone treated me handsomely, (and often,) and was a soldier and a gentleman. From Oxford we went to Selma, and thence to Castle Morgan, at Ca-

tawba, Alabama, on the Alabama river, about one hundred miles above Mobile. There, with twenty-one hundred others, I was incarcerated in a brick cotton warehouse, surrounded by a pine log stockade. We were allowed the freedom of the stockade during the day, but at night were driven into the building, and were crowded so that it was impossible to lie down in any but a cramped position. Our food consisted of a pint of coarsely ground cornmeal, and about eight ounces of beef per day per man. We had no cooking utensils, excepting pieces of board, upon which we spread our meal mixed with water, and propped up in front of a meager fire until it became warm through, and roasted our beef by holding it upon sticks in the blaze. This was my first experience of prison life, and I tired of it very shortly. In company with a few adventurous spirits, I formed a conspiracy to overpower the guards and escape to Mobile. Fifty of us banded together for that purpose, and the arrangements were perfected. Sunday morning at half past one o'clock was the time fixed upon, but a renegade Kentuckian, who was with us, betrayed us, and on Saturday afternoon I was led from the prison with a rope around my neck, and brought before the commandant, Captain Henderson.

Here I was speedily arraigned, tried, and, according to real or fancied rules governing the prison, condemned to be hung. Captain H. very kindly gave me permission to live two hours, in order to prepare for death, during which time he visited me, and offered me my life if I would divulge the nature of

the plot and the names of my fellow-conspirators. This I refused to do, telling him I preferred a speedy death by the rope to a lingering one by starvation. I gave him the address of my parents in Carroll county, Illinois, and requested that he inform them of my fate. When brought out of the jail Henderson informed me that on account of my youth, (I was then but nineteen,) and that so long as no overt act had been committed he would remit my sentence, but would send me to Andersonville. I left the castle in company with six hundred others, and went up the river to Montgomery, thence by rail to Columbus, Georgia, when, under cover of the darkness, Lieutenant Colonel Showers, of the Ohio Seventeenth, Lieutenant Hudson, of the Iowa Seventeenth, Harvey Hart, of an Indiana regiment, Patrick Welsh, of an Iowa cavalry regiment, and myself, escaped. Traveling by night, more by instinct than else, for the nights were dark and rainy, and we did not dare to travel by day, we made our way north, expecting to strike Atlanta. The negroes furnished us food, and the blood hounds bayed behind us for five days and nights. The falling rain helped us to keep in advance of the dogs, but sometimes we were so closely pursued that we would have to wade in streams and run in a zigzag course for hours together. At Lagrange, Georgia, Hudson and Showers got separated from us, and we never saw them afterwards. I heard since that they made their way through safely. We were recaptured near Newnan, and put in the county jail, a wooden structure, not very secure. The floor of this we tore up, and got out at dawn, but in trying to get into the woods were retaken by some cavalry and put on board a train for West Point, Georgia. I was handcuffed, and shackled and fastened by the hands to the top of the car, and in this way rode to West Point, over a hundred miles. Thence to Andersonville, where I staid but one night, the prisoners having been sent to Millen and Salisbury, to keep them out of Sherman's way. I got, however, a cursing from Captain Wirz before I left; on general principles, I suppose. On my arrival at Millen, the commandant, Captain Cameron, put me under guard outside of the stockade, and kept me there three days, saying if he put me in with the rest I would probably get up another insurrection as I had at Castle Morgan. At the end of that time, however, I was turned into the stockade, and was there three days with nothing to eat, excepting what some members of my own regiment, who were there, divided with me out of their own scanty pittance. I spoke to Captain Cameron about it, and he told me to go to hell. I didn't go, however, being as near to it then as I cared to be. He was a

Scot, and I made myself known to him, and he then assigned me to a company, and I fared somewhat better. Our rations consisted of six ounces of tainted beef per day to the man, and cornmeal mush. The latter was prepared outside the gates in large iron kettles, by first partially filling the kettles with dirty water from a swamp, then shoveling in the meal without salt. It never was allowed to cook, but as soon as it became thick was shoveled into wagons, hauled into camp, and dumped out into piles on the sand, and whosoever could crawl to the heaps and eat were welcome. Numbers of poor fellows who were helpless and could not get to the disgusting mess literally starved to death where they lay.

Another thing that damns them to eternal infamy was, that after emptying a wagon-load of this stuff upon the sand they would fill the box with the corpses of those who had died through the night, piling them up like dead dogs, drive out, and throw the bodies from the top of the wagon into a trench, and then, in the same wagon, haul in another load of mush. This may seem beyond belief, but is strictly true; and Jefferson Davis, nor any other rebel, dare appear before any of the survivors of those woeful days and deny it. From Millen we were sent to Savannah, and there were divided, about half going north to Salisbury, the remainder, myself among them, were sent south to Blackshear. On the road down, with five others, I escaped by jumping off the train at Screven in the darkness. Two of those went north to meet Sherman, and we four started for Brunswick, on the Atlantic coast, intending to find our blockaders. We were out fourteen days, and were picked up by some rebel coast-guards within hearing of the gunboats at the mouth of Turtle river. Of that trip space will not allow me to write. I was carried to Blackshear, and by Captain Bledsoe's orders kept guarded by myself four days. At Blackshear I saw a prisoner shot dead by a rebel guard for passing too close to him while going after water. A thousand men will bear me testimony to that cowardly and brutal act; and the guard who perpetrated it was not even reprimanded. Thence to Thomasville, where we lay in a swamp for three weeks, with the water sometimes so deep we dared not lie down for fear of drowning. Here I saw the work of the bloodhounds. Two of our boys had escaped, were overtaken by the dogs, and brought back. One of these men had his cheek torn away, and his arm bitten through and through; the other had the calf of his leg stripped to the bone by these same dogs, and they were put into camp with the rest of us without medical treatment of any kind, and both died in a few days. Mr. Davis may not have seen this,



but he *knew* that dogs were used to recapture the fugitives.

From Thomasville we went to Albany, and there, on Christmas eve of 1864, we were loaded into box-cars, one hundred men to the car, the doors locked, and started for Andersonville, one hundred miles north. The horrors of that fearful night cannot be described. Without food or water, suffocating, and crowded so thickly that if one man fell he was trampled to death instantly. The roar and surging of the cars, the yells for air, the shouts, curses, and horrible blasphemies of men who had lost their reason, but above all could be heard the shrieks of the poor wretches who sank down and were being trampled out of all semblance to humanity, can never be forgotten by those who took that fearful ride. On Christmas morning, when the church-bells in our peaceful homes were pealing the glad news of a Saviour born, we emerged from our living tombs; and we carried out from my car alone twenty-seven dead bodies, victims to "man's inhumanity to man." The other cars throughout the train furnished their quota of corpses. Who will lift up his voice in defense of this brutality, or dare deny it? If any one, I here denounce him as a traitor and liar. That morning the fatal gates of Andersonville closed upon us. To many this change was a death-knell, and the rattle of their chains sent a chill to the stoutest heart. We filed slowly in, to die; aye, to die; it was a living death.

I had heard of this den; had heard of the horrors of prison-pens of the South; had seen some of them, too; but never realized the condition to which men could be reduced. The pinched, shrunken faces, blackened with smoke, from which gleamed wild, ferocious eyes, the bony, claw-like hands, the fleshless frames clothed in filthy rags, all told of the work starvation and exposure had wrought. Our food consisted of *three gills* of cornmeal and *four ounces* of raw beef per man per day, and once a week each got a tablespoonful of molasses. We were allowed to go out under guard, two men from each squad of twenty-five, each day to gather wood, which we had to carry in upon our backs, sometimes a distance of a mile, and were not allowed to stop and rest on the way. If a man gave out he would have to throw away his wood and go in without it, and eat raw meal and beef until his turn came to go out again. I have seen the water freeze an eighth of an inch thick in the swamp that ran through the camp, and many a night had to walk around for hours to keep from freezing to death. We were without shelter of any kind, and burrowed in the wet sand like coyotes, the cold winter rain falling upon us almost constantly; ate once a day the meager fare mentioned

before; never free from the most fearful gnawings of hunger; and here let me say that no person can imagine the terrible feeling of hunger, unsatisfied for a moment, unless experienced. 'No hope of succor, nothing before us but a lingering death by starvation. How many prayers for speedy death went up from that noisome prison; how many poor fellows lay down on the sand and refused even the meager fare in order to hasten the end. Davis says that the photographs exhibited of the survivors were spurious. This, like the rest of his letter, is untrue. Some of the men whose likenesses were taken I knew in prison, and I have seen the likenesses, and the only difference I could see was that it did not show enough. No instrument could depict fully the wolfish expression, the wild insane glare of the eyes of an Andersonville prisoner.

When I was captured I weighed one hundred and fifty pounds. I kept my health very well while in prison; but Andersonville fare reduced me in six weeks to less than ninety pounds, and so weak that a walk of fifty yards would compel me to sit down and rest. Once, General Imboden, the Virginia guerrilla, while prison inspector, in company with Captain Wirz, came into the stockade to see the "damned Yankees." A dog followed them in, and was caught, killed and eaten in presence of those rebel officers. I was fortunate enough to secure a portion of the canine. At another time Wirz came in, and some one sang out, "More beef." In an hour orders were promulgated that no more rations would be issued to us until the person who uttered the objectionable words should be sent out for punishment. We stood it for one day, and then hired a poor devil to go out and offer himself for our sins. He went out, and was put into the stocks for two days. Stopping our rations was a favorite pastime with Wirz. About the 1st of April I was taken out and placed in Captain Wirz's office as clerk, to make out a list of the prisoners for exchange. I was there several days, and being sometimes left alone in the office, and being of an inquiring turn of mind, took occasion to look at the Captain's papers. I found there official communications from the War Department, at Richmond, regarding the treatment of the prisoners and the amount of food to be given them, and I found also private letters from men high in authority in the rebel Government touching the same question; and I can here truthfully say that the horrors of Andersonville, of Libby, of Millen, and Tyler, and all the others, were due mainly to instructions received from Richmond. Captain Wirz—who, I must say, treated me somewhat kindly—told me that he was simply following out the instructions he received from his



superiors. Davis could not, probably, have found a fitter tool to carry out his designs against the lives of our soldiers than was Wirz; but the curse rests with the chief, not the subordinate. Hill, of Georgia, claimed that it was impossible for his Government to supply us with more food, on account of the stringency of the Federal blockade. I know this to be untrue, for on the 18th of April I passed through Oglethorpe, ten miles north of Andersonville, where the supplies for the prison were in store, and there was cornmeal in sacks and salt beef and pork sufficient to have furnished the whole prison with full rations for six months, at the very least. He says, also, that they kept no bloodhounds at Andersonville. This is absolutely false. They did keep from ten to twenty, under charge of a man who made it his business to run them, and many a fugitive was returned to prison through their agency. I have seen the hounds and conversed with their keeper. One day, while out after wood, I passed through the prison hospital. It was, if anything, worse than the prison. Old, dilapidated tents, that let in the wind and rain from all sides; no beds, except board bunks, partially filled with straw, damp and unwholesome and alive with fleas; the sick huddled together, with no covering except

the rags they wore, and all under the care of Dr. Mudd! To go to the hospital was to go to the grave. We left Andersonville on the evening of the 17th of April, and started for Macon; but that place was in the hands of General Wilson's (Billy) cavalry, and, on account of the armistice of General Sherman, could not move for our deliverance. We were shipped south to Albany, thence on foot to Thomasville, and by rail to Olustee, Fla., where I went to headquarters again and prepared another exchange list. There I heard of the assassination of President Lincoln and the surrender of Lee. The authorities at Jacksonville refused to receive us for exchange, and a New York lieutenant and myself receipted for the Confederate Government for about twenty-six hundred men; and they shipped us to Baldwin by rail, and, escorting us to the White House, half way to Jacksonville, turned us loose. April 29th, 1865, I saw the old Stars and Stripes, after a lapse of about eight months of privation seldom experienced by man. Of the forty-six taken with me on that 19th of October, only seven of us lived through it. The rest starved in Andersonville.

Respectfully, yours,

DON R. FRAZER.

## SOUTHERN JUDICIAL KU-KLUXISM.

The extracts accompanying this are from a communication designed, not for publication, but for the information of gentlemen interested in the well-being of the Southern States and people. There is, however, so clear an analysis of the situation of the freed population therein that its publication could not be withheld in propriety. The statements made by the writer in relation to the judicial conspiracy now progressing, for the gradual disfranchisement of the former bondsmen, and for their permanent subordination, deserve and will receive wide attention. The writer is "native and to the manner born," a gentleman of high character, at present occupying a prominent judicial position in his native State, and his statements may be relied upon as those of a calm, judicial observer, with ample opportunities of understanding the subject on which he writes. For obvious reasons, all indications of name or residence are withheld. The fact that such a course is necessary to insure freedom from personal outrage and social op-

pression is in itself sufficient proof of the character of that Democratic reign of terror which the old Southern leaders have restored. It is a reproduction, in even more hideous forms, of the *ante bellum* conditions. But to the communication. The writer says:

I have read many well written articles in the various leading newspapers of the North, and studied and examined the speeches made by Senator Morton and other leading politicians of the Union, but as yet I have failed to find anything contained in any of these speeches or newspaper articles, and well written communications of reporters and correspondents, (sent South to gather information,) which unravels and exposes the full depth of the hidden policy of the Southern Democracy. The atrocities of Ku-Klux Klans and White League combinations have been fully exposed, and perhaps one-tenth of their murders and other crimes against the colored and white Southern Republicans reported, but there has been no report made of an organization, tenfold more

dangerous and destructive to the liberties, rights, and even lives of the colored people of the South. I know of no better term or name to apply to this organization than "Judicial Ku-Kluxism," because under color of law the law-making bodies and the judiciary of the South are to-day surely accomplishing what they failed to do by midnight assassinations of Republicans, in this, that by murder they have simply taken the lives of their victims, with some danger of prosecution therefor in the Federal courts, but by judicial Ku-Kluxism. they take the liberties and political rights of freedmen, and thus reduce them to a state of slavery equally as bad, if not worse, than their former slavery. Before I enter into details and give you undeniable proof of this well organized system of judicial Ku-Kluxism, and its daily record of conspiracy and persecution against the freedmen, I shall first classify the colored people of the South into three separate and distinct classes :

First. This class comprises all of that portion of the freedmen who were formerly owned as slaves by masters who taught them trades, and gave them ample opportunities to learn something of the business affairs of life ; in fact, often attending to the management and overseeing, or superintending of the farm labor of other slaves of their masters, and seeing to the gathering of crops and preparing cotton for market.

This class have generally exhibited more thrift and enterprise than any other class of the freedmen, many, or perhaps a majority of them, own small farms in the country, or homes in the towns and cities of the South. This class, I think, compose about one-tenth of the entire colored population.

Second. This class comprise about four-tenths of the freedmen, and were formerly held as slaves by masters who fed and clothed them well, but forced them to work to the full extent of their power, and gave them no opportunities to learn anything beyond hard farm labor. This class are to-day industrious, but know nothing of thrift, economy, or the business qualities of life, and if they make good crops they are easily defrauded out of the bulk of its proceeds by merchants, doctors, and landlords.

In fact, this class are the most lucrative source from which the landlords and merchants of the South derive their profits and gains.

During slavery stringent statutes prohibited merchants from trading or bartering with slaves unless they had a special order or permit from their masters. Clothing, food, and every necessity was bought and provided for by the master of his wholesale merchant, while the small or retail merchant traded with and derived his profits almost exclusively from the non-holding slave element of the whites. The rebellion changed all of this, and the small towns and cities of the South have in populous colored districts grown and increased in wealth and population to a wonderful extent since the close of the rebellion. We have stores at every cross-road, and our merchants are composed of Jews, and men of every nationality. These men, like vultures, await the gathering and incoming of the cotton crops, and in various ways induce the freedmen to exchange the proceeds of the greater part of it for worthless goods and "gew-gaws." If towards the latter part of July the indications are good for a full cotton crop the merchants begin to open credit and take liens upon the cotton crop, and if their accounts do not take quite all of the cotton raised by freedmen they often run them up by selling a few more "gew-gaws." By law the landlords have an expressed lien upon all of the produce raised by the tenant upon his premises for rents and supplies furnished, and it is not often that the tenant has anything left after he has fully paid up his rents, and accounts, doctors, etc., because having no education he cannot tell whether these accounts are fairly rendered and added up or not, and as I shall presently show it is useless for him to appeal to the courts of the country for redress, even if he could see and show frauds in such accounts.

This class of freedmen generally own their teams, wagons, and farming implements, and bare supplies to enable them to make their yearly crops with, but beyond this property line and mark they seldom go, and not many of them seem to think it possible to become the owners of good homes,



nor, indeed, is it in the interests of the large plantation owners that they should buy homes, because they are the most profitable of all other classes of tenants, either black or white.

The third class comprise about five-tenths or full one-half of all the colored population, and were formerly held as slaves by masters who half clothed, half fed, and worked them almost day and night, in fact treated them in every respect more like brutes than human beings, inflicting the severest punishments for the most trivial offenses, frequently giving them from one to three hundred lashes with heavy leather straps or bull whips, literally cutting the skin and flesh into gashes.

The moral status of this class is to-day at a very low ebb, and they furnish two-thirds or more of all the colored criminals that are daily filling our penitentiaries and prisons.

This class own nothing beyond bare clothing, and as farm tenants everything is furnished them (such as teams, farming tools, and all supplies) by the landlord, and at the end of the year the landlord takes for his share of rents one-half of all the produce raised by such tenants, and then deducts from the tenant's half or share of produce the price of all food and clothing furnished during the year to the tenant. This generally takes all the produce of the tenant and often leaves him in debt, and in a starving condition. Being ignorant of business tact and thrift, this class cannot realize the reason why they are thus stripped of all their labor year by year and left either to starve or steal, hence they do often resort to petty thieving, and as such crimes are always so awkwardly and openly done, they are easily detected, indicted, and convicted without mercy, and the highest penalties of the law inflicted upon them. During slavery starvation often forced slaves to steal from their master's neighbors, and this was winked at by these slaveholders, and if they (the slaves) were detected in robbing smoke-houses and corn-cribs they were generally whipped or punished more for being so caught or detected in such thefts than for the act of stealing. Is it any wonder, then, that thieving should be so common now among

this class of freedmen, who were actually forced to do it and encouraged in it while slaves?

I have now fully explained to you the real condition of the colored population of the South, and shall now explain and show you how Judicial Ku-Kluxism is slowly, quietly, and surely reducing the third and second classes to a system of slavery, and wholly disenfranchising them of all political rights.

The Constitution of this State (and I believe of other States) denies all political rights, and excepts from jury service, and the right to testify as witnesses in any of the courts, all men who have or may hereafter be convicted of a felony, unless such disabilities shall be removed by act of the legislature. Now, since this State has passed into the hands of the Democracy any kind of a theft from a house, or the stealing of hogs or cattle, without regard to value, has been by recent legislation made felonies, punishable with from one to ten years' confinement at hard labor in the penitentiary. Before the rebellion the theft of cattle or hogs were by law simply misdemeanors, punishable by fines or imprisonment in the county jails, unless the value of such property exceeded twenty dollars. It is, then, very plain and obvious that the changes in the laws referred to were made to reach the freedmen, who generally steal a few bushels of corn or a hog, the value of which in a large majority of cases seldom exceeds twenty dollars. It is not often that freedmen are made either grand or petit jurors, and the juries who try them are generally composed of men who do not reverse the old rule of law in regard to them, *i. e.*, "that it is better for ninety-nine guilty men to escape than to punish one innocent man." It is hardly possible for a freedman to get a fair trial and even-handed justice before a Democratic jury, unless he has been really guilty of some outrageous crime; and such juries would always rather convict ninety-nine innocent freedmen than to let one guilty man escape. The summoning of juries is made the duty of sheriffs and constables, and as these officers, or at least nine-tenths of them, are Democrats, they summons only such Democrats to



serve as jurors as they know will carry out the policy of wholesale convictions of freedmen. I have for the past four years closely watched this judicial Ku-Kluxism, and often witnessed freedmen convicted by the scores for trifling offenses, while white men guilty of murder, and other high offenses against the law, were acquitted by the same juries. Any wealthy white man who is known to be a good Democrat can commit crime with impunity. By continuances of his case, and a crooked administration of the law, such men can generally evade punishment, and where any kind of a penalty is inflicted, it is always the lightest allowed by law. I know of at least sixty murders committed in this county by white men, and a majority of them were of a cold-blooded character, yet out of this number not one has been hung by law, and only one that I remember was sent to the penitentiary, and he was in a short time afterwards reprieved. How different with freedmen. There is no delay of law. Our State prison is overflowing with them, so much so that they are hired out to planters. To see large plantations worked by this convict labor, superintended by armed guards, one is vividly reminded of the days of slavery, and, indeed, it is nothing less, and I am firmly convinced that this system of slavery will become more general year by year, unless some check is put to it. I do not pretend to say that the freedmen are guilty of no crimes, but I do assert that not one-third of those convicted deserve the severe punishment and penalties inflicted so summarily and speedily upon them; and were they honorably and justly dealt with, and paid for their labor, not one-half, nay, not one-fourth of the real crimes done by them would be committed at all. But this mode of procedure is one of the methods by which the Democracy revenge themselves upon the freedmen for their devotion and fidelity to the Republican party, and it excels in cruelty the midnight assassinations of their murderous organized Ku-Klux Klans; because by the former system they forever disfranchise freedmen, and force them into slavery; whereas by murdering them outright an end would come to all their suffering and miserable existence.

## SECOND LETTER.

[THE REPUBLIC presents a second communication on this subject. Its statements substantiate the author's charge of conspiracy against the liberty and rights of the freed people. The writer, a man of calm and judicial judgment, is in a position to know whereof he writes:]

In my last communication I fully explained the manner in which the freedmen are indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced in the wholesale by the Ku-Klux judiciary, and compelled under color of law to serve out long terms of imprisonment at hard labor, not in the State prisons, but upon private plantations. I shall now give you indisputable evidence of the manner in which these colored convicts are fed, clothed, worked, and used in this their second state of slavery. I shall also show that there is not the least authority or shadow of law that authorizes the hiring out and working of convicts, except upon public works, yet contrary to and in the face of all law, hundreds are so hired out. Unremitting labor from daylight until dark is exacted and wrung from them by their so-called guards, who are in fact overseers. Here upon the plantations, surrounded with guards and bloodhounds, these colored convicts daily undergo tortures and punishments which equal, and in many instances excel, the barbarities and cruelties of the infamous Spanish inquisition. In proof of these assertions I shall give you the evidence of one of the convicts as stated to me by him after his discharge, and the sworn statements of an ex-guard of the convicts, and also extracts from the report of one of the inspectors of the Texas penitentiary.

The ex-convict stated that he was worked one year on a railroad and two years on a plantation, and confined two years in the walls of the prison employed as a cook. While on the railroad the convicts worked from early dawn until dark, their rations consisted only of corn bread and boiled beef. The least neglect of duty or disobedience was punished by the lash, wooden racks, etc., and as many as two hundred lashes were often applied at one time. The wooden racks were made in the shape of a cross,

with the addition of a movable iron pin placed in the lower part of the upright beam. The victims were placed astride of the iron pin, which was so adjusted as to barely allow him to touch the ground with the tips of his toes, and his arms were stretched and securely fastened to the ends of the cross beam above. In this position the victims would endure the most excruciating agony for an hour and upwards, and when taken down from the "horse" their manhood would be often crushed. In many instances they would remain forever afterwards utterly imbecile. On the plantations the punishment chiefly inflicted was the lash, and when a convict escaped he was generally recaptured by the bloodhounds, and always severely bitten and torn by the dogs when caught, in order to make the hounds more ferocious and untiring when in pursuit of a fugitive. On one occasion this ex-convict says that a prisoner who had been twice recaptured by the dogs in his attempts to escape was on the second recapture brought back to camp, and placed inside of an inclosure, and his fellow convicts, twenty-eight in number, drawn up in line in plain view; the bloodhounds were then turned loose upon him, and he was torn and mangled by them to such an extent that he died in a few days afterwards from the effects of his wounds. Sick convicts were forced to work as long as they were able to stand, and when they fell fainting from the effects of the intense heat of the sun, and the heavy labor, they were often cruelly beaten and taken back to camp, where, for the want of medical treatment and attention, the majority of them would die in filth and awful suffering. I will not undertake to give you any thing near the sickening details of the cruelties inflicted upon the convicts as narrated to me by this ex-convict, nor can I remember the number of convicts he says were killed during his confinement. I think however he stated that he witnessed the killing of eighteen prisoners. Under the laws of Texas, the testimony of a convict cannot be taken or admitted as evidence in any of the courts of the country, hence, no matter how brutally they are punished or maltreated they cannot appeal to the courts for relief.

The guards or overseers who maltreat and murder the convicts under their charge are not likely to turn State's evidence against each other, therefore there is no remedy for these outrages against these unfortunate wretches. Though the testimony of a convict is not allowed in the courts, yet I shall now show that the evidence of this ex-convict is more than substantiated by legal testimony from men whose positions enabled them to see and know something about the inhumanity practiced upon colored convicts.

About one year ago one of the guards employed to guard and oversee prisoners working outside of the prison became so disgusted with what he saw while on duty that he resigned his position, and made some startling disclosures under oath of the horrible barbarities and inhuman punishments inflicted upon the colored convicts while he was a guard, and in his presence.

His statements were published and illustrated in some of the newspapers of the country, and no one ever attempted to deny their truthfulness, therefore I shall refer to what he said and published to the world, viz: "On one occasion, a sick convict calling for medicine and water was so severely beaten by one of the guards that he fainted, and to restore him to consciousness the guard threw a shovelful of red hot ashes and live coals upon him. \* \* \* Constant and unremitting labor from daylight until dark was extorted and wrung from the convicts by every species of punishment that human malignancy could invent. \* \* \* The sick would die for the sheer want of attention. \* \* \* Rags and vermin were all the convicts had to cover them. Starvation was often resorted to, and the convicts were not at any time more than half-fed, their food consisting of the coarsest corn bread with the bran baked in it, and beef often spoiled or badly tainted. Convicts were shot down for the least insubordination; and often driven to frenzy and madness they would sometimes offer resistance in order to force their guards to shoot them down, and thus end their horrible sufferings."

J. K. P. Campbell, one of the inspectors of the Texas penitentiary, in his report made on the 31st day of January last to Governor

Coke, says: "I regard it as unfortunate that the Legislature did not appropriate the necessary funds to commence the construction of the two additional penitentiaries, and I would recommend that it be done at an early day, on the assembling of that body in April next. The number of convicts received and registered here for the year ending August 31st, 1875, averages 81 per month, making 972 received in one year." Referring to the condition of the penitentiary, the report says: "The buildings are all in bad repair. \* \* \* Nearly all of the roofs leak. During last year, after a continuous rain, I have seen the cells in the north end of the prison dripping with water, and hence unfit to be occupied, yet prisoners do occupy and sleep in them. \* \* \* The ages of the convicts vary from 11 to 69 years of age, and full one third are under 25 years of age. The great majority of convicts employed in agricultural labor are NEGROES; all those employed or hired to PLANTERS ARE NEGROES.

"It now being impossible to confine within the walls of the prison all prisoners on hand, outside labor is a necessity, and as there is no law authorizing the working of convicts outside of the walls except upon public works, I would suggest that a law to that effect be passed. \* \* \* At many of the outside camps the lash has been very freely applied, and from all I can learn very cruelly. \* \* \* At the Lake Jackson plantation I saw three trusty convicts whose backs were cut to pieces in a most shocking manner. \* \* \* The lash has been freely used at the farms in Walker county. You cannot convict or punish the guards for their brutality to the convicts under their charge for the want of witnesses, because our laws prohibit the testimony of any person who has been convicted of a felony." (See Paschal's Digest of the Laws of Texas, article 3109.)

In regard to the rations furnished convicts the report says: "At one of the plantations in Brazoria county, where the planters have hired some 80 or more convicts, the food sent to 24 men for dinner could have been consumed by four or five men. The most rations were hog chitterlings, with a portion of the excrement still on them, and only half cooked. No coffee, sugar, tea, or milk

is given to convicts. The rations furnished are generally corn bread and beef." In regard to clothing the report further says: "At many of the camps I visited no washing had been done for weeks, because the prisoners had but one suit per head, and they and their quarters were filled and reeking with vermin, and having no changes of clothing they had to endure their filth and vermin as best they could. Shoes are seldom or ever furnished at all. \* \* \* The clothing consists of cotton stripes about as heavy as common osnaburgs—pants, shirt, and jacket. No underclothing or socks are furnished, and the clothing is the same, both summer and winter. At the Lake Jackson plantation the convicts had not changed their clothing for ten weeks, and their lower extremities were naked. \* \* \* They are not well supplied with bedding; the convicts in some instances have only a straw mattress, with no blankets or covering of any kind, and are thus often compelled in winter to sleep upon the bare boards and cover with their mattresses."

In regard to the manner in which escaped convicts are recaptured, the report says: "From the camps at which BLOODHOUNDS are kept very few prisoners escape, and if they do escape they are soon caught. I will simply state to your excellency that at some three or four camps bloodhounds are kept for the purpose of hunting down escaped convicts." Referring to the manner in which the sick convicts are nursed and treated the report says: "As a general thing the sergeants of outside camps treat the sick. \* \* \* This is, to say the least of it, an economical plan. Last fall a convict who had been sick at an outside camp with the pneumonia for a week or more was brought to the prison, and died in less than twelve hours after his arrival in the prison. No physician had visited him at the farm. In another case a convict who had attempted to escape was shot in the body and was kept on the farm where he was wounded a week or more after he was shot, and that, too, in warm weather. He, too, died in twenty-four hours after his arrival at the prison hospital. With the proper treatment he would have recovered, because his wound was not necessarily mortal. The prison hospital is a very unsuitable building



and should not be used for that purpose. *It is just over the bake-oven and cook-house, with a metal roof overhead.* I have been in this hospital during the summer months, when the heat was so great that it almost cremated the unfortunate sick confined there. I have been told by convicts that they had rather remain in their cells, when sick, and be neglected, than to be placed in the prison hospital. \*

\* \* At the Lake Jackson plantation I found 65 sick out of a force of 185. These men had no medical attention at the time, and occupied the same building with the well convicts; and the attention required by the sick prevented the other men from obtaining the sleep required by laboring men. On visiting the prison force at work on the Overton and Henderson road I found 53 sick out of a force of about 200. \* \* A great many convicts who have died or been killed are buried along the line of this road."

Speaking of the number of hours' labor required per day of the convicts the report says: "In the summer months the convicts are worked from daylight until dark, which is about thirteen hours per day."

The report further shows that in one year 109 convicts died, 28 were reported killed, and 182 not accounted for. Perhaps the majority of the 182 were also killed. In one year Governor Coke has pardoned 96 convicts, 15 of whom were convicted for murder or manslaughter, 52 for theft, 5 for rape, 2 for arson, 10 for an assault with intent to murder, 8 for swindling, forgery, and other offenses. Out of this list I do not think there are many colored names, if any. Governor Coke doubtless believes that all negroes should and ought to be placed into some form of slavery. This executive clemency is bestowed only upon genuine Democrats, and in proof of this I will present two cases in which his pardoning power was invoked and asked for by petition, and the result of the petitions. Last year an old colored man upwards of 78 years of age was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the penitentiary for voting twice, though the evidence upon the trial of his case clearly showed his innocence. The sentence was considered so unjust that a large number of both whites and blacks

signed a petition showing the injustice of the verdict of the jury, together with the great age of the old man, but no attention was paid to the prayer of the petitioners, and the matter finally ended by the negro dying on some of the farms before he had served out six months of his time. This old victim of Judicial Ku-Kluxism was previous to his conviction an active and outspoken Republican worker, and on days of election took an active interest in distributing Republican tickets among his own color, and exhorting them to be unwavering in their fidelity to the Republican party. Now for the other case: A short time after the conviction of the freedman referred to a young white man was tried and convicted for murder and sentenced to five years' imprisonment at hard labor in the penitentiary. Although the murder was clearly proven, yet before he had served out six months of his time he was pardoned by Governor Coke. This was because his parents were wealthy, and influential Democratic politicians and attorneys signed his petition and urged his pardon. These two cases are personally known to me.

The wholesale conviction of freedmen for trivial and pretended crimes, together with the hellish cruelties and brutalities inflicted upon them while convicts, when compared to the manner in which white men guilty of higher crimes escaped punishment altogether, clearly shows that the members of the White League and Ku-Klux organizations when serving as jurors understand how to acquit offenders of their own orders, and how to convict freedmen, whether guilty or not. I suppose that not less than one thousand negroes have been murdered in this State by white men since their emancipation, and yet there is not an instance on record where a single one of these murders have been punished at all for such crimes. On the other hand a freedman who murders a white man seldom escapes capital punishment.

Sometimes the mobs cannot wait for the sentence of death to be executed upon a negro murderer. Some time in June last a negro murderer, who had been tried and sentenced to the gallows for the murder of a

white man in Milson county of this State, was taken from the county jail (after the sentence of death had been passed upon him by a legal tribunal) by an armed mob supposed to be about 200 in number, and burnt to death. There was no excuse for this brutality, because the murderer was securely ironed, and confined within an iron cell, the walls of which were double. Besides being closely confined in a strong jail, he was surrounded by guards both day and night, and there was no chance of escape. The sentence of death would have been executed upon him in less than eight days after he was taken out by the mob and burnt. Notwithstanding the large number of the mob engaged in this horrible outrage, not a single one of them have been arrested, and I doubt very much whether any future grand jury will ever investigate or notice the affair at all, because it is more than probable that pains will be taken to stock the grand jury for several terms with the perpetrators of the outrage.

I could recite several other instances of the horrible cruelties practiced upon the negroes of the South, but think it unnecessary, because I have already fully substantiated by proof—which I respectfully challenge any one to truthfully deny—that the Ku-Klux and White League organizations of the South, by subverting law and the courts of the country, carry out under color of law the very purposes and objects sought to be accomplished by their disguised midnight assassins in their past deeds of murder and arson upon the white and colored Republicans of the South. It is an indisputable fact that to-day there is a political South corresponding with the late Southern Confederacy, and wholly antagonistic in every respect to the loyal States of the Union, which overcame the rebellion. Gradually but only too surely the leaders of the late Southern Confederacy are once more resuming complete and almost undisputed power over the new political South. The great masses of the late conscript soldiers of the rebellion still blindly follow and obey the behests of their old leaders. Nothing is left undone to throttle Republicanism, and to subvert all of the objects and acts of reconstruction. Thousands of white men, warned

by the constant and unrelenting persecution of Republicans, dare not vote or act with the Republican party. To-day at least one-fourth of the freedmen in this and probably other States cannot vote the Republican ticket, and I doubt not but that the same or even a larger proportion in other Southern States are either intimidated from voting at all, or are forced to vote the Democratic ticket. The loyal people of the North and West cannot know anything near the extent of the fearful persecutions and bloody tragedies enacted against the Republicans of the South by the Ku-Klux and White League organizations, because nearly all of the press of the South is controlled by these organizations. Hence not one tenth of the political murders is ever published, and where such crimes are exposed the press palliate and excuse them. The basest falsehoods and calumnies are daily invented and widely circulated against Republicans by the press of the South, while on the other hand their midnight assassins of Republicans are either openly applauded on their crimes concealed. Did not all of the Democratic press of the South sneeringly deny the existence of the Ku-Klux organizations until their infernal crimes were well established by the conviction and confession of many of the members of the Ku-Klux Klans? I do not charge that every Democrat of the South is a member of the Ku-Klux Klans or White League, but I do charge that all of the members of these lawless combinations are members and the most zealous supporters of the Democratic party, and that the very purposes and objects of these organizations is to suppress the further growth of Republican principles by murder, persecution, and other unlawful means. Any one is badly mistaken who thinks that these organizations do not number a very large membership, and to-day are well organized and ramified throughout the South.

Well may the Republicans of the South tremble at the base possibility of these Ku-Klux and White League leaders and their allies of the North once more assuming control of the National Government. In that event the lives of the white Republicans would not be safe a single moment, while

the so-called liberties and rights of the freed-men would be wholly disregarded and swept away. Notwithstanding all of the dreadful persecutions and bloody tragedies enacted against the Republicans of the South, not an instance can be shown where they have ever organized into secret societies for the purposes of revenging their innumerable wrongs and retaliating them by resorting to midnight murder, arson, and rapine upon the Ku-Klux and White League assassins. The Republicans of the South may have been guilty of wrongs, but granting the truth of all charges made against them by the Ku-Klux organs, even then these wrongs would be trivial indeed when compared with the wholesale crimes of the Democracy. When

we remember that many of the old leaders of the Democracy under the reconstruction acts of Congress availed themselves of the opportunity while the Republicans were in power in many of the Southern States to obtain official promotion under pretense of conversion to Republicanism, we cannot wonder at peculation, fraud, and corruption in some of the reconstructed State governments. The majority, if not all, of these pretended Republicans have, upon the restoration to power of the old Confederate element, returned to their old party fealty, and today the Republican party of the South is no longer cursed and dishonored with the men who have brought past discredit upon the cause of human liberty and progress.

## CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS.

Investigations occupy a large space of the public attention at the present time, not however on account of the disclosures which are made in consequence of them, but from the sensational manner in which they are conducted, and the paltry partisan, and the wholly unjustifiable purpose by which they are instituted. Investigation, examination, search, with the desire to obtain important information may never be challenged. This is one thing; but when there exists a foregone determination to affix a stigma upon a party or an individual, out of revenge, or to promote the party advantages and prospects of a rival organization, it is quite another thing, and becomes fully as pernicious as in the other case it is beneficial. In the one case the object is a desire for needed truth; in the other a determination to create scandal, regardless of truth. When the latter is the animating purpose, the method must correspond to the design, and secrecy, trickery, detraction, insinuation, aided by more or less invention and downright lying, necessarily take the place of fairness, honor, and a sacred regard to innocence and personal virtue.

In order to determine, therefore, the nature of the purpose which is at the bottom of any investigation there is no need to look beyond the methods employed in conducting them, and if they are found judicious, patient, open, and just to parties implicated it may be in-

ferred that behind them stand uprightness, judicial impartiality, and that patriotic regard for the public welfare which is high above all party and personal considerations.

In relation to the investigations now going forward, it is well known that the Democratic majority expressed beforehand an intention to blacken the character of the Administration, and to drive investigation into every crack and crevice and corner for the discovery of material to render it obnoxious to the people.

The method has exactly harmonized with this avowed intention. In the first place the House committees were studiously selected with a view to investigation rather than public business. They were organized and proceeded to business by the unusual and informal manner of proceeding without the knowledge or the presence of the minority, by examining witnesses in secret, by giving no chance to the minority to ask questions and to obtain explanations which could clear up or modify the dark features of the testimony or expose the tergiversation and lying and perjury of the witnesses; by shutting out the public and the press; by giving out and perverting for publication the most damaging portions of the evidence, in many cases unaccompanied by mitigating testimony, or facts which were in flat contradiction thereof; by the use



of witnesses manifestly influenced by revenge and malice, more or less of whom were of infamous or, if not, of doubtful character for honesty and truthfulness, and some of whom confessed to having been hired to manufacture lies and accepted payment for various iniquities involving theft, fraud, and perjury, and, worse than all, by exaggerating the stories, and getting into the papers most given to falsehood and unfairness accounts of the same entirely at variance with the record and the general tenor of the developments.

Such has been the method of these investigators from the start, showing lowness of intent, simple, naked, vulgar partisanship, without manliness, without openness, without candor, with a reckless disregard of the honor of the country and private right to the last degree unworthy, indecent, and unjustifiable.

In the Belknap case the Democrats on the committee examined Marsh without the knowledge of Bass and Danford, the Republicans, coached him to suit themselves, and then, after a cursory rehearsal with these members present, the chairman aided him to get out of town in the first train, in a manner strongly suspicious of impropriety at least, and utterly at variance with the demands of the public good, which could only be met by the President coming to the rescue and getting him back through a promise of immunity for rascalities which he had confessed perpetrating. The cases of Bell, Webster, Whitley, Nettleship, partly fools, but largely rascals, are illustrations of the same nature, and are too well known to need particularizing here. We merely allude to them as confirming the view taken at the commencement of this article. Now, the history of the two parties in the last fifteen years shows that the Democratic party in its present role is not on its native heath, and is neither doing justice to itself, to the Republicans, to the country, or to the cause of free institutions. Historically the Democratic party is not an investigating institution, and the Republican party is, the records being abundant in evidence on these points, and admitting of no cavil or doubt. The Republicans have never desired to shield rascals, and not-

withstanding many infamous villains have seen their way to gain through its ranks, and some Republican officials have not been able to resist the temptation of the times, the general elements of lawlessness and iniquity do not take kindly to the organization, and on election days its strength in our large cities, or elsewhere, is not found in the thieves' dens, low grogeries, and kindred establishments, its newspapers are not found in such places, but what literature they submit to have around is furnished by Pomeroy's *Democrat* and the feeble imitators of that vile sheet, all of whom get their support from other than the Republican party. This is an unwelcome truth, but too well known to be seriously disputed. As a result of this condition of things, rascality *per se*, the Democrats do not much investigate. Only Republican rascality excites their virtuous indignation, and this not because it is rascality, but because it is Republican.

Looking back a little, this will be found to be so. They find twenty thousand dollars, not Government money, but the profits of a post-tradership, taken by Belknap a high crime and misdemeanor worthy of impeachment; but the Democrat who is to move the impeachment of John B. Floyd, Democratic Secretary of War, who stole guns, ammunition, arsenals, and munitions of war by the million dollars worth, has not, after the lapse of fifteen and a half years, yet put in an appearance. They are alarmed at the alleged thievery of Robeson, not proven, and ready to despair of the country on account of it; but the Democratic Secretary of the Navy who handed over to the enemies of the country ships, steamers, clothing, navy-yards, houses, and other property by the wholesale, has not yet provoked any Democrat to put on record a motion for resolutions of censure. The bond-stealing Secretary of the Interior, Jake Thompson, awaits in calm patience the Democratic committee which is to investigate him, by no means anxious that his case, though long first in order of time, shall be concluded before Delano has been overhauled and punished.

And there are other cases quite pertinent to this inquiry. Many people can remember when Andy Johnson was President, and that office-brokers thronged the White House sell-

ing patronage right under the peculiar nose of that illustrious functionary; when pardon-brokers, not always of the most proper sex or immaculate reputation, were disposing of pardons for money under the same olfactory and eminent protection, until the country sickened with the scandal and nauseated at its very mention, and when other offenses were charged of so grave a nature that these seemed almost too insignificant to speak of, and an investigation before a high court of impeachment was proposed by the Republicans, every Democrat voted against it, and not a mother's son of them gave his voice in favor of calling him to account. The Democrat and carpet-bagger Steedman was made collector of New Orleans, and defaulted in the sum of half a million, and other Democratic collectors stole enough more to make double the amount of losses under the four years of Johnson to the four years of Lincoln and the seven years of Grant; and though Johnson never pursued one of them, and no committee of Democrats ever made inquiries for them, Johnson was welcomed to the Senate as a Democratic brother who came in with skirts cleaner than the driven snow, and his Administration was pointed at as one to be remembered with affectionate and permanent regard by all lovers of purity and all friends of governmental reform.

The notorious sale of pardons by a disreputable female who was in high favor with the White House clique, and went in and out at the Executive mansion, did not seem to detract in the least from the high respect and steadfast friendship of Democrats for Andrew Johnson, and they never allowed any vulgar rumor or any positive charges to excite them to action intended or calculated to establish the proof of these things, or any others in that connection.

The cases of extravagance and improper use of funds by Democratic officials are too numerous to be even mentioned in this article. A few must suffice. Take the celebrated McGarraghan case, which some people pronounced a fraud and some thought otherwise, but in which Judge Black, Buchanan's Attorney General, paid an almost unknown, obscure lawyer named Hartman the sum of \$19,000 to prosecute an appeal, which the

Supreme Court instantly threw out as worthless. This was before the war, when that sum was as valuable as \$35,000 at the present time, or ten thousand dollars more than the amount deemed proper by the present House of Representatives for the compensation of the President of the United States, and yet thrown away in a worthless case upon a common lawyer by the United States Attorney General, has never stirred the righteous indignation of Hiester Clymer, Proctor Knott, or any one of the present guardians of the public interest in search of wrong-doing in high places.

Or take the case of that eminent Democrat, Hon. Nathan Clifford, who, from the 18th of March, 1848, to the 6th September, 1849, one year and about five months, drew for services in Mexico the snug little sum, as personal compensation, of \$31,259.20 in gold, when, according to the opinion of Mr. Randall's committee, \$10,000 per annum is ample compensation for a minister to the Court of our Southern neighbor.

The case of James Buchanan, who, discovering an error in the adjustment of his account as Minister to England, informed the Department that he could not conscientiously take the money, let it lay in the Treasury to his credit for five years, and until his retirement from the Presidency, and then, during the civil war, when the Government was in a strait for funds, sent a demand to the Comptroller of the Treasury for the money to be remitted to him at Wheatland, may not be commonly known, but is suggestive of the high tone of Democratic virtue, as manifested by the representative men of that party when they hold the high places of Government.

When the annexation of Texas was mooted by the Democratic party that interesting nation was much in the condition of the ancient prodigal son or his distinguished successor in disposing of the circulating medium of the country, his Highness the Prince of Wales, and had out scrip amounting to the sum of ten millions of dollars which was worth nothing, and nominally quoted and sold in the market at about fifteen cents on the dollar. As Texas was played out nationally and financially she

was annexed by joint resolution; that is, we resolved to grab her bodily, and all the arrangement of terms was a bold, unblushing farce, designed to permit of the manipulation of this ten millions of dollars in the interest of the men who were to furnish the votes for annexation. An abundance of Texas scrip was accordingly supplied to parties in the city of Washington, and was set floating about the halls of Congress within easy reach of members whose votes were to determine the annexation with the privilege of the country paying eighty-five cents loss on every dollar of the ten millions. The Democratic Congress considered this a good trade financially, and they closed the bargain in a hurry. The moment the resolutions of annexation passed every man knew that Texas scrip would be worth par, dollar for dollar, and we will not so insult the common sense of this country as to affirm that the men who saw what a good trade they were making for the country did not also see what the scrip would be worth the moment Uncle Sam assumed the obligation to pay it. Did a Democratic Congress ever inquire how many members who voted for annexation were holders of this worthless scrip, and voted a fortune into their own pockets, for which every man, woman, and child in the United States were compelled to pay taxes until the whole ten millions were sponged out of them? This, the foulest robbery, the unblushing swindle, was also the most astounding instance of bribery and corruption that ever disgraced the annals of a nation, and the Democratic party with a majority in both houses never raised a committee, never summoned a witness, never called for anybody's books, and never put anybody in jail for connection with the affair.

These cases are notorious, and they prove conclusively that the Democratic party is not by instinct, or intention, or habit what may be called pre-eminently an investigating concern, notwithstanding the recent symptoms of zeal in that line which have been manifested by the committees of the present House. It has confined itself exclusively to investigating its opponents, and when nothing can be done in that line it goes at once out of business and is heard from no more.

With the Republican party it has been different. The Republicans do not defend scoundrels because they may belong to the party. We are not disposed to assert that all has been done which should have been in exposing frauds and correcting abuses, but as a general thing the party has not spared its own friends. Andy Johnson was elected by the Republicans, but the moment he betrayed their confidence and commenced his games in chicanery, they went for him, and his scalp was only saved by the solid vote of the Democracy.

When it was alleged that there were heavy frauds in connection with the Choctaw and Cherokee indemnity, the Republicans were prompt to create a committee of investigation, who made an elaborate report, and gave a full *exposé* of the whole thing, without whitewashing a single member of the party. When it was alleged that Samuel A. Way, one of the richest men in Boston, Moses Williams, Wm. F. Weld & Co., the heaviest merchants in Boston, and Phelps, Dodge & Co., and the Clafins, big Republican merchants, were undervaluing goods and depriving the revenues of the country of the proper legal duties, they were all, at once and promptly, compelled to answer in court or pay the penalty provided by law. When there were responsible men found making charges against the directors of the Union Pacific Railroad, did not the Speaker of the House leave his chair, take the floor, make the case a privileged question, and bring in a resolution demanding an investigation; and did not that committee present resolutions of censure against Oakes Ames, who had been a large contributor to campaign funds, and disgrace him before the public?

And the Republicans have raised committees to investigate the conduct of the war, the Ku-Klux affairs in Mississippi, affairs in Louisiana, the post office defalcation in New York, the Board of Public Works in the District of Columbia, and given a unanimous vote for the impeachment of Belknap. Have they not prosecuted the distillers of crooked whisky, sent Joyce and McDonald and Avery and McKee to prison, and created general consternation all along the line of illicit manufacture of spirituous liquors? Have not the



robbers, Seth Johnson, Hodges, Halleck, Hartwell, Ottman, been arrested, tried, and and punished? Has not the unanimous voice of the Republicans in Congress been given for the impeachment of Belknap, and does not the utterance of Grant, "let no guilty man escape," find a cordial and unanimous response from the press and rank and file of the party?

It would not be strange that the President and others should find it hard to admit that men whom he and they have been on intimate relations with can have been guilty of crime, and slow to accept as proof the statements of malicious and unworthy persons which have been made against such officers. This is but human nature, and is defensible. It is the same honorable trait which causes a wife to doubt the guiltiness of an accused husband, and to suspend judgment against him until the evidence admits of no doubt. This is no proof of complicity in crime, nor is it proof of an intention to screen the guilty and defeat the demands of justice. The Republican party has shown its disposition to

expose fraud and punish the wrong-doers. It is the only party that has done this, and its tendency and the tendency of its opponent are widely apart, and too clearly marked is the line of distinction to permit any mistake in the premises. It exposes and punishes its own partisans with the same rigor that it metes out deserved justice to Democrats who smuggle themselves within its fold for the purpose of theft and plunder.

The general demoralization of society has affected official life, and many men have fallen, many unsuspected officers have been found unworthy; but, after all, the Government loss has been small, and, allowing for the difference in the magnitude of business since the war, the losses have been less than under other Administrations, while the detections and convictions have been far greater, owing to the fact that the Republican party is the enemy of speculation, and wherever the frauds and swindlers are found intrenched it makes an immediate move upon their works, and compels an unconditional surrender.

## THE OFFICIAL CLERICAL WORK IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

The immense business of the Treasury Department at Washington fairly staggers calculation when looked at in the aggregate, and few experienced clerks in ordinary mercantile houses can form any conception of its vastness or of the system by which it is accomplished. Most persons have an idea, however, that not much is done in that great granite pile, and that whatever is done is so insignificant that a single individual, called the Head of the Department, has his eye on the whole machinery, and personally superintends the labor performed, and keeps within his head an accurate knowledge of all that transpires. The total force in the Department varies from time to time, and may be stated at somewhere from 2,000 to 2,500 persons. The working force is divided into offices, with clerks ranging from 10 to 250, among whom the work is apportioned, each office having its separate and appropriate functions and duties. By taking a single office, and that a small one, one of the smallest in the Depart-

ment, and examining its machinery and operations, we shall be able to conceive some idea of what the institution must be as a whole, and we shall be able to judge whether the labors are of much or little importance. When the Committee of Appropriations presented the bill for cutting down the compensation and reducing the force in the Department, Mr. Mann, the Deputy Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, prepared a statement of the business of that office, and a protest against the proposed reductions affecting his bureau, which answers very well as an illustration for our present purpose, and which is here subjoined:

### PROTEST AGAINST THE REDUCTION OF SALARIES IN THE OFFICE OF THE FIFTH AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

The proposition to reduce the clerical force of this office by abolishing the two heads of divisions and making a total reduction of nine employes, will, if carried out, do the office great injustice, and be likely to serious-

ly injure and retard the public business. There can be conceived two reasons only why any discrimination should be made, neither of which apply to the office. These are, that, the office being small, heads of divisions are not required, or the work is of that unimportant character that less capacity and responsibility in the clerks is demanded in the conduct of business.

In regard to the first reason: It appears, from the organization of the other bureaus where the work is of importance, that a principal clerk is provided for each ten or twelve of force, viz:

Office.	Force.	Principal clerks.
Second Comptroller	48	4, being 1 to 12.
First Comptroller ..	39	4, being 1 to 10.
Commis'er Customs	21	2, being 1 to 10.
National Banks .....	19	2, being 1 to 10.
Supervising Arch't.	9	3, being 1 to 3.
Fifth Auditor .....	28	0

If any reason can be given why each ten clerks in these other offices require a chief or supervising principal clerk that does not apply to this office it is not known to me.

In regard to the second imagined reason, I have to say that there is no auditing office of the Treasury which, in the complicated character of the work and the amounts adjusted, seems to call for a higher order of clerks than this office. All the accounts with foreign ministers, secretaries of legations, consuls, and commercial agents are adjusted here.

These officers have the privilege of making drafts from time to time on the Departments of State and Treasury, which they sell to bankers, and which come to the Treasury through third parties. In order to prevent losses by overdrafts and improper drafts, the state of the accounts has to be examined and considered by the clerks in this office, and the clerks in the Treasurer's office have no check on errors or overdrafts, but must pay the sum called for by the warrant. This business must be seen to by careful, accurate, and reliable men. The accounts of ministers, chargés, and secretaries exceed \$300,000 per annum, contingencies \$77,000. The accounts of consuls for compensation are over \$540,000, for fees about \$700,000, loss by exchange \$8,000, relief of seamen \$44,000, extra wages \$47,000, estates of persons deceased abroad

\$21,000, and sundry other accounts of a miscellaneous character, which last year amounted to about two and three-quarter millions of dollars.

The foreign accounts are made up in foreign countries as various as the countries where our officers are stationed, and the exchange is constantly varying, requiring clerks of judgment and capacity to attend to the proper adjustment of them.

The internal revenue last year was \$110,000,000, the customs \$157,000,000. But the customs revenue is collected mostly in a dozen principal ports, while the internal revenue is from one hundred and sixty-six districts in the interior, and employing thousands of officers, who are paid by fees, commissions, special allowances, salaries, and per diem. The nature of the business is such that many collectors have to be changed frequently, suits have to be instituted, and the accounts for suits have to be made up by the clerks in this office; and when they are tried the district attorneys, judges, and juries, not being acquainted with accounts, have to be instructed by the clerks who settle them. The case of the Government depends wholly upon the capacity and integrity of the clerk who appears as a witness, and upon the explanations he can give. This requires the highest order of ability, and through the blundering of an incompetent clerk the Government might in a single case lose more money than would pay the proper salary of half a dozen good clerks for as many years. There were made up in this office last year *sixty cases for suit*, involving great care and much labor to get them into such a form as is required to enable the court and jury to comprehend them. Besides these there were *eighty-eight* final adjustments of an intricate nature, involving the revision of accounts of the whole of the collectors' term of office, covering from one to fourteen years' service.

I find by the records that, for the four years which ended with the close of the Administration of Mr. Buchanan, the average force of this office consisted of eight clerks, and that they adjusted during the period 5,261 accounts, being 167 accounts annually for each clerk. For the fours ended June 30, 1875, there were adjusted 56,670 accounts, on

which were employed an average of twenty-six clerks, the other clerks being employed in counting coupons, copying and recording reports, examining the records and tax-lists of the direct tax commissioners in the insurrectionary States, and other casual and incidental work; making an average of 544 accounts per year for each clerk, being more than three and one-fourth times the amount performed during the former period, allowing the accounts to average the same in amount of labor required. In point of fact, however, the accounts require more labor than formerly. Those of the diplomatic and consular division are about the same, but the internal revenue accounts are much heavier. The total sum passed upon in 1861 was less than *one million dollars*, while in 1875 it had reached to *six hundred and seventy-eight millions*. (It will be understood that a considerable portion of this appears in three accounts, and is therefore involved three times; also, that sometimes a clerk may work months on a single account, and can settle several each day of another class; but this affects equally both periods.)

Appended is a classification of the accounts adjusted in this office, an examination of which will show that *the work is neither small nor unimportant*:

*Classification of Accounts Adjusted in the Fifth Auditor's Office.*

United States foreign ministers.  
 United States consuls.  
 United States consular agents.  
 Relief of destitute American seamen.  
 Passage of destitute American seamen.  
 Contingent expenses of State Department.  
 Publishing the laws in pamphlet form and in newspapers.  
 Expense of editing the Revised Statutes, &c.  
 Expenses of rescuing American citizens from shipwreck.  
 Stationery, furniture, &c., for Department of State.  
 Contingent expenses of United States consulates.  
 Contingent expenses of foreign intercourse and missions abroad.  
 Books, maps, and lithographing for Department of State.  
 Salaries and expenses of tribunal of arbitration.  
 Survey of boundary between United States and British Possessions.  
 Salaries and expenses of the United States and Spanish Claims Commission.

Salaries and expenses of the United States and Mexican Claims Commission.  
 Maintenance of the light-house at Cape Spartal.  
 Awards to British claimants and expenses.  
 Salaries and expenses of Court of Alabama Claims.  
 Interpreters to the consulates in China, Japan, and Siam.  
 Marshals for the consular courts in Japan and China, Siam and Turkey.  
 Rent of prisons for American convicts in Japan, China, Siam, and Turkey, &c.  
 Interpreters, guards, and other expenses at the consulates at Constantinople, Smyrna, Candia, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Beirut, in the Turkish Dominions.  
 United States bankers' accounts, London.  
 Expenses of the eighth and ninth censuses.  
 Contingent expenses office Commissioner of Patents.  
 Photo-lithographing for Patent Office.  
 Plates for Patent Office Official Gazette.  
 Copies of drawings, office of Commissioner of Patents.  
 Tracings of drawings, office Commissioner of Patents.  
 Expenses of packing and distributing official documents.  
 Preservation of the collections of the surveying and exploring expeditions.  
 Contingent expenses of the Post Office Department.  
 Compensation accounts of collectors of internal revenue.  
 Revenue accounts of collectors of internal revenue, which includes statements prepared for suit against defaulting collectors, involving much labor and care.  
 Disbursing accounts of collectors of internal revenue to United States storekeepers.  
 Salaries in office of Commissioner of Internal Revenue.  
 Miscellaneous expenses of Internal Revenue Bureau.  
 Counsel fees and expenses, moieties and rewards.  
 Salaries and expenses of supervisors.  
 Salaries and expenses of revenue agents.  
 Salaries and expenses of surveyors of distilleries.  
 Fees and expenses of gaugers.  
 Taxes erroneously assessed and collected.  
 Fines, penalties, and forfeitures received and disbursed by the Secretary of the Treasury.  
 Moneys refunded on lands sold for taxes and redeemed.  
 Moneys refunded under private acts of Congress.  
 Moneys refunded, tax on spirits destroyed by fire.  
 Moneys collected in insurrectionary districts refunded.  
 Direct tax accounts of States and commissioners.



Disbursements of direct tax commissioners.  
 Certificates for drawbacks on merchandise exported.  
 Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue stamps for distilled spirits.  
 Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue stamps for tobacco, snuff, and cigars.  
 Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue special tax stamps.  
 Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue beer stamps.  
 Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue adhesive stamps.

Expense of engraving and printing stamps by Bureau of Engraving and Printing.  
 Expense of engraving and printing stamps by bank-note companies.  
 Expense of stamp paper, &c.  
 Redemption of internal revenue stamps.  
 Agents' accounts for adhesive stamps sold.

In view of the facts herein presented, I respectfully protest against the reduction proposed in the pending bill, feeling satisfied that it cannot be carried out without detriment to the service.

## THE POVERTY OF THE SOUTH.

Southern Democratic newspapers, Congressmen, and other vehicles of such public opinion as exist in that section, are continually "exalting their hour" over the poverty of the South. In view of the constant recurrence of good crops, the increase of manufacturing industries, the additional amount of bank capital reported for several years past, the growth of small farms, towns, and retail stores, etc., in all directions, this outcry does not seem to be well grounded. The last cotton crop, now being marketed, has already reached to 3,813,000 bales, and will probably reach an aggregate of 4,500,000. There has been an increase of 440,000 bales exported over the preceding crop. Prices have not ruled high, but are not unprofitable.

The truth is that the outcry about Southern poverty has a two-fold source: one is political, and the other is of the social class or caste character. Take the latter, and it will be found that the growlers are the former plantation barons and their dependents, who have been unable to adapt themselves to the new order of things, and as a rule are poorer than they were. For political reasons the Confederate Democratic leaders are continually encouraging the cry of poverty, sectional and personal, among their associates and followers. It increases the hostility to the Union, or rather the national party and sentiment, on the existence of which the "lost cause" sentiment is fed.

The Congressional branch of this talk is adroitly managed. Two points are aimed at. These are to relieve the South as far as practical from the payment of taxes or revenue to the General Government. Hence the re-

duction of the force needed to collect the taxes on whisky, tobacco, &c. But little can, however, be done in that direction. The other branch is very industriously worked. The Congressional Record shows the activity of the men who attempted to destroy the Union in the present endeavor to plunder its Treasury.

Southern war and other claims to the amount of many score of millions are all ready. The House has already passed a bill restoring thereto Southern men who were borne on the pension-rolls in 1861. The Confederate brigadiers all voted for the payment of arrearages.

An attempt has already been made to put in train a measure to secure the refunding of the direct war tax on lands collected under the act of Congress of August 5, 1861, imposing a tax of \$20,000,000 upon the various States, under which nearly \$16,000,000 were collected. A resolution was offered and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, where an examination showed the purpose of the Confederate proposer. The law provides that any State or Territory might assume the duty of collecting the tax and pay its proportion into the National Treasury, in default of which it became the duty of the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint commissioners to make the necessary assessments and collections. All but Colorado and the eleven rebel States assumed the responsibility, and paid their quota, except New York, Wisconsin, Kansas, California, Colorado, Washington Territory, Utah, and Oregon, from which there is a small unadjusted balance due the United

States, amounting in the aggregate to \$1,237,317. This balance will undoubtedly be properly settled, but the ex-rebel States do not show well, as the following table illustrates ;

States.	Quota.	Uncol'd.
Virginia.....	\$937,550	\$260,396
North Carolina.....	576,194	173,144
South Carolina.....	363,570	140,869
Georgia.....	584,367	502,167
Florida.....	77,522	71,027
Alabama.....	529,313	529,313
Mississippi.....	413,084	343,137
Louisiana.....	385,886	75,022
Texas.....	355,016	197,055
Arkansas.....	261,886	102,983
Tennessee.....	669,498	66,654
Total.....	\$5,153,886	\$2,661,776

#### Recapitulation.

Balance due from loyal States.....	\$1,237,317
Balance due from rebel States.....	\$2,661,776
Total.....	\$3,899,093

In 1865 the collection of the tax was suspended until January 1, 1869, but no further attempt has been made to renew the collecting. The design of the measure is not only to save the ex-rebel States from the uncollected amount of \$2,661,776, but also to pay back the \$5,153,886 already collected from them.

A kindred measure is that to secure a re-funding of the cotton tax—over \$60,000,000 in amount. The powerful lobby behind this scheme have shrewdly kept it back during the present session, but it may be expected to reappear next winter, to be urged with great persistency in the closing days of the ex-Confederate House.

Other measures, such as the extravagant appropriations for Southern rivers and harbors, the Southern Pacific and related railroad schemes, with their demand for guaranteeing interest to the extent of \$400,000,000, are being urged as measures of relief for the poverty-stricken South. Their refusal will be as persistently presented as a proof of Northern and Union hostility to that section.

Both views are false. The South is not poverty-stricken, and the loyal North is not hostile to that portion of a common Union. The country is everywhere suffering from a partial paralysis of business ; but the South is, on the whole, better off than any equal portion of the agricultural North and West, all other things being considered. The ex-rebel States paid out for wages to farm laborers alone, during the year 1875, not a cent

less than \$120,000,000. In former days this large sum was converted to the use, in the main, of the 300,000 persons who owned the slaves, and of the small class of free workers, etc., created by the system. Of course the old South—the privileged few—are not as rich, but the masses are better off than ever before, be those masses white or colored. The poverty of the South is but little more than a party cry. Fair investigation will prove this assertion. It is as well not to be deceived.

THE following figures show to what an extent the English Parliament legislates, and how extended is the habit of "special" legislation. The measures designated as "local bills" are simply acts of incorporation, or laws to the same effect. It is shown by a recent Parliamentary paper that the capital by shares and loans on the 266 local bills presented in a recent session was 49,944,307*l*. In 1866 the number was 634, and the capital 175,490,646*l*; in 1867 the number 321, and the capital 42,638,775*l*; in 1868 the number 228, and the proposed capital 25,207,356*l*; in 1869 the number 212, and capital 29,221,706*l*; in 1870 the number was 244, and capital 23,676,499*l*; in 1871 the number 280, and the capital 29,719,190*l*; in 1872 the number 304, and the capital 86,444,831*l*; in 1873 the number 334, and the capital 86,893,943*l*; and last year 281, and the proposed capital 63,365,240*l*.

The effect of this pressure for local and special privileges is the same as in the United States. It creates powerful lobbies, whose attorneys are known in London as parliamentary agents, and it brings into the electoral field ambitious and scheming barristers and shrewd business manipulators, who get into the House of Commons as members for the sole purpose of forwarding their profitable schemes.

THE DAWN OF JUSTICE.—After months of laborious investigation, and a heavy outlay of money, the Democratic House of Representatives have found scarcely anything to justify the wholesale charges which the opposition had raised against the Republican party. Its administration of power has been marked by integrity and ability, and the more its opponents investigate the more clearly is this claim established. Human government cannot be faultless, but the management of public affairs by the Republican party has more than justified the faith of its early friends. It has been true to freedom, true to the nation, and true to the people who have trusted it.

## DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

Two important documents were published to the world in 1776. One was of a purely public character, the joint effort of the wise and good men of that period, entitled the "Declaration of Independence of the United States of America;" the other was the work of a single man, a poor obscure Scotch professor, under the title of the "Causes of Wealth of Nations," by Adam Smith.

It has been confidently asserted that had the last mentioned production been issued fifty years earlier the first would never have been written; for the causes which led to its composition would not have existed, or if they had arisen would have been remedied without the arbitration of arms.

It was a lack of the simple acknowledgments of mutuality of service that led to the separation. It was an almost inexcusable ignorance of this powerful auxiliary of national prosperity that created the wrongs out of which grew the Revolution. Had these principles been understood as laid down by Mr. Smith in his treatise, had they formed a part of the common education of the English law-makers of that period, no such results could have been reached.

Commerce, whether between individuals, states, or nations, exists and can be maintained only because of the benefits arising to each party through the exchange. Had the British ministry comprehended the vast magnitude of this interchange of products there would have been no interference with, or restrictions placed upon colonial manufacture.

The persistent enforcement of measures calculated to cripple the energies and resources of the new country, to make them subservient only to the interests of the English aristocracy, threw obstacles in the way of a free exchange of commerce, provoked revolution, and the result was a confederation of the States.

These erroneous theories, perverting the true nature and functions of trade by substituting stringent and unreasonable exaction, were particularly noticeable in English statesmen of a century ago; and a similar spirit of incompatibility to the higher grades of

national development largely influenced the actions of Great Britain up to within the last ten or fifteen years.

Through all the various enactments for the government of commerce this injurious and false idea stands out conspicuous, that what one nation, or community of the same nation, gained by an interchange of commodities another must lose: and not only was this contracted view of the subject inculcated in English dealings with foreign countries, but enforced between different sections of the empire. The policy of England toward her American colonies was of this character, and here we have an illustration of the dangers arising from the restriction of the control of public affairs and the rights of suffrage to the privileged few.

For many years England was governed by this class, by men whose claim to rule was mainly founded upon the possession of property. War at this time was a prevailing occupation, and the profession of arms wielded a potent influence, carrying its successful votaries to the highest distinction. It was a period when the management of the Empire rested with the fortunate few, ostensibly for the safety and welfare of the many; while in fact it was the debasing of the many, and the aggrandizement of the favored few.

Engaging in mercantile pursuits was scarcely respectable, and the tradesman was looked upon as occupying a social position too low for recognition. In this condition of landed privileges, and of lineal bigotry, many of the great commercial and manufacturing centers of the Kingdom were unrepresented in the Government.

The success of the American colonies in achieving their independence was a lesson the English nation did not readily comprehend, and for half a century following struggled on with the same international notions, putting forth every exertion to control the commerce of the world. Gigantic wars were inaugurated and prosecuted with vigorous determination in the mad career to restrain and cripple this powerful source of internal wealth. These efforts, however,



served only to burden the people with enormous taxes, which even to this day retard the progress and are the main causes of the poverty of so large a portion of the inhabitants of the British Isles.

It was fifty years subsequent to the publication of Mr. Smith's "Wealth of Nations" before the more enlarged ideas of commerce, as set forth by him, began to be understood and a reform to commence. About this period, under the lead of Huskisson, a series of modifications and changes were inaugurated, which have in a measure relieved England from the meddlesome and ill-advised legislation previously so conspicuous; and yet only within a very few years has English commerce been truly free and prosperous.

As late as 1820 it is said there were over two thousand enactments on the statute-books of Great Britain unrepealed which had been enacted at various times for the regulation of commerce; but the strangest of all strange things is, how England should have held to and maintained for so long a period these ruinous theories while such an example in the opposite direction was presented in the history of the Dutch Republic.

Heedless of the benefits a change of policy was certain to bring, a spirit of jealousy seems to have taken possession of the English law-makers, and increased vigilance was manifested in opposing with even more stringent measures fundamental principles that should have enlisted their hearty co-operation. This bitter determination to rule or ruin led to two expensive wars, and produced the first funded debt of the Empire.

The same arbitrary disposition, the same ignorance of the true functions of trade, was imposed upon the American colonies, resulting in resistance and independence of the latter. Failing to acknowledge their error, blind to the benefits certain to arise from the most liberal encouragement of industry, the opposite was adopted, and another attempt made to coerce the infant country into the narrow gauge of their own limited views upon commerce. Resistance again ensued, and the war of 1812 followed.

Finally, by sheer force of progress, as developed through the common people in their deal one with another, in the same or be-

tween different communities, and in examples shown in the rapid advance of other countries, the English Government began to comprehend the malign effect their obstinacy to a unison of action in the furtherance of a more liberal policy in the interchange of commodities was having upon their own industries.

Under this pressure the more absurd ideas governing commerce were gradually laid aside, the more objectionable features repealed, and England began the advance toward a higher excellence in her restrictions, not only upon dependent colonies, but with the world.

Fully appreciating the importance of the Declaration of Independence, and the existence of a free and liberal government, the fact is patent that the great and unprecedented progress made in all the branches of national industry, as developed in the first century of the Republic, is but an imperfect realization of the principles of liberty and progress therein embodied.

Our forefathers severed their connection with the mother country because of obnoxious restrictions upon commerce, yet for years persistently clung to the errors that led to the separation; and notwithstanding the advance of the century, the "half way place" has not been reached.

The adoption of the Constitution, in 1787, incorporating a provision that no State should enact laws to restrain, or in any way interfere with the exchange of commerce between the States, was the first important step looking toward a true union.

Previous to this period the vast territory comprising the several colonies was not free from petty regulations and laws respecting the interchange of commodities; and yet enough had been achieved through this imperfect liberty to insure the material wealth of the country, and secure its perpetuity even against the machinations and corruption of slavery.

Without entering upon any discussion, *pro* or *con*, with reference to the policy of absolute free trade between nations, or questioning the right to maintain a properly regulated tariff for the protection of home industries, a succinct treatise upon the subject

of domestic interchange of commodities will engage our attention.

It is important, in this connection, that we should fully understand the terms "Commerce" and "Manufactures." These words are often, and by persons of acknowledged ability, accepted as synonymous; yet to one whose conception of manufactures is confined to vast factories for the working of cotton, wool, iron and steel, has a very narrow conception of what constitutes the true manufactures of the country. Or, to one whom the word "commerce" suggests merely the thousand steamers, barges, and sails, laden with products, with goods, articles, and commodities of general use from far away places, plowing the ocean between foreign ports, has an equally faint and imperfect realization of what constitutes commerce.

Men serve each other through the interchange of commerce. It is a transaction in which both parties derive benefit, parting with an article not needed for one desired.

A prominent writer upon this subject says:

"True commerce in useful things lies at the foundation of human welfare, and unless a good and wholesome subsistence is possible, there can be neither spiritual, intellectual, nor aesthetic culture, and such a subsistence is only possible to the mass of men by means of an exchange of products."

Scattered broadcast over our fair land is a mighty host of free, industrious farmers, manufacturers, and artisans, plying their various trades and occupations, steadily swelling the great volume of commerce, which, under the benign influence and protection of a free people, is sweeping us on to a future excellence in the advance of science, of art, of self-government and self-reliance, as superior to that now attained as what we have reached is beyond the bigoted views of the mother country in her dealings with the colonies.

In order to obtain some idea of the extent of simply two branches of our domestic commerce tabular statements are annexed, selecting the champion county of each State and giving the number of establishments, the amount of capital invested, the outlay for materials, with the gross products:

## MANUFACTURES.

County and State.	No. of establishments.	Capital invested.	Materials used.	Gross products.
Mobile county, Alabama.....	272	\$1,099,435	\$1,300,574	\$2,760,390
Pulaski county, Arkansas.....	77	240,135	250,880	688,003
San Francisco county, California.....	1,223	21,170,956	20,046,321	37,410,829
New Haven county, Connecticut.....	940	29,445,640	22,054,803	45,156,181
New Castle county, Delaware.....	459	9,995,175	9,184,544	15,063,131
Duval county, Florida.....	105	419,450	1,090,425	1,883,225
Chatham county, Georgia.....	93	1,148,075	1,009,511	2,805,771
Cook county, Illinois.....	1,440	39,372,276	60,362,188	92,518,742
Marion county, Indiana.....	740	8,303,185	9,776,656	16,642,105
Scott county, Iowa.....	340	2,117,750	2,008,740	3,455,479
Leavenworth county, Kansas.....	220	1,187,148	1,101,743	2,411,073
Jefferson county, Kentucky.....	801	11,129,291	10,369,556	20,364,250
Orleans county, Louisiana.....	911	3,751,985	4,566,543	9,980,278
Cumberland county, Maine.....	676	6,121,547	10,905,522	16,557,581
Baltimore county, Maryland.....	2,739	26,049,040	36,144,425	59,219,933
Suffolk county, Massachusetts.....	2,546	47,311,906	59,384,305	111,380,840
Wayne county, Michigan.....	1,101	14,732,160	15,336,259	26,217,685
Hennepin county, Minnesota.....	314	3,993,550	3,913,214	6,810,970
Warren county, Mississippi.....	212	609,918	674,165	1,237,217
Saint Louis county, Missouri.....	4,579	60,357,001	87,388,252	158,761,013
Douglas county, Nebraska.....	229	1,127,555	1,254,323	2,368,747
Story county, Nevada.....	73	1,036,200	3,604,343	4,928,170
Hillsborough county, N. H.....	564	13,443,890	17,586,821	25,330,611
Essex county, New Jersey.....	1,193	22,606,662	29,253,062	52,108,958
New York county, New York.....	7,624	129,952,262	178,696,939	332,951,520
New Hanover county, N. C.....	93	943,220	1,427,829	2,069,804
Hamilton county, Ohio.....	2,469	42,646,152	44,876,148	78,965,980
Multnomah county, Oregon.....	307	1,573,875	1,297,847	2,698,817
Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania.....	8,184	174,016,674	189,323,718	322,004,517
Providence county, Rhode Island.....	1,503	54,488,967	55,147,453	85,142,032
Charleston county, North Carolina.....	224	1,588,539	1,264,731	2,431,763
Shelby county, Tennessee.....	757	3,155,957	2,738,062	6,644,137
Galveston county, Texas.....	91	710,950	678,980	1,214,814
Chittenden county, Vermont.....	300	3,760,520	3,643,707	6,537,230
Henrico county, Virginia.....	593	5,503,525	6,720,104	11,436,616
Ohio county, West Virginia.....	286	4,011,390	6,836,387	10,765,859
Milwaukee county, Wisconsin.....	828	8,109,199	11,649,995	18,798,122
District of Columbia.....	952	5,021,925	4,754,883	9,292,173



Quite as interesting an exhibit in agriculture as that shown in manufactures will be observed from the following table, selecting, as before, the county in each State pro-

ducing the most, and giving the number of acres of improved land, the value of the farms, with the gross agricultural receipts:

## AGRICULTURE.

County and State.	Improved land.	Value of farms.	Agricultural production.
Montgomery county, Alabama.....	222,200	\$3,793,895	\$3,403,332
Pulaski county, Arkansas.....	62,702	2,633,509	2,046,937
San Joaquin county, California.....	428,061	7,874,365	4,376,675
Hartford county, Connecticut.....	278,436	28,289,153	6,230,911
New Castle county, Delaware.....	203,167	24,573,079	4,004,098
Jefferson county, Florida.....	73,113	1,044,805	904,921
Houston county, Georgia.....	154,433	2,539,566	2,250,743
La Salle county, Illinois.....	533,724	25,274,479	5,502,502
Boone county, Indiana.....	126,942	8,974,665	3,814,552
Clinton county, Iowa.....	323,182	12,964,545	3,909,569
Douglas county, Kansas.....	94,852	6,639,989	3,514,452
Jefferson county, Kentucky.....	152,494	17,253,897	2,631,076
Tensas county, Louisiana.....	77,724	3,223,840	2,493,250
Penobscot county, Maine.....	297,263	10,324,213	3,880,532
Baltimore county, Maryland.....	226,040	29,181,762	3,447,945
Worcester county, Massachusetts.....	370,386	22,495,282	6,551,411
Oakland county, Michigan.....	336,060	25,554,239	5,154,231
Olmsted county, Minnesota.....	202,008	7,308,111	2,877,800
Washington county, Mississippi.....	70,119	6,002,270	3,818,040
Saint Louis county, Missouri.....	132,556	28,409,635	3,566,476
Cass county, Nebraska.....	65,195	2,886,152	1,408,405
White Pine county, Nevada.....	5,815	126,400	226,129
Merrimack county, New Hampshire.....	335,882	12,096,577	3,120,292
Burlington county, New Jersey.....	180,775	23,616,049	4,908,839
St. Lawrence county, New York.....	664,823	37,661,214	9,598,071
Edgecombe county, North Carolina.....	108,019	3,353,471	2,348,276
Hamilton county, Ohio.....	158,028	27,723,253	4,305,248
Douglas county, Oregon.....	132,657	1,791,723	674,094
Lancaster county, Pennsylvania.....	462,833	70,724,908	11,845,008
Providence county, Rhode Island.....	93,415	9,245,106	2,140,477
Barnwell county, South Carolina.....	383,140	4,589,974	4,099,460
Shelby county, Tennessee.....	164,431	9,987,974	4,169,342
Washington county, Texas.....	122,833	3,765,786	1,872,244
Windsor county, Vermont.....	393,106	13,193,240	3,479,098
Augusta county, Virginia.....	222,843	10,232,552	2,130,430
Harrison county, West Virginia.....	147,488	6,935,258	1,302,545
Dane county, Wisconsin.....	396,900	21,111,058	5,706,491

When we have added to the first table here presented the statement that the aggregate amount of capital invested in *all* the manufactories of the United States in 1870 was \$2,118,208,796, yielding in gross \$4,232,325,442, some realization may be had of the vast magnitude of this branch of industry; and to the last exhibit—that of agriculture—we append the fact that the gross product of the entire United States for the year named was \$2,447,538,658.

The various interchanging of all these articles produced from the workshop and the farm constitutes the chief bulk of our domestic commerce; and it is estimated, from the best possible authority, that the aggregate values carried over the seventy thousand miles of railroad exceed \$10,000,000 annually. And for this service, together with that paid as transportation of passen-

gers, the sum of \$526,000,000 was secured to the railroad corporations in 1875.

This commerce, over a country differing as widely as almost any section of the earth's surface in soil, climate, and condition, in rates of interest, taxes, and wages, has yet called into existence this immense system of railways, at an expense of not less than \$4,000,000,000, and over which exchanges of goods were made in 1875 amounting to 200,000,000 tons.

In the production of cereal crops—the most important of all agricultural interests—the question of labor has ceased to be a matter of concern. The hard, persistent toil of earlier days is now neatly executed through mechanical inventions, requiring few field-hands in proportion to the amount of work heretofore thus performed. Had it not been for these new methods, supplant-



ing the tedious, tiresome operations of other years by a system of horse-power and machinery, executing more work with less help than formerly, and doing it better even, the war for the preservation of the Union might not have been so successful. A large per cent of the million men at one time in the loyal army were from the industrial elements of the country, and had not the means been provided through the inventive genius of the age to make their places good on the farm and in the workshop a famine would have ensued, and there would have been no equipments or munitions of war for the army. Instead of this, the power of production and the facilities of transportation had been so largely increased that, had the fields and manufactories alone been considered, it would not have appeared that a single man was absent from his accustomed avocation. In fact, the war brought into existence new energies, new incentives to action, and at no time since the formation of the Government were the Northern States more prosperous in every department of home industry than during the four years of the slaveholders' rebellion.

There is one other prominent feature in our national growth which is worthy of notice as being closely allied to the advance of the higher departments of science. As a less number of men are needed in tilling the soil, a greater per cent. can be employed in the store, the factory, and in the studio. And in this there is an explanation of the greater relative increase of these industries over that of agriculture, necessitating a steady concentration of population in commercial centers. Men once engaged in professional, mercantile, or mechanical occupation rarely exchange it for the more hardy toil of the farm, while the country lad intuitively inclines toward the metropolis. It is in the order of events—from the very nature of our free institutions, where every man is the architect of his own future—that this concentration should continue. Ideas of life, in all its varied phases, have kept fully up with the advance of the age in other particulars. The slow plodding career of the farmer is illy suited to the rapidly developed purposes of the young men of to-

day, and, throwing aside the dusty garments of husbandry, the boy turns his face toward the city. Eagerness for wealth and distinction, the allurements of popularity and applause, the spirit of independence and of self-reliance, were born with the rising generation, and you could no more stay the onward march than you could move the fixedness of the north star.

Notwithstanding this predisposition of our native-born youth to seek higher fields of general usefulness, the great prairies of the West, the broad expanse of our thinly-populated Territories, are being rapidly settled by solid, substantial sons of toil. Forests are being swept away, swamps drained, and fields of rich, waving grain deck the hills and valleys far away toward the setting sun. Cities, towns, and villages are springing up where a few short years ago the buffalo fed in undisturbed tranquillity, and the Indian roamed in all his native wilds; railroads are being built, highways constructed, and the white cottage of the thrifty pioneer dots the frontier with gems of industry, pressing on and on, until in a few more decades the eastern and the western slopes will have joined farms upon the apex of the Rocky Mountains.

A large per cent of these sturdy settlers are immigrants from foreign lands, to whom every courtesy and encouragement are extended, and who already are numbered among the most industrious elements of the country.

This is a fruitful theme, and full of interest, but being only indirectly connected with the subject under consideration, I leave it to take up, respectively, a few specific articles of commerce for a more thorough comprehension of their extent and importance in our midst.

It will readily be conceded that the aggregate result of all commerce is the compilation of small transactions. Take, for instance, the man or boy who leaves a half-pint of milk at your door every morning. This of itself seems a very small commercial deal, and yet it represents a commerce almost equal in this country to the aggregate sum of our foreign importations.

The system of cheese factories is purely

an American invention. In 1857 Mr. Jesse Williams, of Oneida county, New York, erected the first establishment of this kind. In April, 1860, there were 21 in operation. In 1866 there were 500 in the State of New York alone, and the capital incidentally involved amounted to \$40,000,000. In 1870 there were 1,300 factories in the United States, producing 55,000 tons of cheese, which, with the gross value of dairy products for that year, exceeded \$400,000,000, and the exports of cheese for the same period were in excess of 90,000,000 pounds.

In 1870 the gross yield of the three principal articles was as follows: Milk sold, (to factories and customers for private consumption,) 235,500,599 gallons; butter made, 514,092,683 pounds; cheese, 53,492,153 pounds.

New York was at the head in this article of commerce, having 1,350,661 milch cows, producing 135,775,919 gallons of milk, (reported sold,) 107,147,526 pounds of butter, and 22,769,964 pounds of cheese. Pennsylvania was second, with 706,437 milch cows, giving 14,411,729 gallons of milk, (sold,) 60,834,644 pounds of butter, and 1,145,209 pounds of cheese. Ohio was the next on the list, having 654,390 milch cows, yielding 22,275,344 gallons of milk, (sold,) 50,266,372 pounds of butter, and 8,169,486 pounds of cheese.

The first cotton mill in America was erected at Nottingham, N. H., in 1770, by Mr. Arkwright, and worked by horse-power. In 1771 he built another, attaching water-power, and then still another in 1787. In 1807 the whole number of spindles in the United States was estimated at 4,000; in 1808 at 8,000. In 1815 the three States—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—had 165 factories and 119,510 spindles. In 1831, 795 factories and 1,246,500 spindles were reported for the whole country. In 1840 there were, in total, 2,285,000 spindles; in 1850, for New England States alone, 2,728,000; in 1860, (from total of census report,) 5,035,798 spindles, and in 1870, 7,114,000. In 1874 (July 1) there were 9,415,383 spindles, of which 8,927,754 were in the Northern States and 487,629 in the South. The cotton crop of all the States in 1791 was 189,316 pounds,

against 2,000,000,000 pounds in 1859 and 1,204,798,000 in 1870. The total extent of our commerce in cotton manufactures for the year ending July 1, 1874, was 149,000,000 pounds of thread yarns and twines; 707,000,000 yards of sheeting, shirting, and similar plain goods; 306,000,000 yards of twilled and fancy goods, osnaburgs, jeans, etc.; 588,000,000 yards print cloths; 33,000,000 yards gingham; 30,000,000 yards ducks, and 6,000,000 bags.

The gross yield of wool for 1870 was 100,102,387 pounds, clipped from 28,477,951 sheep, being an average of 3.52 pounds per head. Ohio was the champion State in this article, producing 20,539,643 pounds, from 4,928,635 sheep; California 11,391,743 pounds, from 2,768,187 sheep; and New York 10,599,225 pounds, from 2,181,578 sheep. For the manufacture of woollen goods in 1870 there were 2,891 establishments, having a capital of \$108,998,000, and yielding a product of \$177,963,000.

The manufacture of silk has recently become an important branch of industry, and already is a prominent article of commerce. In 1870 there were 86 establishments of this character in the United States, having a working capital of \$6,231,130, and using \$7,817,559 of raw material. From this was produced 1,026,422 yards of silk goods; 3,224,264 yards of silk ribbon; 370,031 pounds of machine silk; 127,590 pounds of spool silk; 19,000 pounds silk thread, in all amounting to \$12,210,662 in valuation. The annual yield has since doubled, and now reaches in value about \$25,000,000.

Another quite extensive article of commerce, and also of late origin, is sewing machines. The ninth census puts down 49 factories devoted to this business, with \$8,759,431 capital; \$3,055,786 material consumed, and \$14,097,446 in products.

Iron, in all its various forms, is one of the staple articles of commerce, and though at the present time there is a depression in this particular branch of industry, yet the production is of great magnitude, and upon the revival of business certain to succeed the establishing of the currency upon a basis in which full confidence in the integrity and good faith of the Government shall have

been secured, the furnaces and forges, the blooms and the rolling mills, will again open to a new life and a greater prosperity than ever before. Our figures show the condition of this interest in 1870, prior to the crisis of 1873. At this date there were 82 iron blooms in successful operation, having \$4,506,733 capital, and yielding \$7,647,054 product. There were 310 rolling mills, with a capital of \$54,774,615, receipts \$120,311,158. Iron forges numbered 104, with \$4,620,959 capital and gross return \$8,385,669. Of pig iron there were 386 establishments, using \$45,498,017 in materials, with a result of \$69,640,498. In the construction of cast iron, 2,654 factories were at work, consuming \$48,222,550 in materials, and yielding \$99,843,218.

The manufacture of steel is also worthy of special notice. In 1870, there were 30 manufacturing of this article, having an aggregate capital of \$5,166,003, and producing 1,185 tons of puddled steel, 1,100 tons of blistered steel, and 28,069 tons cast steel.

The manufacture of pneumatic or Bessemer steel, chiefly in rails for railroads, is represented in the following statistics: In 1849, 24,314 tons; 1855, 138,674 tons; 1860, 205,038 tons; 1865, 356,292 tons; 1870, 620,000 tons; 1872, 941,000 tons, and 1873, 850,000 tons.

The traffic in and interchange of all these various commodities of manufacture and agriculture, together with the innumerable other articles, small of themselves, perhaps, but large in the aggregate, made by busy hands of amateur artisans, or worked by the needle of the industrious housewife during spare moments from her daily routine occupation, go to make up the vitality, the life of the nation, and constitute the great aggregate of domestic commerce.

This interdependence of the States, the free untrammelled exchange of commerce, and the service which each renders the other, is the potent power that has raised the country to a standard of wealth, of population, and of strength with a rapidity unprecedented.

The deep rich soil of the West produces such abundance that even now with all the means of transportation and intercommunica-

tion portions of the old crop are often retained on the farm till the ensuing year. And there are many instances where the farmer, far remote from railroad or water conveyances, can obtain but a trifling sum for his corn. Under these circumstances it not unfrequently is used for fuel. This is rather an evidence of economy than waste, for while it is the best, it is at the same time the cheapest he can obtain.

Here is where the swine is wholesomely fed; here is where that staple of the country is produced. Fattened upon corn, surfeited with unadulterated milk, the meat is solid, sweet, and good. These hogs when ready for market are gathered into droves, driven to the nearest railroad station, and shipped to the East, an ever ready and profitable market. Here, aided by that one crop so famous in New England—ice—the pork is prepared for consumption, then again shipped to the mechanic and workmen of the North, to the tradesmen and freedmen of the South, and to the artisans of the world wherever our ships of commerce float. This is not all: The blood carefully preserved at the slaughter-house, is dried to powder in a few hours by an ingenious process, and this sent to the Southern States, where it is mixed with the phosphatic rocks of the coast, and serves to increase the production of cotton—that staple which enters so largely into the wearing purposes of the common people. This is commerce; this is men, communities, and States serving each other, and yet each deriving benefit from the exchange.

One hundred years ago a small fleet sailed out of a New England harbor, laden with muskets, red flannel, beads, and tobacco. Their destination was the extreme northwest coast. On the voyage the cargoes were divided into bund'es, each containing a musket, a piece of flannel, some beads and tobacco. On the northern coast these articles were exchanged with the Indians for furs, the rate of exchange being one package for a bale of fur skins. This accomplished, the fleet sailed away for China. Here the furs were exchanged for teas, at equally as high a rate of profit as had been made upon the old muskets and flannel; and then, after a long, long interval, this pioneer commercial enterprise returned to Boston with the results



of the venture. Under this system of commerce tea was a luxury enjoyed only by the few. Now it is within the reach of all, and a general article of consumption.

To-day a telegram is received in New York from St. Petersburg calling for flour and meat for the Russian army. The merchant in New York on whom the demand is made telegraphs to San Francisco, and the articles required are promptly shipped from that port. A banker's credit, furnished by the Russian Government, is transferred in a moment to China, and the same day the tea starts from Canton for America. In a few short weeks this tea, having passed over the Pacific railroad, is being consumed by the productive element of the country; at the same moment the Russian soldiers are feeding upon the flour and meat given in exchange. This is modern commerce.

It has been truly said: "The end of all commerce is an abundant and general consumption, not only of the necessary articles of subsistence, but of the comforts and luxuries of life; and the material prosperity of the country is to be gauged by the amount of its annual consumption more than by the magnitude of its accumulation."

The attempt even to approximate the wealth and progress of the country by any system of figures or calculations is a difficult task. The report furnished by the Census Bureau is utterly fallacious taken by itself. There is but one true standard by which to measure substantial prosperity, and that is by the amount of life's comforts and luxuries which the wages of workmen, equal in intelligence and skill will purchase.

The amount of manual exertion that a hundred years ago served to procure a bare subsistence would now insure early competency and exemption from toil. The industrious craftsman now soon becomes the master. Commerce and invention, with the division of labor, have procured an abundance, and by separating the functions of those who work with the head from those who toil with the hands the common people are raised to a comparative competency.

The Republic has solved the problem of commercial success, achieved a triumph over the productive forces of nature, and the promises of future material wealth are indeed grand. All that is now requisite to a comfortable subsistence for man or woman are prudence, intelligence, health, and integrity.

## WHY NOT NOMINATE ADAMS?

The Civil Service Reformers, so-called, have a very grand ideal, with a very indefinite plan, and a totally inadequate conception of the difficulties which lie in the way of the accomplishment of their desires. Some of their ideas are conflicting, some are impossible, and not a few are impracticable in a country like ours. In a late interview of Mr. Charles Francis Adams with a reporter we get at his notions of the matter in a very concise form, and his notions are fairly representative of his class. Not to use his precise language, his idea briefly is, that he is not a party man, and for this reason, he being qualified by character, talent, education, experience, and other requisites, is not wanted as a candidate for President by either party, and stands no chance whatever of getting the nomination. He has evidently a correct notion of the case. The fact is just so.

Now the leading Reformers, Bowles, White, James Freeman Clarke, and the others, are unanimously of the opinion that Adams, because of his independence of party, being otherwise qualified, is the very man who should be nominated. At the same time they concede the impossibility of nominating him by shouting for Bristow, who, though a good man, is admitted to be a party man, and must depend upon a party nomination to be elected. By this concession they at the start admit the impossibility of carrying out their highest ideal, their no-party plan, and of taking a candidate solely on his merits. Adams admits that he is not wanted.

They see that he is not wanted, and at once they commence to cater to the supposed popular taste or prejudice, or whatever it may be called. They are compelled to introduce the arts of the politician which they

so much affect to despise. They find that there is a machine to be run, though they dislike machinery in politics very much. Indeed, the mission they started on was to abolish machine politics, and break down altogether the machine-runners; but they cannot take the first step without an organization, without committees, and funds, and caucusses, and they get up conferences, and lay plans, which, when laid by others, they stigmatize as "pipe." But the building of an organization they soon find is a great work, involving time and thought, and money and men, and as they have not these at command in sufficient proportion they wisely resolve to get the control of some existing organization, and use that to enforce the ideas which they have adopted. So far, then, they find themselves obliged to do exactly as the politicians do, and the very things which they denounce the politicians for doing. They have to manage, and it is management which is the offensive thing. They have to practice the arts of the politician, and it is those arts which have caused the mischief. They are opposed to stealing, and yet they begin by attempting to steal an organization.

By this we mean simply that they propose to take command of one of the two parties, neither of which they created, and which are in no sense their property, rather than to accomplish their ends by building up another organization. They will do as the others do in this respect, use a little judicious strategy.

This brings us back to the starting point, that, in a country like ours, the ideas and methods of these men are impracticable where they are not impossible. The case of Mr. Adams is settled simply by the fact that he is not wanted, and he is not wanted, not because he is not a good and able man and an accomplished statesman, and a person of integrity, but because he has not been a party man, and this leads to the consideration of the reasons for the disability. Why is a non-party man condemned? Is there any propriety, or any sense in it?

The reasons are ample and obvious—probably they are sound, as they are certainly effectual. At the outset we may say that govern-

ment by the people implies that the people take a sufficient interest in affairs to look after them; that to most public questions there is a right and a wrong side; that in order for the government to succeed, and the people be satisfied with it, the right side must generally prevail; that the adoption of the right side by some and the wrong side by others creates parties; hence the very necessity for government involves the certainty of parties, and must as long as there is a wrong and right side, and people who adopt the wrong. In this condition of things the man who takes the wrong side is ruled out of the administration of affairs by the deliberate judgment of those who believe in the right. This is so sensible that even James Freeman Clarke and Carl Schurz propose to rule out Morton, Conkling, and perhaps Blaine, on that very ground, and if they do this, of course the great majority of people who are confessedly party men must do the same. Well, next to being on the wrong side of public questions, not to be on the right side is in public opinion an offense which cannot be pleasing. To be on the fence is not a popular lodgment. It looks like cowardice, or incapacity to judge, or weakness, or a sacrifice of principle to gain the support of God and the devil, or indifference to right and wrong that is disgraceful, or dangerous, or contemptible. In a republic a man is expected to show his colors, and he who does not do it is regarded as lacking convictions and earnestness, or else as being governed by sinister or unworthy designs.

Mr. Adams evidently assumes a superior merit for having occupied a position so lofty that few have been able to attain unto it; but because he has been neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm, have the people spewed him out of their mouths. His kind of merit is not liked. The people like frank and outspoken men, and they will not attach themselves to the man on the fence, to the man who is first on this side and then on that, who is wavering and unsettled and uncertain, and not to be depended upon.

It may be said that Mr. Adams is a man of such habits and character that he can be trusted. Trusted to do what? What is best of course. But this means what is best

as viewed by Mr. Adams, and not what is best as viewed by the people themselves. It is an abdication of the function of government by the people to Mr. Adams, who is to be taken, not for what he represents of the people, but because he is independent of the popular influence, and boasts that he has always been on his own hook, and intends to be. The people feel this if they do not see it, and this is why Mr. Adams is the failure that he confesses, and that everybody realizes. They do not like that kind of a politician, and they ought not to. The man who goes to the caucus, who mingles with his fellow men, interests himself in their plans, and does his part toward helping on the movements of the time, shows that he is of the people and belongs to the people. The man that fails to do this is quite likely to be forgotten in proportion as he forgets his duties and evades his responsibilities, and manifests his indifference to the real work of political life.

It is the habit of the class of reformers to which Mr. Adams belongs to lament the retirement from politics of the scholars of the country, and it is claimed by them that the educated men do not have their proper influence in our public affairs. They ascribe this to the dismal fact that politics have fallen into vulgar hands and are so managed as to excite the disgust of the educated and refined and compel them to this course or to a sacrifice of their self-respect. But they mistake the fact altogether. The scholar is not excluded from politics only as he voluntarily excludes himself. The trouble is that these men, like Mr. Adams, when they are voted down, or give advice which is not accepted, or are chosen to the second place when they aspired to the first, not only get disgusted, but show their disgust, lose their tempers, and render themselves unfit for further use by the people. They become grumblers and scolds, and no-party men, and reformers, and sore-heads. They simply fall out of line and let the great army of the people march on without them. They seem to expect that the people are to do all the work and they are to come in and enjoy all the honors and emoluments. They decry politics as base and unworthy business,

set the example of keeping out, and then go about weeping because the scholar is without influence, and things are going to the bad in consequence. This is all there is in that.

Admitting, therefore, that there must be parties, as we are compelled to so long as there is a wrong side in politics, the question of party management is the first one to be considered. The reformers have their plan, though they have not reduced it to a simple formula. It crops out in various newspaper articles and speeches, however, and there is no difficulty in arriving at what it is. The first point is not to have any caucus, and that instrumentality is denounced as unworthy if not base. But the caucus not being preventable, the next thing to do is to bolt its nominations unless you are absolutely suited, which being impossible unless yourself is nominated, necessitates a bolt anyhow. Beyond this there does not appear to be any settled principle save that it is deemed high evidence of wisdom to permit those who do not belong to the party to have the management of it, or at any rate to hold the offices and reap the honors.

It being so obvious that a party managed in this way is doomed to defeat every time, an argument is not needed. These men in 1872 forgot their first principle in their first attempt to get into power, and went into a caucus, but they rallied on the second, and bolted the nomination of poor Greeley, who forsook the practice of a long life to please them and secure a nomination; or a part of them did, while the remainder fell back on the reserve principle, and took into partnership all the old and confirmed enemies of reform to manage matters in case they had won a victory. How they would have managed had they obtained power can be seen by the way the same fellows have conducted the present House of Representatives, and comment is unnecessary. We need no further illustration of that method of managing a party.

To manage parties properly we must be guided by the results of experience, and that teaches the necessity of combining various elements, making more or less concessions to prejudices, to diversified interests;



to arranging, in greater or less degree, the ambitions and the whims of men; the yielding sometimes to what seems notional, and the proper dividing of the honors and the emoluments of office among the different classes who are qualified, and by character and ability are fit to have them. No set of men can hold power in this country that neglects these things.

The eminent and learned gentlemen who lately met in New York to consider what is to be done assume that somehow they are the few righteous, and only by their wisdom can the country be saved. They were not delegated by anybody to meet and act, and they had nothing in common but the instinct of aristocracy, which demands leadership by virtue of a wisdom which is a pure assumption. Their wisdom, single or combined, has never originated a policy, and most of them are men who have tried to figure in public life and were not able to secure a constituency, or men who, on getting positions have been speedily kicked out. That they are honest men and good

citizens need not be questioned, but they are too erratic and crotchety for party leaders, and they are too feeble to carry the country without the aid of party. They are for sound money, for the payment of the national debt, for having good men in office, but they would so conduct a campaign as to secure the election of men who are for unsound money, for repudiation, and who would fill the offices with the Hambletons, Smiths, Fitzhughs, and other fellows who are reckoned "bigger men than old Grant." They have the right to meet and use their influence for whom they please, but if they wish to have the government in the hands of the friends of national unity, respect for law, honest money, and honest payment of the debt, they had better keep in the background until the people call them to the front; a merit which they have thought worthy of mention as a good qualification in a Presidential candidate, but whose application to their own case they wholly failed to see; modesty not being one of their eccentricities.

## REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

### NATIONAL.

...The one event of importance during the month past has, of course, been the successful opening of the Universal Exhibition at Philadelphia, in commemoration of the first Centennial Anniversary of American Independence. Perhaps no one illustration will so vividly point the changes made during the century past than the position assumed by and the recognition accorded to the mother country, with which we were so sorrowfully at war one hundred years ago. The Second Continental Congress—the immortal assembly which adopted the Declaration of Independence—met at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, on the Tenth of May, 1776, and on the Tenth of May, 1876, two hundred thousand persons, embracing representatives of every race and of most nations known to the civilized world, met in the beautiful Fairmount Park, in the midst of the myriad-gathered trophies of industry and utility, art and beauty, to greet the Nation's natal Century day. It is a notable

fact that the foremost foreign guest should be Great Britain, and that here, on American soil, is gathered the amplest representation ever seen of the skill and industry, the genius, culture, and progress of the English-speaking peoples of the world. The American World's Fair is in truth the largest industrial possible triumph achieved of the Anglo-Saxon stock. John Mitchell once spoke of it as the "Anglo-Saxon bully that strides the world like a Colossus." The works here gathered are indeed colossal, however far removed, thank God! from the other attribute. The British government and people seem to have outvied all their past efforts in order to place in our midst the fairest and fullest representation to be had of their industrial, technical, artistic, and social life, progress, and skill. Not only the mother country, but all her wondrous brood of nurslings are with us—the giant children of the Australian Island-Continent; the patient and swarming Anglo-Indian communities from under the tropics, grave with the

weighty task that is always with them; our neighbors of the near Canadas, and the nascent Confederation of South Africa, just pointing the way to the inevitable task that awaits the world's continent opener—the English colonizer—of bringing the almost unknown interiors of that continental peninsula, through traffic and travel, into close relations with modern civilization. It is fitting and fine, too, that the British exhibits should be only next to our own in extent, and that together we present such an evidence of the power for use, the capacity for civilization, the means of serving mankind, as none others of the great race stocks can excel, even if they anywhere or anyhow can equal. That the first social recognition should come from the representative here of Great Britain was appropriate, while it was pleasing to see how very generally the English Union-Jack—the flag of the nation—could be seen twined fraternally with that of the United States.

... We must not forget nearer lessons in the largeness of the cosmopolitan spectacle. One comes from the century's dawn, bearing the memories roused by the then most eloquent tongue of the land, and the other poured out in unbroken melody from the sweet-voiced solo singer on that wonderful opening day.

... When the Second Continental Congress met on that memorable Tenth of May, 1776, which was the forerunner of so much that is great, there rose in the assembly a man of rustic appearance and somewhat ungainly withal, who proceeded to address the delegates. It has been recorded that the Secretary and others, who knew him not, were annoyed at this rude stranger's apparent unfitness for the task he had assumed. "Fools," they thought, "rush in where angels fear to tread." But Patrick Henry's tongue, for it was he, touched with Promethean fire, soon held all spell-bound, as in grave but eloquent speech he pointed out the dangers and duties before the Congress. His closing sentence comes back with appealing force in these days and with recent and surrounding memories, clearly and solemnly across the "hundred-terraced height" on which we now stand: "AS FOR ME, I AM NOT A VIRGINIAN, BUT AN AMERICAN!" Mingling and meeting therewith comes the

music-breathing words of Lanier's cantata. Hark! how the poet through the singer's notes bears out and completes the lessons of that sentiment and of the mighty federative Republic which has arisen thereon. Columbia or the Century, whosoever may be the dramatic interpretation of the poet's apostrophizing voice, asks—

How long, Good Angel, O how long?  
Sing me from Heaven a man's own song!

And then the reply comes, as is fitting, clear, alone, above all, and in the rare melody only of the human voice:

"Long as thine Art shall love true love,  
Long as thy Science truth shall know,  
Long as thine Eagle harms no Dove,  
Long as thy Law by law shall grow,  
Long as thy God is God above,  
*Thy brother every man below,*  
So long, dear land of all my love,  
Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow!

Patrick Henry, the Virginian patriot, and Sidney Lanier, the Georgia poet, across the century, completely express the prophetic lessons of American history—*safety and stability only through unity and liberty*, even though those they may represent, past or present, have often been chief obstacles in the way of the final consummation which waits on our progress.

... There is one part of the opening ceremonies to which it would appear no exception can be taken. The speeches were brief and fitting—THE PRESIDENT'S being, as becomes him, simple and strong, modest and manly. But the music was in all respects worthy of the occasion. Wagner's great March would have been admirable, indeed, had Theodore Thomas been able to have secured and trained in time two hundred instruments instead of fifty. The choral singing, however, seems to have been regarded almost as perfect. Whittier's simply melodious hymn was given through the accompanying music with the effectiveness of some of the old and massive Gregorian chants. Lanier's cantata meets more adverse criticism, not musically so much as verbally. The poet was largely hampered by the necessities of his occasion, and of the medium through which to the multitude he was alone to be expressed. A great deal of cheap wit has been expended on the cantata as a poem—unjustly, too. It is, dramatically considered, a noble poem, somewhat mystical or transcendental in character and expression, and with its thought involved to some ex-

tent, and therefore lacking in the noble simplicity which best befits music. To that extent it was not wholly appropriate for the occasion. But after all the poet may not find ability to understand for all, even though he possesses that of expression. The attempt at witty criticisms are as a rule of the cheapest sort. Mr. Lanier, even if he did not rise quite to the occasion in clearness and simplicity, as he certainly does in originality and vigor, shows clearly that with artistic experience he is sure to meet all the demands the future may make on his genius.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS—REPUBLICAN.

...The State Republican Convention of Massachusetts, held at Worcester, April 26, was a body marked by the ability and earnestness of the attending delegates. It selected a delegation at large for the National Convention, unpledged as to persons, and instructed only as to the character of the nominations. The following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That this Convention leave the delegates of Massachusetts to the Republican National Convention unpledged and uninstructed in respect of individual candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, but expects and requires them each and all to work and vote for those candidates, and those only, whose characters give unquestionable assurance to the whole country that they will be faithful and zealous to maintain the equal rights of all citizens under the Constitution, to bring about the resumption of specie payments at a date not later than that already fixed by law, and to effect a thorough and radical reform of the civil service, to the end that the administration of public affairs may be characterized by efficiency, economy, and purity.

...On the 27th of April, the Republicans of Arkansas held a spirited convention at Little Rock, by which body delegates were appointed to the National Convention and instructed to vote for Senator Morton's nomination as President. The platform asserts allegiance to the Republican party and the equal rights of citizens of the several States, without regard to birth, color, race, or previous condition; favors an honest and economical Government, and prompt punishment of official dishonesty, and good common schools; and charges the Democratic party with robbing the State of school funds.

....On the same day the Republicans of California met at San Francisco and selected

their delegates, approving by resolutions the candidature of Mr. Blaine. The reports received show that the convention represented a reunited party. It adopted a platform expressing confidence in the Republican party; approving the prosecution and punishment of official dishonesty; deprecating Chinese immigration and favoring such a modification of the Burlingame treaty as will effectually prevent a further influx of Chinese; favoring a return to metallic currency, and the restoration of silver coin to its constitutional equality with gold as a legal tender, and the payment of the national debt in gold.

...The Republicans of Oregon met in convention at Portland, May 3d, and nominated for Congress, Richard Williams, and for Presidential electors, W. H. Odell, J. W. Watts, J. C. Cartwright, and Judge R. P. Boise. The delegates to Cincinnati were instructed to vote for Mr. Blaine.

...May 5th, the Georgia Republicans convened in Atlanta and selected delegates to the National Convention, as well as appointed State committees, general and executive. In both selections they appear to have been governed by the wish to secure the strongest men, most representative of their condition and circumstances. Colonel Bryant, of Savannah, was selected as chairman of the State Executive Committee. It adjourned without nominating a Governor or an electoral ticket, recommending a convention for that purpose to assemble in Macon before the first of August.

...The Maryland Republicans met May 4, at Frederick City. The resolutions adopted express gratitude that all investigations have failed to touch the honor and integrity of President Grant, whose administration has been wise, patriotic, and prudent in the reduction of the public debt, and the adoption of measures looking to an early resumption of specie payment. They pledge the votes of Maryland to Blaine as the candidate for President, and commend Bristow for his efforts to expose and prevent corruption. The delegates were directed to vote for Blaine as long as there is reasonable hope for his nomination.

...The Michigan Republican Convention which met at Grand Rapids, May 10, vied with that of Massachusetts in the character



of its delegates and the earnestness displayed. Delegates to Cincinnati were selected and left unpledged. The following was adopted:

*Resolved*, That \* \* \* While we are willing to waive personal preferences, our delegates must never consent to commit Republican principles to any standard bearer of doubtful position, or who does not in his own character afford assurances of practical economy, honesty, and purity in all matters of administration.

...The Republicans of West Virginia, at their Convention, Clarksburg, May 11th, complimented Mr. Bristow and indorsed Mr. Blaine's candidacy. Ex-Senator Willey and ex-Governor Stevenson are among the delegates selected.

...The Tennessee Republican Convention met at Nashville May 17th. Uninstructed delegates were chosen for the National Convention. A strong feeling in favor of Senator Morton was manifested. It was decided to postpone State nominations until after the Democratic Convention met in August.

...At Montgomery the Republican Convention called by the anti-Spencer committee, of which ex-Governor Smith is chairman, met on the 17th ultimo. It was decided to make nominations regardless of the other wing, and to select delegates to Cincinnati. This State is the only one that will have a divided delegation. The following nominations were made:—Thomas M. Peters, governor; J. J. McLeMore, secretary of state; J. S. Clarke, attorney general; W. B. Harris, state treasurer, C. Cadle, jr., auditor; J. H. Houston, superintendent of education. Delegates at large for Cincinnati, and sixteen delegates from the eight districts were selected. No instructions were given.

...The Republicans of New Jersey met at Trenton, May 17, adopted vigorous resolutions, and selected delegates for Cincinnati. They were uninstructed, but are understood to favor Mr. Blaine.

...The Kentucky Republican convention met at Louisville on the 18th. The attendance was large and the delegates were enthusiastic. The feeling in favor of Mr. Bristow's candidacy was unqualified, but no instructions were adopted.

#### DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS.

...The Nebraska Democrats indorsed the

nomination of Governor Tilden. They met at Lincoln, April 21st.

...On the 26th of April, Governor Tilden's convention met at Utica, New York. Morrissey and the anti-Tammany Democrats were excluded, John Kelly and the Tammany sachems ruling the convention. It was in session and adjourned, on passing what it was convened for, by electing a delegation to secure the nomination of S. J. Tilden as the Democratic candidate for President.

...The Oregon Democratic Convention met on the same day, selected its delegates to St. Louis, leaving them unpledged, though leaning to Tilden, and renominated Representative Lafayette Lane to Congress.

...The Georgia Democrats met in Congressional district conventions on the same date, and elected delegates to St. Louis. The general tendency was to indorse Gov. Tilden's candidacy.

...The South Carolina Democracy convened at Columbia May 4, one hundred and seventy-six delegates being present, representing all but two counties. The Grange element, which it is to be feared is being used in all the cotton States as a political instrument and for the wage-oppression of the colored laborer, was represented in the person of D. W. Aiken, master of the State Grange, an unreconstructed Confederate Democrat, who was chosen temporary president. The delegates to St. Louis were left uninstructed, and a platform of strict party character was, after heated debate, adopted.

...The Nevada Democracy, at their State Convention May 15, selected a delegation unpledged to candidates. Tilden and Thurman were the first and second choices of the delegates. Anti-Chinese resolutions were adopted.

...The Ohio Democracy met at Columbus May 17. The convention was large. A sharp contest had preceded its meeting, the friends of Governor Allen and Senator Thurman having worked hard to control it in behalf of their candidates. George H. Pendleton was selected as permanent chairman. Allen's friends carried the convention, adopting minority report. Two reports were presented, the majority (twelve) favoring a return to specie payment when it can be

accomplished without serious business disturbance; also opposing a fixed day of resumption and urging that the charters of national banks be not renewed, legal tenders to be substituted for their circulation. The minority report demands repeal of resumption act; early substitution of greenbacks for bank notes; circulation to be issued only by the General Government; three-sixty-five convertible bonds; a graduated income tax and tariff for revenue only. It urged the nomination for President of Governor Allen. The following were placed in nomination: Secretary of State, William Bell; Judge of the Supreme Court, William E. Finck; Member of Board of Public Works, H. P. Clough.

...The Iowa Democrats met on the 17th and elected delegates to St. Louis. They were uninstructed. A resolution favoring early resumption was adopted.

INDEPENDENTS—GREENBACK—LIBERALS.

...State conventions were held during the month past in Detroit, (May 3,) Topeka, Kansas, (May 4,) Des Moines, Indiana, (May 10,) and at Nashville, (May 13,) by which delegates were selected to the (so-called) National Independent Convention that convened at Indianapolis May 18. This body represents the Greenback theorists. It has been manipulated in advance for Judge, David Davis, of Illinois, who in 1872 was nominated by the Labor Reformers at Columbus, Ohio. Others favored straight nominations, and the names of Peter Cooper, General Benj. F. Butler, William D. Kelley, General Spinner, and Senator Booth, all of whom favor the interconvertible bond plan in some form, were brought forward as Presidential candidates. Two hundred and thirty-nine delegates, representing nineteen States, were present. Thomas J. Durant, of Washington, presided as permanent chairman. The platform favors an interconvertible bond, increase of currency, abolition of national bank circulation, and repeal of resumption act. Peter Cooper and Senator Newton Booth were nominated for President and Vice-President.

...A body of gentlemen calling themselves the Liberal Republican National Committee met May 8th at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York. A small number of those appointed

as such committee by the Cincinnati Convention of 1872, holding proxies from others, were present. The inevitable Californian, promoted from an ex-Secretary of State to an ex-Lieutenant Governorship, (which he never held,) who has not been in that State to reside for nearly ten years, was a prominent member of the conference. Ex-Governor Warmoth, who is certainly without, politically speaking, a local habitation or name, was also among the confreres. This gathering must not be confounded with the "National Reform League," or indeed with John Cochrane's Liberal shop "over the way," which, it will be seen, repudiates Ethan Allen and his confreres. The following call was adopted, and afterward practically nullified by the resolution that follows:

The National Liberal Republican Committee appointed by the convention held in Cincinnati in May, 1872, being fully authorized so to do, hereby orders that a National Liberal Republican Convention be held in the city of Philadelphia on the 26th day of July, 1876, at 12 o'clock.

Each State is invited to send to such convention a representation equal to the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

All citizens who desire to perpetuate the national honor and the national prosperity; who are in favor of the equality of all men before the law, of whatever race, color, religion, or politics; who desire the permanence of the Union and the Constitution with the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, and are opposed to reopening any of the questions of the late fratricidal war, long since regarded as settled; who believe that in time of profound peace the civil authority should be supreme; that the civil service of the Government should be so reformed that honesty, capacity, and fidelity shall constitute the only valid claim to public employment, and that to secure this no President of the United States should be a candidate for re election; who believe that all laws of imposts should be for the purposes of revenue only, and adjusted so far as possible with impartiality as to all sections and interests; who are in favor of a speedy return to specie payment, as demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government; and, above all, who are in favor of honest men at the head of the Republic to carry out honest measures, are cordially invited to join in sending delegates to this National Convention.

The present demoralized condition of the public service, the startling revelations of



corruption, and the consequent prostration of all industrial interests, more than confirm the warnings of the Liberal Republicans in the campaign of 1872, and have vindicated their efforts then made for national reform. The work of political purification then defeated yet remains to be done. In this work each elector, as a patriot, must perform his part. The citizen must rise above the partisan. Allegiance to country in this hour of trouble is a higher duty than allegiance to party. It is necessary that the speculator be eliminated as a controlling power in party politics, that office may again become the post of honor and not the avenue to crime. Both of the old parties have a pernicious history that makes them equally impotent for further public good. While all things are possible, it nevertheless seems improbable that reform will be secured "within party lines." While this is to be hailed with joy if accomplished, experience gives but little cause to hope for it. The reformed convict is not usually the best citizen, nor will a reformed party be the best exponent of morality. The party that badly needs reformation needs burial. Out of the ruins of both of the decaying organizations true reform must come, and in such a way that the conscience of the nation will approve; otherwise all efforts will be in vain. The nominees, in the purity of their characters, must be the guarantors of the principles they profess, and for their support when placed before the country we cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

ETHAN ALLEN,

*Chairman National Liberal Republican Committee.*

*Resolved*, That if after the Republican and Democratic Conventions have been held in June next, one or both of these parties shall seem, in the judgment of our chairman, Mr. Ethan Allen, to have responded to the principles and aims of the Liberal Republican organization, both in measures and men, in that event our chairman, after further conference with this committee, is hereby authorized by proclamation to annul the call for a national convention this day ordered. But after said conventions, their actions being unfavorable to reform, he is empowered to take such action in furthering the call for a convention this day ordered as he may deem necessary.

...The New York State Liberal Executive Committee met the next day, and declaring that as "no Liberal organization is known to have survived in any State, except in the State of New York," that the committee thereof "fail to recognize the organized existence of the Liberal Republicans whom, in

their national capacity, that body aims to represent and direct," and then

*Resolved*, That in view of the formidable influence with which events have invested the men of independent opinions in the politics of the country, and of the importance of unity of action in their efforts for reform, we advise the Liberal Republicans of the State of New York to await the action of the approaching conventions in Cincinnati and St. Louis, with the purpose of directing their support to any unobjectionable Presidential candidate thereby nominated, or in default thereof, of participating with other non-partisan or independent electors in whatever feasible movement shall seem to promise the delivery of our National Government and institutions from the ravages of corruption.

When the reform doctors disagree, how can the politicians succeed?

...Two really notable gatherings have been held in New York city. One was convened by a letter signed by Messrs. Schurz, Grosvenor, Horace White, and others who led in the Cincinnati movement. The other met at the call of the "National Reform League." The Republican party is nowhere, by platform, declaration, or action, in opposition to the views put forth in either call or expressed at the gatherings alluded to.

An address has been issued by the Reform League's Executive Committee, which reads as follows:

The National Reform League is a popular movement, intended to unite and transform into action that sentiment of the people which everywhere demands reform in the civil service and honest government.

In the accomplishment of its purposes it does not aspire to competition with either of the existing parties in the wielding of political power, but pledges itself to constant and earnest efforts for the overthrow of every influence, whether represented by parties or individuals, which has a tendency to foster or promote corruption.

As an organization formed by representatives from the different States it will seek to give such expression to the demands of patriotic and independent citizens as shall secure through the agency of the existing parties, or by such other means as it may be necessary to adopt, a policy in harmony with the best sentiment of the people.

Its members regard with alarm the state of affairs which permits the election of venal and incompetent men to positions of trust, the bartering, for unworthy considerations,



of appointments to places of honor and profit, and the consequent shameful malfeasance in office. They look upon the corruption by which these things are rendered possible as a cause for immediate and indignant action on the part of the great mass of the people who do not recognize as their proper representatives the trafficking politicians into whose hands the management of the national affairs has so largely fallen.

They believe that the redemption of the country from the hands of those who have thus betrayed the trust of the people demands the exercise—through the existing parties if possible, independently of them if necessary—of a power vested in the hands of those whose utterances shall represent the intelligence and patriotism of the country; and whose work, uninfluenced by the hidden machinery of party politics, shall be open, honest, and thorough.

Thus believing the members of the National Reform League will stand pledged to the use of all legitimate means for securing the nomination and election to the Chief Magistracy of the nation, and to all minor offices, National, State, and local, of men who shall worthily represent the people and the institutions of the United States. \* \*

This is signed by Henry Randall Waite, J. G. Holland, Franz Sigel, George H. Putnam, R. Heber Newton, George Cary Eggleston, and Kinahan Cornwallis, of New York; James Freeman Clarke, Henry T. Cheever, and Henry F. Bishop, of Massachusetts; M. S. Dudley, of Connecticut; Samuel C. Anderson and R. W. Weeks, of New Jersey; John Sill, of Pennsylvania; James D. Browne, of Virginia; R. Brinkerhoff and M. D. Harter, of Ohio; and John W. Hoyt, of Wisconsin. These gentlemen compose the Executive Committee.

...At the conference held on the 15th May, under the Carl Schurz call, among the officers appointed were the following :

President—Theodore D. Woolsey. Vice-Presidents—G. G. Fogg, New Hampshire; C. W. Willard, Vermont; H. L. Pierce, Martin Bremmer, Julius H. Seelye, Mark Hopkins, James F. Clark, Massachusetts; Leonard Bacon, Joseph Cummings, Connecticut; R. Hazard, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Rhode Island; W. C. Bryant, John Jay, O. Ottendorfer, E. Salomen, Branford R. Wood, Cyrus W. Field, Charles Butler, and Samuel Osgood, New York; Thomas Balch, Henry Lea, A. M. Welsh, Pennsylvania; ex-Governor Miller, J. D. Cox, Ohio; Colonel Martin, Indiana; John D. Bryant and Robert Collyer, Illinois; M. M. Davis

and F. W. Horn, Wisconsin; John McNeill and Joseph S. Rollins, Missouri. Secretaries—H. C. Lodge, Massachusetts; F. A. Walker, Connecticut; H. A. Brown, Pennsylvania; A. Thieme, Ohio; Thomas Clark, Missouri.

All the New England names are those of gentlemen who have always been identified with the Republican party. So also with most of those from New York. Ottendorfer has always been, and still is, a German Democratic leader. Mr. Rollins, of Missouri, has had no regular associations, sometimes acting with both parties, for a long time past. Nearly all the others who participated are still affiliated with the Republican party. It is worthy notice that however exaggerated may be the appeals made, yet all these efforts looking to reform come from those who are in full accord with the principles and policy under and by which the Republican party have accomplished so much.

There were a great many Jeremiahs in the assemblage, and a dismal picture was drawn. President Woolsey, who thinks honor does not belong to a Democracy, declared that the country blushed with shame. The meeting was to decide how to remove the blushes. Carl Schurz described himself and associates as on the fence, afraid of the mud on the either side. Dr. Osgood didn't like the odor from the White House and made a wry speech thereat. Mr. McVeigh thought the confreres were boys in politics and thought they would do better to be personal and definite. He wanted to recommend Mr. Bristow. Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., didn't see it, and would wait for a report from their committees. A Philadelphia Henry Brown declared that a rigorous course of politics had excluded every respectable man from office in that city. He forgot to mention that a rigorous abstention from voting by from fifty to one hundred thousand respectable citizens thereof had more to do with it. Dr. Bacon wanted the country's debts paid, and Professor Seelye did not believe the American people either "fallen or degenerated." There were some cases of corruption, but very few. A courageous, self-forgetting man as President would reform even these. Colonel Higginson thought the Republican

party would do well, it only needed stirring up; and busy Wm. Welsh, of Pennsylvania, thought the people were not slaves but in the hands of office-seekers. The conference seemed to be a confusion of tongues, indeed.

After deciding against all Presidential making, the conference adopted an address, which begins by a declaration that no new party organization is sought. Most of those represented adhere to old and cherished associations, and would be best gratified by seeing candidates nominated having the requisites now esteemed imperative. But the moral reform of our public concerns is above all party considerations. The presentation simply of a choice of evils is a prolific source of public corruption. It renders possible that subtle tyranny of organization which must be broken. The address earnestly hopes that all efforts within party lines for reform may be successful, but is not hopeful to that end. Demonstrations must be made in their aid. An appeal is therefore made to all agreeing to organize, and manifest their opinion in or out of party lines. Let every effort be made to influence nominating conventions in the best way to aid the Republic's best interest. It closes and is signed as follows:

Our generation has to open the second century of our national life, as the fathers opened the first. Theirs was the work of independence; ours is the work of reformation. The one is as vital now as the other was then. Now, as then, every true man must have the courage of his duty.

CARL SCHURZ, Missouri, Chairman.

MARTIN BRIMMER, Massachusetts.

L. F. S. FOSTER, Connecticut.

PARKE GODWIN, New York.

JOHN W. HOYT, Wisconsin.

Published by order of the conference.

Signed by

THEO. WOLSEY, *President*.

If it were not irreverent, the parallel to the spirit of this occasion might be found in the parable of the Pharisee, who made broad his phylactery and raised his voice aloud, thanking God he was not as other men, even as this publican—Republican we should say the modern Pharisees meant.

...The Prohibitionists of Kansas have put the following ticket in the field: Governor, Col. John P. St. John; Lieutenant Governor, Wm. Fairchild; Auditor, Hon. P. I. Bone-

brake; Secretary of State, M. E. Hudson; Treasurer, John Francis; Superintendent Public Instruction, Professor B. F. Mudge; Associate Justice, Judge D. J. Brewer.

...A National Prohibition Convention met at Cleveland, Ohio, May 17. The attendance was not large. Green Clay Smith, ex-Member of Congress from Kentucky, was nominated for president, and G. F. Stewart, of Ohio, for vice president. The platform adopted urged an amendment of the Constitution so as to make prohibitory legislation universal and permanent; conclusion of treaties with foreign Powers to prevent the importation of liquors; abolition of class legislation; reduction of rates of postage, telegraphs, transportation, and travel; suppression of gambling; abolition of polygamy and the social evil; national observance of the Sabbath; compulsory education; use of the Bible in the public schools; complete separation of Church and State; settlement of international disputes by arbitration; prison reform; direct election of the President by the people; protection and equal rights to immigrants; issue of paper money only by the Government, and redeemable on demand in specie; reduction of expenditures; and thorough investigation of corruption.

**HYPOCRITICAL CLAMOR.**—The country is about sick of the hypocritical clamor about political corruption. There is less now than fifty years ago. The standard of public morality is higher than ever before. If a few spots, ugly-looking to the eye, are found on the surface, it is because the people are searching for them. Never since the beginning of the Government have the people been so vigilant and so deeply interested in political affairs as at the present time. This has led to a higher standard of merit in public men. Officials who, twenty years ago, could have enriched themselves without detection can find no rest or comfort now. It is safe to say, that, considering the immense transactions of the Government, the vast interests involved, the hundreds of millions yearly expended, that the percentage of official dishonesty is smaller now than under the most favored period of our national existence. The cry of "Thief, stop thief!" comes from those who are thieves themselves, who hope, by raising a false alarm, to keep the vigilant eye of the people off their own rascally purposes. Depend upon it, this cry of public corruption comes either from Democrats who wish to get their arms into the public treasury, or from sore-headed politicians who see no chance of their personal promotion except through the formation of a third party, that shall be run in their interests and under their management.



## WASHINGTON'S VETOES.

We are asked, "Did George Washington ever exercise the veto power during his Presidency; and if so, under what circumstances?"

Washington "exercised the veto power" twice. His first veto is dated April 5, 1792, and returns to the House of Representatives "an act for an apportionment of representation among the several States according to the first enumeration."

It was the first act under the Constitution for an apportionment of representation among the several States. In the House, (which embraced such men as James Madison, Elbridge Gerry, William B. Giles, Fisher Ames, Theodore Sedgwick, Fred. A. Muhlenburg, Nathaniel Macon, Thomas Sumter, and Thomas Tudor Tucker,) a very animated and interesting debate had occurred upon its passage, and the wide difference of opinion expressed witnesses the speculative character of the notions then held upon the subject by leading men.

The Constitution had fixed the minimum ratio at one representative to every 30,000 persons. According to that ratio under the apportionment of the new census the number of members of the House would be increased to 113, which some feared was dangerously large, and moved to strike out 30,000 and increase the ratio to 35,000, and to 40,000. A lively debate ensued.

Some urged that the existing representation was too small to secure the liberties of the country; that if the number be small a majority may be the more easily corrupted; that the people expected an increase in the representation; that an increased representation would be a security against corruption; and the necessary additional expense in the increased total of the pay of members would be trifling as compared with the benefits; that the expense would be more than compensated by the shortening of the session, as a larger number would have a greater capacity for work and by the greater security to the liberties of the people. Indeed, the existence of the Union might depend upon the fullness of the representation. Hence they favored the retention of the Constitutional minimum of 30,000.

Others again contended that an increased representation would positively endanger the liberties of the republic; that the total of pay would not only be increased, but the number of officers would be increased, and every man would wish his friend provided for; that corruption would necessarily be the consequence; that the corruption of the French Assembly was owing to its large numbers; that a very numerous representation would weaken, if not destroy, the State and Federal Governments; that an increase would divide and diminish the responsibility of the House, make it too unwieldy, and retard public business. Hence, they moved to increase the ratio of representation.

A jealousy or fear of the Executive cropped out strongly with some. The Federal Government was "already pretty highly seasoned with prerogative"—already overshadowed the popular branch, and with a small representation, and its manifold forces of corruption, would soon destroy its integrity. Others again saw in an energetic government the only guaranty of the blessings of liberty; but Mr. Giles was the strongest exponent of the Democratic notions of the period. He said:

"An inequality of circumstances produces revolutions in government—from democracy to aristocracy and monarchy. Great wealth produces a desire of distinctions, rank, and titles. The revolutions in property in this country have produced great inequality of circumstances. Government has contributed to this inequality. The Bank of the United States is a most important machine in promoting the objects of this moneyed interest. This bank will be the most powerful engine to corrupt this House. Some of the members are directors of this institution, and it will only be by increasing the representation that an adequate barrier can be opposed to this moneyed interest." \* \* \* "The strong Executive of this Government ought to be balanced by a full representation in the House."

The result of the debate was the passage of a bill which Washington was compelled to veto, principally because it violated the Con-



stitution "in allotting in eight of the States more than one in every 30,000."

In the House, the vote upon the passage of the bill over the President's veto was: Yeas, 23; nays, 33; Fisher Ames, Elbridge Gerry, Theodore Sedgwick, and Artemas Ward voting for its passage, and Wm B. Giles, Nathaniel Macon, James Madison, Fred. A. Muhlenberg, Thomas Sumter, and Thos. Tudor Tucker voting against its passage.

The second veto is dated February 28, 1798, and returns to the House "an act to ascertain and fix the military establishment of the United States," partly because it discharged from the military service men without providing means for their payment from the date of the law and that of their muster out, but chiefly because of the inconvenience and injury to the public interest by mustering out men engaged in a necessary and important service.

## MUNICIPAL AND TOWN ELECTIONS.

The drift wood floating on a stream indicate often the force of the current. Straws, says the old adage, show which way the wind blows. With all due respect to the local self pride which may be affected by being looked at as drift wood or straws, it is worth while to note somewhat in consecutive order the results of the various local elections throughout the country during the past three months.

From the beginning of the current year (1876) the great majority of the municipal elections have, as is usual in the Presidential period, been decided on partisan proclivities and interests. It is not, as a rule, a good year for Independents, and the rule holds more than good at the present time.

The New England town elections all tended toward one point—an increased Republican activity. In New Hampshire especially their results clearly indicated the later triumph had in the State. In Connecticut, too, they gave reasonable hope of a similar result. The disappointment seems due to apathy and want of capacity in conducting the campaign. The Maine elections were very significant, the city of Portland, among others, being carried by the Republicans the first time for several years.

In the State of New York elections for supervisors are always closely watched by the politicians who "make slates" and forecast probabilities. Especially is this the case in the Presidential year. The Republican party made large gains, carrying nearly one hundred more supervisors than it did in 1875.

Along the whole line of cities and States,

especially those regarded as doubtful, the Republicans made clear and positive gains.

In Michigan, for instance, where last spring the reaction almost reached to the "bed-rock," the political complexion of the supervisors elected is more than satisfactory. The results given in forty-six counties of that State as compared with last year will prove this. Counting the liberals and independents as Democrats, and in the forty-six counties alluded to the Republicans gained fifty-six supervisors. The totals were as follows:

Total No. of Supervisors.		
	1875.	1876.
Republicans.....	472	528
Democrats.....	333	279
Majority.....	139	249

The county elections in New Jersey follow, as a general thing, the same rule as those of New York. At the elections last fall, when members of the Legislature and sheriffs were to be elected, the result was an almost complete reversal of the Democratic gains of the year preceding. At the recent local elections the same result is seen. A majority of the counties elect Republicans.

Mercer county gave a marked victory. In Jersey City, the Republican mayor was elected by about 400 majority against a Democratic majority last year of 3,000. In Union, Passaic, and Morris counties the Board of Chosen Freeholders will be Republican.

But Indiana, as a decidedly "doubtful" State, has been watched with great interest. The results of the municipal elections therein surprise even the most sanguine Republicans. The city of Indianapolis was carried by a Republican majority of 4,315, and this, too, in the face of an apportionment expressly made by a Democratic Common Council to prevent it, and in despite of a violent riot designed to deter voters.

The Republicans also carried Lafayette, Fort Wayne, South Bend, Terre Haute, Laporte, Richmond, Rochester, Wabash, Franklin, Warsaw, Lebanon, Crawfordsville, Elkhart, Greensburg, Greencastle, Shelbyville, Kokomo, Bloomington, Connorsville, and Madison out of the twenty-five principal places in the State. Plymouth, Valparaiso, Logansport, and New Albany alone were carried by the Democracy. In Shelbyville, usually Democratic and the home of

Governor Hendricks, the Republicans carried every ward. There were many other changes quite as striking.

Similar reports come from all quarters. The Illinois town elections were generally in the same groove. So with those of Kansas, Nebraska, California, etc. If, as political managers, these indications are signs of significant portent, then the prospects for a Republican victory, through hard work and strong nominations, are very encouraging.

## THE RIGHT OF TAXATION AND THE RAILROADS.

The Supreme Court has recently rendered a very important decision, unanimous in character and delivered through Mr. Justice Miller. It was on a case of appeal, taken by certain Illinois railroads, against the right of that State under the new constitution, and by means of the State Board of Equalization, to levy certain taxes on such corporations, under the following provision:

SEC. 10. The rolling stock, and all other moveable property belonging to any railroad company or corporation in this State, shall be considered personal property, and shall be liable to execution and sale in the same manner as the personal property of individuals, and the General Assembly shall pass no law exempting such property from execution and sale.

Mr. Justice Miller's decision and review establishes the following important propositions:

First. Neither irregularity in the proceedings, excess in the valuation, nor hardship of the law, if it be constitutional, nor any grievance remediable by a suit at law will authorize an injunction against the collection of taxes.

Second. This rule is founded on the principle that the levy of taxes is a legislative and not a judicial function, and also in the necessity that the taxes, without which the State cannot exist, should be regularly and promptly paid into its treasury.

Third. The same rigid rule would probably apply to taxes levied by municipal corporations for corporation purposes.

Fourth. No injunction preliminary or final can be granted to stay collection of taxes until it is shown that all the taxes really due have been paid or tendered without demanding a receipt in full.

Fifth. The Constitution of Illinois declares in express terms that certain persons and corporations engaged in special pursuits may be taxed by a general law, uniform as to the class upon which it operates, and under this provision a statute is not unconstitutional which prescribes a different rule of taxation

for railroad companies from that for individuals.

Sixth. Nor does it violate any provision of the Constitution of the United States.

Seventh. The capital stock, franchises, and all the real and personal property of corporations are justly liable to taxation, and a rule that ascertains the value of all this by ascertaining the cash value of the funded debt, and of the shares of the capital stock, as the basis of assessment, is probably as fair as any other.

Eighth. Deducting from this the assessed value of all the tangible real and personal property, which is also taxed, leaves the real value of the capital stock and franchise subject to taxation as justly as any other mode, all modes being more or less imperfect.

Ninth. It is neither in conflict with the Constitution of Illinois nor unequitable that the entire taxable property of the railroad should be ascertained by the State Board of Equalization, and that the State, county, and city taxes should be collected within each municipality on this assessment in the proportion which the length of the road within such municipality bears to the whole length of the road within the State.

Tenth. The courts cannot substitute their judgment as to valuation for that of the Board.

Eleventh. The Supreme Court of Illinois having decided that the law complained of in these cases is valid, this court adopts that decision as a rule to be followed in the Federal courts.

Twelfth. Does it follow that in cases where the proceedings are faulty or illegal that a court of equity will enjoin the collection of the whole tax, when it is obvious that a large part should be paid, and if not paid the complainant would escape taxation altogether? The question is important because the immense weight of taxation rendered necessary by the debts of the United States, of the several States, and of the counties, cities, and towns, has resulted very naturally in a resort to every possible expedient to evade its force. It has been repeatedly decided that neither the mere illegality of the tax



complained of, nor its injustice nor irregularity, of themselves give the right to an injunction.

The United States has a complete system for the correction of injustice to tax-payers, but there is no place in it for application to the Courts until after the tax is paid. An act of 1867 covers this point particularly. This is a wise policy. It is founded on the simple philosophy derived from the experience of ages, that the payment of taxes has to be enforced by summary and stringent means against a reluctant and often ill-advised sentiment. No court of equity will, therefore, allow its injunction to issue to restrain their action, except where it appears that the enforcement of the tax would lead to a multiplicity of suits or produce irreparable injury, or, when the property is real estate, throw a cloud upon the title of the complainant before the aid of a court of equity can be invoked. The Court will always incline to require a clear case of equitable relief before it will sustain an injunction against the collection of a tax, which is part of the revenue of a State.

But there is another principle of equitable jurisprudence which forbids in these cases the interference of a court of chancery in favor of complainants. It is that universal rule which requires that he who seeks equity at the hands of the court must first do equity. It is clear that the road-bed within each county is liable to be taxed at the same rate that other property is taxed. Why have not complainants paid this tax?

Before complainants seek the aid of the court to be relieved of the excessive tax they should pay what is due. Before they ask equitable relief they should do that justice which is necessary to enable the court to hear them.

It is a satisfaction that our judgment concurs with that of the State Court, and leads us to the same conclusions. The decrees in all these cases are reversed. The cases are remanded to the Circuit Court, with directions to dissolve the injunction granted in each case and to dismiss the bills.

Justice Miller's reputation as a jurist, already so high, will be greatly enhanced by this luminous exposition of jurisprudence as applied to the relations of the State and the railway system. Step by step, in that broad and popular sense without which no political truth can become a practical rule of action in a democratic society, we are coming to an acceptance of the great fact that railroads, like telegraphs and banks, are in no just sense private enterprises or property, but public trusts, chartered by the State and deriving their only vitality from such action, "charged with remuneration for private capital invested, or run by private corporations because the public feel that to be the most convenient method of management." This doctrine once accepted offers open roads to correct all evils arising from present or future monopolies. The profit made is of course taxable, as are also the means of making it.

## CIVIL LIBERTY.

In October, 1840, Robert H. Morris, then Recorder of the city of New York, proceeded in the night time to the house of a citizen and demanded of him certain papers which were sealed in a package, and had been delivered to that citizen by an individual against whom a criminal complaint had been made before the Recorder, "which complaint did not involve the charge of having unlawfully obtained the papers" so demanded. The citizen hesitated to deliver the papers. The Recorder then declared to him that if he did not deliver the same, he, the Recorder, would search for the papers and forcibly seize them by virtue of his authority as a magistrate. Under the coercion of this threat the papers were delivered to the Recorder.

Governor Seward promptly removed the Recorder from office on the ground that he had clearly violated the constitutional right of the citizen to be secure in his person and papers.\* The Governor held that any search warrant for the private papers of the accused, "which papers were not alleged to have been feloniously stolen or unlawfully acquired,"

would have been a violation of the most sacred private rights and of the most cherished principles of civil liberty, and that the seizure of the papers *without warrant on oath* was a flagrant aggravation of the offense. The Attorney General discussed the grave question in a luminous report of the case. It is needless to say that the Recorder was a Democrat, and that he committed the outrage in the interest of the Democratic party, which afterward elected him Mayor of the city of New York.

We all know where that party stands, today, on the question of Civil Liberty. A citizen of Washington refused to deliver up his private papers unless some charge under oath was made that those papers were in some manner connected with crime or feloniously or unlawfully acquired.

For thus claiming his constitutional rights he was for a political object only sent to the common jail and there imprisoned like a felon!

[\*See Constitution of the United States, Amendments, Article IV.]



# Jefferson Davis—Amnesty.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 10, 1876.

The House having under consideration the bill [H. R. 214] to remove the disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, the pending question being on the motion of Mr. Blaine to reconsider the motion by which the bill was repealed.

## MR. BLAINE :

MR. SPEAKER, I rise to a privileged question. I move to reconsider the vote which has just been declared. I propose to debate that motion, and now give notice that if the motion to reconsider is agreed to it is my intention to offer the amendment which has been read several times. I will not delay the House to have it read again.

EVERY TIME THE QUESTION OF AMNESTY has been brought before the House by a gentleman on that side for the last two Congresses, it has been done with a certain flourish of magnanimity which is an imputation on this side of the House, as though the Republican party which has been in charge of the Government for the last twelve or fourteen years had been bigoted, narrow, and illiberal, and as though certain very worthy and deserving gentlemen in the Southern States were ground down to-day under a great tyranny and oppression, from which the hard-heartedness of this side of the House cannot possibly be prevailed upon to relieve them.

If I may anticipate as much wisdom as ought to characterize that side of the House, this may be the last time that amnesty will be discussed in the American Congress. I therefore desire, and under the rules of the House, with no thanks to that side for the privilege, to place on record just what the Republican party has done in this matter. I wish to place it there as an imperishable record of liberality, and large-mindedness, and magnanimity, and mercy far beyond any that has ever been shown before in the world's history by conqueror to conquered.

With the gentleman from Pennsylvania. [Mr. RANDALL,] I entered this Congress in

the midst of the hot flame of war, when the Union was rocking to its foundations, and no man knew whether we were to have a country or not. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania would have been surprised when he and I were novices in the Thirty-eighth Congress if he could have foreseen before our joint service ended we should have seen sixty-one gentlemen, then in arms against us, admitted to equal privileges with ourselves, and all by the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. When the war ended, according to the universal usage of nations, the Government, then under the exclusive control of the Republican party, had the right to determine what should be the political status of the people who had been defeated in war. Did we inaugurate any measures of persecution? Did we set forth on a career of bloodshed and vengeance? Did we take property? Did we prohibit any man all his civil rights? Did we take from him the right he enjoys to-day to vote?

Not at all. But instead of a general and sweeping condemnation the Republican party placed in the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution only this exclusion; after considering the whole subject it ended in simply coming down to this:

That no person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

It has been variously estimated that this section at the time of its original insertion in the Constitution included somewhere from fourteen to thirty thousand persons; as nearly as I can gather together the facts of the case, it included about eighteen thousand men in the South. It let go every man of the hundreds of thousands—or millions if you please—who had been engaged in the attempt to destroy this Government, and only held those under disability who in addition to revolting had violated a special and peculiar and personal oath to support the Constitution of the United States. It was limited to that.

Well, that disability was hardly placed upon the South until we began in this hall and in the other wing of the Capitol, when there were more than two-thirds Republicans in both branches, to remit it, and the very first bill took that disability off from 1,573 citizens of the South; and the next bill took it off from 3,526 gentlemen—by wholesale. Many of the gentlemen on this floor came in for grace and amnesty in those two bills. After these bills specifying individuals had passed, and others, of smaller numbers, which I will not recount, the Congress of the United States in 1872, by two-thirds of both branches, still being two-thirds Republican, passed this general law:

That all political disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of amendments of the Constitution of the United States are hereby removed from all persons whomsoever, except Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States.

Since that act passed a very considerable number of the gentlemen which it still left under disability have been relieved specially, by name, in separate acts. But I believe, Mr. Speaker, in no single instance since the act of May 22, 1872, have the disabilities been taken from any man except upon his respectful petition to the Congress of the United States that they should be removed. And I believe in no instance, except one, have they been refused upon the petition being presented. I believe in no instance, except one, has there been any other than a unanimous vote.

Now, I find there are widely varying opinions in regard to the number

THAT ARE STILL UNDER DISABILITIES IN THE SOUTH.

I have had occasion, by conference with the Department of War and of the Navy, and with the assistance of some records which I have caused to be searched, to be able to state to the House. I believe with more accuracy than it has been stated hitherto, just the number of gentlemen in the

South still under disabilities. Those who were officers of the United States army, educated at its own expense at West Point and who joined the rebellion, and are still included under this act, number, as nearly as the War Department can figure it up, 325; those in the Navy about 295. Those under the other heads, Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judiciary service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States, make up a number somewhat more difficult to state accurately, but smaller in the aggregate. The whole sum of the entire list is about—it is probably impossible to state it with entire accuracy, and I do not attempt to do that—is about 750 persons now under disabilities.

I am very frank to say that in regard to all these gentlemen, save one, I do not know of any reason why amnesty should not be granted to them as it has been to many others of the same class. I am not here to argue against it. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. KASSON] suggests "on their application." I am coming to that. But as I have said, seeing in this list, as I have examined it with some care, no gentleman to whom I think there would be any objection, since amnesty has already become so general—and I am not going back of that question to argue it—I am in favor of granting it them. But in the absence of this respectful form of application which since May 22, 1872, has become a sort of common law as preliminary to amnesty, I simply wish to put in that they shall go before a United States Court, and in open court with uplifted hand, swear that they mean to conduct themselves as good citizens of the United States. That is all.

Now, gentlemen may say that this is a foolish exaction. Possibly it is. But somehow or other I have a prejudice in favor of it. And there are some petty points in it that appeal as well to prejudice as to conviction. For one I do not want to impose citizenship on any gentleman. If I am correctly informed, and I state it only on rumor, there are some gentlemen in this list who have spoken contemptuously of the idea of their taking citizenship, and have spoken still more contemptuously of the idea of their applying for citizenship. I may state it wrongly, and if I do I am willing to be corrected, but I understand that Mr. Robert Toombs has, on several occasions, at watering places both in this country and in Europe, stated that he

WOULD NOT ASK THE UNITED STATES FOR CITIZENSHIP.

Very well, we can stand it about as well as Mr. Robert Toombs can. And if Mr. Robert Toombs is not prepared to go into a court



of the United States and swear that he means to be a good citizen, let him stay out. I do not think that the two houses of Congress should convert themselves into a joint convention for the purpose of embracing Mr. Robert Toombs and gushingly request him to favor us by coming back to accept of all the honors of citizenship. That is the whole. All I ask is that each of these gentlemen shall show his good faith by coming forward and taking the oath which you on that side of the House and we on this side of the House and all of us take and gladly take. It is a very small exaction to make as a preliminary to full restoration to all the rights of citizenship.

In my amendment, Mr. Speaker, I have excepted Jefferson Davis from its operation. Now, I do not place it on the ground that Mr. Davis was, as he has been commonly called, the head and front of the rebellion, because on that ground I do not think the exception would be tenable. Mr. Davis was just as guilty, no more so, no less so, than thousands of others who have already received the benefit and grace of amnesty. Probably he was far less efficient as an enemy of the United States; probably he was far more useful as a disturber of the councils of the Confederacy than many who have already received amnesty. It is not because of any particular and special damage that he above others did to the Union, or because he was personally or especially of consequence, that I except him. But I except him on this ground: that he was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville.

A MEMBER. And Libby.

Mr. BLAINE. Libby pales into insignificance before Andersonville. I place it on that ground; and I believe to-day, that so rapidly does one event follow on the heels of another in the rapid age in which we live, that even those of us who were contemporaneous with what was transpiring there, and still less those who have grown up since, fail to remember the gigantic crime then committed.

Sir, since the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] introduced this bill last month I have taken occasion to reread some of the

#### HISTORIC CRUELITIES OF THE WORLD.

I have read over the details of those atrocious murders of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries which are always mentioned with a thrill of horror throughout Christendom. I have read the details of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, that stand out in history as one of those atrocities beyond imagination. I have read anew the horrors untold and unimaginable of the Span-

ish Inquisition. And I here before God, measuring my words, knowing their full extent and import, declare that neither the deeds of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, nor the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, nor the thumb-screws and engines of torture of the Spanish Inquisition begin to compare in atrocity with the hideous crime of Andersonville. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Mr. ROBBINS, of North Carolina. That is an infamous slander.

The SPEAKER. If such demonstrations are repeated in the galleries the Chair will order them to be cleared.

Mr. BLAINE. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, that while this Congress was under different control from that which exists here to-day, with a Committee composed of both sides and of both branches, that tale of horror was placed where it cannot be denied or gainsaid.

I hold in my hand the story written out by a committee of Congress. I state that Winder, who is dead, was sent to Andersonville with a full knowledge of his previous atrocities; that these atrocities in Richmond were so fearful, so terrible, that Confederate papers, the *Richmond Examiner* for one, stated when he was gone that, "Thank God, Richmond is rid of his presence." We in the North knew from returning skeletons what he had accomplished at Belle Isle and Libby, and fresh from those accomplishments he was sent by Mr. Davis, against the protest of others in the Confederacy, to construct this den of horrors at Andersonville.

Now, of course it would be utterly beyond the scope of the occasion and beyond the limits of my hour for me to go into details. But in arraigning Mr. Davis I undertake here to say that I will not ask any gentleman to take the testimony of a single Union soldier. I ask them to take only the testimony of men who themselves were engaged and enlisted in the Confederate cause. And if that testimony does not entirely carry out and justify the declaration I have made, then I will state that I have been entirely in error in my reading.

After detailing the preparation of that prison, the arrangements made with hideous cruelty for the victims, the report which I hold in my hand, and which was concurred in by Democratic members as well as Republican members of Congress, states this—and I beg members to hear it, for it is far more impressive than anything I can say. After, I say, giving full details, the report states:

The subsequent history of Andersonville has startled and shocked the world with

#### A TALE OF HORROR, OF WOE, AND DEATH

before unheard and unknown to civilization. No pen can describe, no painter sketch, no imagination comprehend its fearful and un-



utterable iniquity. It would seem as if the concentrated madness of earth and hell had found its final lodgment in the breast of those who inaugurated the rebellion and controlled the policy of the Confederate government, and that the prison at Andersonville had been selected for the most terrible human sacrifice which the world had ever seen. Into its narrow walls were crowded thirty-five thousand enlisted men, many of them the bravest and best, the most devoted and heroic of those grand armies which carried the flag of their country to final victory. For long and weary months here they suffered, maddened, were murdered, and died. Here they lingered, unsheltered from the burning rays of a tropical sun by day, and drenching and deadly dews by night, in every stage of mental and physical disease, hungered, emaciated, starving, maddened; festering with unhealed wounds; gnawed by the ravages of scurvy and gangrene; with swollen limbs and distorted visage; covered with vermin which they had no power to extirpate; exposed to the flooding rains which drove them drowning from the miserable holes in which, like swine, they burrowed; parched with thirst and mad with hunger; racked with pain or prostrated with the weakness of dissolution; with naked limbs and matted hair; filthy with smoke and mud; soiled with the very excrement from which their weakness would not permit them to escape; eaten by the gnawing worms which their own wounds had engendered; with no bed but the earth; no covering save the cloud or the sky; these men, these heroes, born in the image of God, thus crouching and writhing in their terrible torture and calculating barbarity, stand forth in history as a monument of the surpassing horrors of Andersonville as it shall be seen and read in all future time, realizing in the studied torments of their prison-house the ideal of Dante's Inferno and Milton's Hell.

I undertake to say, from reading the testimony, that that is a moderate description. I will read but a single paragraph from the testimony of Rev. William John Hamilton, a man I believe who never was in the North, a Catholic priest at Macon. He is a Southern man and a Democrat and a Catholic priest. And when you unite those three qualities in one man you will not find much testimony that would be strained in favor of the Republican party. [Laughter.]

This man had gone to Andersonville on a mission of mercy to the men of his own faith, to administer to them the rights of his church in their last moments. That is why he happened to be a witness. I will read his answer under oath to a question addressed to him in regard to the bodily condition of the prisoners. He said:

Well, as I said before, when I went there I was kept so busily engaged in giving the sacrament to the dying men that I could not observe much; but of course I could not keep my eyes closed as to what I saw there.

I SAW A GREAT MANY MEN PERFECTLY NAKED.

Their clothes had been taken from them, as other testimony shows—walking about the stockade perfectly nude; they seemed to have lost all regard for delicacy, shame, morality, or anything else. I would frequently have to creep on my hands and knees into the holes that the men had burrowed in the ground, and stretch myself out alongside of them to hear their confessions. I found them almost living in vermin in those

holes; they could not be in any other condition but a filthy one, because they got no soap and no change of clothing, and were there all huddled up together.

Let me read further from the same witness another specimen:

The first person I conversed with on entering the stockade was a countryman of mine, a member of the Catholic church, who recognized me as a clergyman. I think his name was Farrell. He was from the north of Ireland. He came toward me and introduced himself. He was quite a boy; I do not think, judging from his appearance, that he could have been more than sixteen years old. I found him without a hat and without any covering on his feet, and without jacket or coat. He told me that his shoes had been taken from him on the battle-field. I found the boy suffering very much from a wound on his right foot; in fact the foot was split open like an oyster; and on inquiring the cause they told me it was from exposure to the sun in the stockade, and not from any wound received in battle. I took off my boots and gave him a pair of socks to cover his feet and told him I would bring him some clothing, as I expected to return to Andersonville the following week. I had to return to Macon to get another priest to take my place on Sunday. When I returned on the following week, on inquiring for this man Farrell, his companions told me he had stepped across the dead-line and requested the guards to shoot him. He was not insane at the time I was conversing with him.

Now Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to go into such horrible details as these for any purpose of arousing bad feeling. I wish only to say that the man who administered the affairs of that prison went there by order of Mr. Davis, was sustained by him; and this William John Hamilton, from whose testimony I have read, states here that he went to General Howell Cobb, commanding that department, and asked that intelligence as to the condition of affairs there be transmitted to the Confederate government at Richmond. For the matter of that, there are a great many proofs to show that Mr. Davis was thoroughly informed as to the condition of affairs at Andersonville.

One word more and I shall lay aside this book. When the march of General Sherman, or some other invasion of that portion of the country, was under way, there was danger, or supposed danger, that it might come into the neighborhood of Andersonville; and the following order—to which I invite the attention of the House—a regular military order—order No. 13, dated, headquarters Confederate States military prison, Andersonville, July 27, 1864, was issued by Brigadier-General John H. Winder:

The officers on duty and in charge of the battery of Florida artillery at the time will, upon receiving notice that the enemy have approached within seven miles of this post, OPEN FIRE UPON THE STOCKADE WITH GRAPE-SHOT without reference to the situation beyond these lines of defense.

Now, here were these 35,000 poor, helpless, naked, starving, sickened, dying men.

This Catholic priest states that he begged Mr. Cobb to represent that if they could not exchange those men, or could not relieve them in any other way, they should be taken to the Union lines in Florida and paroled; for they were shadows, they were skeletons. Yet it was declared by a regular order of Mr. Davis' officer that if the Union forces should come within seven miles the battery of Florida artillery should open fire with grape-shot on these poor, helpless men, without the slightest possible regard to what was going on outside.

Now I do not arraign the Southern people for this. God forbid that I should charge any people with sympathizing with such things. There were many evidences of great uneasiness among the Southern people about it; and one of the great crimes of Jefferson Davis was that besides conniving at and producing that condition of things, he concealed it from the Southern people. He labored not only to conceal it, but to make false statements about it. We have obtained, and have now in the Congressional Library, a complete series of Mr. Davis' messages—the official imprint from Richmond. I have looked over them, and I have here an extract from his message of November 7, 1864, at the very time that these horrors were at their acme. Mark you, when those horrors of which I have read specimens were at their extremest verge of desperation, Mr. Davis sends a

MESSAGE TO THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS

at Richmond, in which he says:

The solicitude of the Government for the relief of our captive fellow-citizens has known no abatement, but has on the contrary been still more deeply evoked by the additional sufferings to which they have been wantonly subjected by deprivation of adequate food, clothing, and fuel, which they were not even permitted to purchase from the prison sutler.

And he adds that the—

Enemy attempted to excuse their barbarous treatment by the unfounded allegation that it was retaliatory for like conduct on our part.

Now I undertake here to say that there is not a Confederate soldier now living who has any credit as a man in his community, and who ever was a prisoner in the hands of the Union forces, who will say that he ever was cruelly treated; that he ever was deprived of the same rations that the Union soldiers had—the same food and the same clothing.

Mr. COOK. Thousands of them say it—thousands of them; men of as high character as any in this House

Mr. BLAINE. I take issue upon that. There is not one who can substantiate it—not one. As for measures of retaliation, although goaded by this terrific treatment of our friends imprisoned by Mr. Davis, the Senate of the United States specifically refused to

pass a resolution of retaliation, as contrary to modern civilization and the first precepts of Christianity. And there was no retaliation attempted or justified. It was refused; and Mr. Davis knew it was refused just as well as I knew it or any other man, because what took place in Washington or what took place in Richmond was known on either side of the line within a day or two thereafter.

Mr. Speaker, this is

NOT A PROPOSITION TO PUNISH JEFFERSON DAVIS.

There is nobody attempting that. I will very frankly say that I myself thought the indictment of Mr. Davis at Richmond, under the administration of Mr. Johnson, was a weak attempt, for he was indicted only for that of which he was guilty in common with all others who went into the Confederate movement. Therefore, there was no particular reason for it. But I will undertake to say this, and, as it may be considered an extreme speech, I want to say it with great deliberation, that there is not a government, a civilized government, on the face of the globe—I am very sure there is not a European government—that would not have arrested Mr. Davis, and when they had him in their power would not have tried him for maltreatment of the prisoners of war and shot him within thirty days. France, Russia, England, Germany, Austria, any one of them would have done it. The poor victim Wirtz deserved his death for brutal treatment, and murder of many victims, but I always thought it was a weak movement on the part of our Government to allow Jefferson Davis to go at large and hang Wirtz. I confess I do. Wirtz was nothing in the world but a mere subordinate, a tool, and there was no special reason for singling him out for death. I do not say he did not deserve it—he did richly, amply, fully. He deserved no mercy, but at the same time, as I have often said, it seemed like skipping over the president, superintendent, and board of directors in the case of a great railroad accident and hanging the brakeman of the rear car. [Laughter.]

There is no proposition here to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is seeking to do it. That time has gone by. The statute of limitations, common feelings of humanity, will supervene for his benefit. But what you ask us to do is to declare by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress that we consider Mr. Davis worthy to fill the highest offices in the United States if he can get a constituency to endorse him. He is a voter; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and he can come. He is as free as any man in the United States. There is a large list of subordinate offices to which he is eligible. This bill proposes, in view of that record, that Mr. Davis, by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, be



declared eligible and worthy to fill any office up to the Presidency of the United States. For one, upon full deliberation, I will not do it.

One word more, Mr. Speaker, in the way of detail, which I omitted. It has often been said in mitigation of Jefferson Davis in the Andersonville matter that the men who died there in such large numbers (I think the victims were about fifteen thousand) fell prey to an epidemic, and died of a disease which could not be averted. The record shows THAT OUT OF 35,000 MEN ABOUT 33 PER CENT.

DIED,

that is, one in three, while of the soldiers encamped near by to take care and guard them only one man in four hundred died; that is, within half a mile only one in four hundred died.

As to the general question of amnesty, Mr. Speaker, as I have already said, it is too late to debate it. It has gone by. Whether it has in all respects been wise, or whether it has been unwise, I would not detain the House here to discuss. Even if I had a strong conviction upon that question, I do not know that it would be productive of any great good to enunciate it; but, at the same time, it is a very singular spectacle that the Republican party, in possession of the entire Government, have deliberately called back into political power the leading men of the South, every one of whom turns up its bitter and relentless and malignant foe; and to-day,

from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the very men who have received this amnesty are as busy as they can be in consolidating into one compact political organization

THE OLD SLAVE STATES,

just as they were before the war. We see the banner held out blazoned again with the inscription that with the united South and a very few votes from the North this country can be governed. I want the people to understand that is precisely the movement; that that is the aim and the intent. I do not think offering amnesty to the seven hundred and fifty men who are now without it will hasten or retard that movement. I do not think the granting of amnesty to Mr. Davis will hasten or retard it, or that refusing it will do either.

I hear it said, "We will lift Mr. Davis again into great consequence by refusing amnesty." That is not for me to consider; I only see before me, when his name is presented, a man who by a wink of his eye, by a wave of his hand, by a nod of his head, COULD HAVE STOPPED THE ATROCITY AT ANDERSONVILLE.

Some of us had kinsmen there, most of us had friends there, all of us had countrymen there, and in the name of those kinsmen, friends, and countrymen I here protest, and shall with my vote protest, against their calling back and crowning with the honors of full American citizenship the man who organized that murder.

## SPEECH OF HON. BENJAMIN H. HILL, OF GEORGIA,

In the House of Representatives, Tuesday, January 11, 1876.

Mr. HILL said:

\* \* \* \* \*  
I advance directly to that portion of the gentleman's argument which relates to the question before the House. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] has presented to this House, and he asks it to adopt, a bill on the subject of amnesty which is precisely the same as the bill passed in this House by the gentleman's own party, as I understand it, at the last session of Congress. The gentleman from Maine has moved a reconsideration of the vote by which it was rejected, avowing his purpose to be to offer an amendment. The main purpose of that amendment is to except from the operation of the bill one of the citizens of this country, Mr. Jefferson Davis.

He alleges two distinct reasons why he asks the House to make that exception. I will state those reasons in the gentleman's own language. First, he says, "Mr. Davis was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murder and crime at Andersonville." That is a grave indictment. He then characterizes in his second position what he calls the horrors of Andersonville.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Sir, he stands before the country with his very fame in peril if he, having made such charges, shall not sustain them. Now I take

up the propositions of the gentleman in their order. I hope no gentleman imagines that I am here to pass in eulogy upon Mr. Davis. \* \* \* But the charge is that he is a murderer, and a deliberate, willful, guilty, scheming murderer of "thousands of our fellow citizens." Why, sir, knowing the character of the honorable gentleman from Maine, his high reputation, when I heard the charge fall from his lips, I thought surely the gentleman had made a recent discovery, and I listened for the evidence to justify that charge. He produced it; and what was it? To my utter amazement, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KELLER) has well stated, it is nothing on earth but a report of a committee of this Congress, made when passions were at their height, and it was known to the gentleman and to the whole country eight years ago.

Now, I say first, in relation to that testimony, that it is exclusively *ex parte*. It was taken when the gentleman who is now put upon trial by it before the country was imprisoned and in chains, without a hearing and without an opportunity to be heard. It was taken by enemies. It was taken in the midst of fury and rage. If there is anything in Anglo-Saxon law which ought to be considered sacred, it is the high privilege of an Englishman not to be condemned until he shall be confronted with the witnesses against him. But that is not all.



The testimony produced by the gentleman is not only *ex parte*, not only exclusively the production of enemies, or at least taken by them, and in the midst of passion, but the testimony is mutilated, ingeniously mutilated, palpably mutilated, most adroitly mutilated. Why, sir, one of the main witnesses is Dr. Joseph Jones, a very excellent gentleman, who was called upon to give his testimony in what is called the Wirz trial, and which is produced before this House and attention called to it by the gentleman.

One of the most striking and remarkable pieces of evidence in this whole report is found in the report made by Dr. Jones, \* \* \* sent to Andersonville by the Confederate authorities to investigate the condition of that prison. \* \* \* The first point is as to the knowledge of this report going to any of the authorities at Richmond. Here is what Dr. Jones says:

"I had just completed the report, which I placed in the hands of the judge-advocate, under orders from the Government, when the Confederacy went to pieces. That report never was delivered to the surgeon-general, and I was unaware that any one knew of its existence until I received orders from the United States Government to bring it and deliver it to this court in testimony."

And when the report itself, or that which purported to be the report, was presented to him while he was a witness he discovered that it was mutilated and he asked permission to state that fact. Hear what he says on that subject:

"I beg leave to make a statement to the court. That portion of my report which has been read is only a small part of the report. The real report contains the excuses which were given by the officers present at Andersonville, which I thought it right to embody with my report. It also contains documents forwarded to Richmond by Dr. White and Dr. Stevenson, and others in charge of the hospitals. Those documents contained important facts as to the labors of the medical department and their efforts to better the condition of things."

\* \* \* \* \*

The committee ask him:

Question. "Are your conclusions correctly stated in this extract?"

Answer. "Part of my conclusions are stated—not the whole. A portion of my conclusions, and also my recommendations, are not stated."

Q. "Well, touching the subject of exchange?"

A. "Yes, sir, the general difficulties environing the prisoners and their officers."

Q. "What became of your original report?"

A. "This is my original report."

That is, he had there the extract as far as it went.

Q. "Did you make this extract yourself?"

The committee seem to suspect that he was the man that simply made the extract and brought it before the committee. Now, here is his answer:

"I did not. My original report is in the hands of the judge-advocate. I delivered it into his hands immediately upon my arrival in Washington."

And this committee of Congress to which the gentleman refers absolutely tells us that this mutilated report was the one introduced in evidence against this man Wirz, and it is the one incorporated in this book.

Now I want to call attention to another extract from that original report—a part not included in this book. There are a great many such omissions; I have not been able to get all of them.

Dr. Jones, in his report, is giving an account

of the causes of the sickness and mortality at Andersonville; and he says, among other things:

"Surrounded by these depressing agents, the postponement of the general exchange of prisoners, and the constantly receding hopes of deliverance through the action of their own Government depressed their already desponding spirits, and destroyed those mental and moral energies so necessary for a successful struggle against disease and its agents. Home-sickness and disappointment, mental depression and distress, attending the daily longing for an apparently hopeless release, are felt to be as potent agencies in the destruction of these prisoners as the physical causes of actual disease."

\* \* \* \* \*

Now, sir, there is another fact. Wirz was put on trial, but really Mr. Davis was the man intended to be tried through him. Over one hundred and sixty witnesses were introduced before the Military Commission. The trial lasted three months. The whole country was under military despotism; citizens labored under duress; and quite a large number of Confederates were seeking to make favor with the powers of the Government. Yet, sir, during those three months, with all the witnesses they could bring to Washington, not one single man ever mentioned the name of Mr. Davis in connection with a single atrocity at Andersonville or elsewhere. \* \* \* \* \*

Now, sir, there is a witness on this subject. Wirz was condemned, found guilty, sentenced to be executed; and I have now before me the written statement of his counsel, a Northern man and a Union man. He gave this statement to the country, and it has never been contradicted.

Hear what this gentleman says:

"On the night before the execution of the prisoner Wirz a telegram was sent to the Northern press from this city, stating that Wirz had made important disclosures to General L. C. Baker, the well-known detective, implicating Jefferson Davis, and that the confession would probably be given to the public. On the same evening some parties came to the confessor of Wirz, Rev. Father Boyle, and also to me as his counsel, one of them informing me that a high Cabinet officer wished to assure Wirz that if he would implicate Jefferson Davis with the atrocities committed at Andersonville his sentence would be commuted. The messenger requested me to inform Wirz of this. In presence of Father Boyle I told Wirz next morning what had happened."

Hear the reply:

"Captain Wirz simply and quietly replied: Mr. Schade, you know that I have always told you that I do not know anything about Jefferson Davis. He had no connection with me as to what was done at Andersonville. I would not become a traitor against him or anybody else even to save my life!"

Sir, what Wirz, within two hours of his execution would not say for his life the gentleman from Maine says to the country to keep himself and his party in power. \* \* \* \*

He who makes a charge must produce his witnesses. They must be informed witnesses. They must be credible witnesses. The gentleman from Maine makes his charge, but produces no witnesses. He says that men sent by Jefferson Davis to Andersonville were his officers, executing his orders, commissioned by him, and he therefore charges Mr. Davis with these atrocities by inference. \* \* \* \* \*

Now, Mr. Speaker, I pass from the construction of that question to the real facts about Andersonville. First, I want to call the attention of the House to the law of the Confederate Government on the subject of the treatment of prisoners. I read from the act

of the Confederate Congress on that subject; it was very simple, and directed: "The rations furnished prisoners of war shall be the same in quantity and quality as those furnished to enlisted men in the army of the Confederacy."

That was the law; that was the law Mr. Davis approved, and that was the law that he, so far as his agency was concerned, executed.

The gentleman in his speech has gone so far as to say that Mr. Davis purposely sent General Winder to Andersonville to organize a den of horrors and kill Federal soldiers. I do not quote exactly his language, but I know it is "to organize a den of horrors;" but I am sure I cannot use any language more bitter than the gentleman used himself. Therefore the next thing will read is the order given for the purpose of locating this prison at Andersonville, or wherever it should be properly located. The official order for the location of the stockade enjoins that it should be in a "healthy locality, with plenty of pure water, with a running stream, and, if possible, with shade trees, and in the immediate neighborhood of grist and saw mills." That does not look like the organization of a den of horrors to commit murder. That was the official order. That was not all. That sent prisoners at Andersonville were not only allowed the rations measured out to Confederate soldiers, both in quantity and quality in every respect, but they were allowed also to buy as much outside as they desired; a privilege, I am reliably informed, which was not extended to many of the Confederate prisoners. I do not know how that is.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Confederate Government gave Federal prisoners the same rations that Confederate soldiers in the field received. Federal prisoners had permission to buy whatever else they pleased, and the Confederates gave their friends at home permission to furnish them the means to do so. And yet, Mr. Speaker, it is true that, in spite of all these advantages enjoyed by these prisoners, there were horrors, and great horrors, at Andersonville. What were the causes of those horrors? The first was want of medicine. \* \* \*

Now, how was it that medicines and other essential supplies could not be obtained? Unfortunately they were not in the Confederacy. The Federal Government made medicine contraband of war.

The Federal Government made clothing contraband of war. It sent down its armies and they burned up the factories of the South wherever they could find them, for the express purpose of preventing the Confederates from furnishing clothes to their soldiers, and the Federal prisoners of course shared this deprivation of comfortable clothing. It was the war policy of the Federal Government to make supplies scarce. \* \* \*

Now, then, sir, whatever horrors existed at Andersonville, not one of them could be attributed to a single act of legislation of the Confederate Government, or to a single order of the Confederate Government, but every horror of Andersonville grew out of the necessities of the occasion, which necessities were cast upon the Confederacy by the war policy of the other side. The gentleman from Maine said that in Confederate prisoner was ever maltreated in the North. And when my friend answered from his seat "a thousand witnesses to the contrary in Georgia alone," the gentleman from Maine joined issue, but as usual produced no testimony in support of his issue. I think the gentleman from Maine is to be excused. For ten years unfortunately he and his have been reviling the people who were not allowed to come here to meet the reviling. Now, sir, we are face to face, and when you make a charge you must bring your proof. The time has passed when the country can ac-

cept the impudence of assertion for the force of argument, or recklessness of statement for the truth of history.

Now, sir, I do not wish to unfold the chapter on the other side. I am an American. I honor my country, and my whole country, and it could be no pleasure to me to bring forward proof that any portion of my countrymen have been guilty of willful murder or of cruel treatment to poor manacled prisoners. Nor will I make any such charge. These horrors are inseparable, many of them and most of them, from a state of war. I hold in my hand a letter written by one who was a surgeon at the prison at Elmira, and he says:

"The winter of 1864, 1865, was an unusually severe and rigid one, and the prisoners arriving from the Southern States during this season were mostly old men and lads, clothed in attire suitable only to the genial climate of the South. I need not state to you that this alone was ample cause for an unusual mortality among them. The surroundings were of the following nature, namely: narrow, confined limits, but a few acres in extent."

And Andersonville, sir, embraced twenty-seven acres—

"and through which slowly flowed a turbid stream of water, carrying along with it all the excremental filth and debris of the camp; this stream of water, horrible to relate, was the only source of supply, for an extended period, that the prisoners could possibly use for the purpose of ablution and to slake their thirst from day to day; the tents and other shelter allotted to the camp at Elmira were insufficient and crowded to the utmost extent; hence small-pox and other skin diseases raged through the camp.

"Here I may note that, owing to a general order from the Government to vaccinate the prisoners, my opportunities were ample to observe the effects of spurious and diseased matter, and there is no doubt in my mind but that syphilis was ingrafted in many instances; ugly and horrible ulcers and eruptions of a characteristic nature were, alas! too frequent and obvious to be mistaken. Small-pox cases were crowded in such a manner that it was a matter of impossibility for the surgeon to treat his patient individually; they actually laid so adjacent that the simple movement of one would cause his neighbor to cry out in an agony of pain. The confluent and malignant type prevailed to such an extent and of such a nature that the body would frequently be found one continuous scab.

"The diet and other allowances by the Government for the use of the prisoners were ample, yet the poor unfortunates were allowed to starve."

Now, sir, the Confederate regulations authorized ample provision for Federal prisoners, the same that was made for Confederate soldiers, and you charge that Mr. Davis is responsible for not having those allowances honestly supplied. The United States made provision for Confederate prisoners, so far as rations were concerned, for feeding those in Federal hands; and yet what says the surgeon? "They were allowed to starve."

"But 'why?' is a query which I will allow your readers to infer and to draw conclusions therefrom. Out of the number of prisoners, as before mentioned, over three thousand of them now lay buried in the cemetery located near the camp for that purpose—a mortality equal if not greater than that of any prison in the South. At Andersonville, as I am well informed by brother officers who endured confinement there, as well as by the records at Washington, the mortality was twelve thousand out of say, forty thousand prisoners. Hence it is readily to be seen that the range of mortality was no less at Elmira than at Andersonville."



Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him a moment to ask him where he gets that statement?

Mr. HILL. It is the statement of a Federal surgeon published in the *New York World*.

Mr. PLATT. I desire to say that I live within thirty-six miles of Elmira, and that those statements are unqualifiably false.

Mr. HILL. Yes, and I suppose if one rose from the dead the gentleman would not believe him.

Mr. PLATT. Does the gentleman say that those statements are true?

Mr. HILL. Certainly I do not say that they are true, but I do say that I believe the statement of the surgeon in charge before that of a politician thirty-six miles away. \* \* \* Now I call the attention of gentlemen to this fact, that the report of Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War—you will believe him, will you not?—on the 19th of July, 1863—send to the Library and get it—exhibits the fact that of the Federal prisoners in Confederate hands during the war only 22,576 died, while of the Confederate prisoners in Federal hands 26,433 died. And Surgeon-General Barnes reports, in an official report—I suppose you will believe him—that, in round numbers, the Confederate prisoners in Federal hands amounted to 220,000, while the Federal prisoners in Confederate hands amounted to 270,000. Out of the 270,000 in Confederate hands 22,000 died, while of the 220,000 Confederates in Federal hands over 26,000 died. The ratio is this: More than 12 per cent. of the Confederates in Federal hands died, and less than 9 per cent. of the Federals in Confederate hands died. "That is the logic of these facts according to the gentleman from Maine? I scorn to charge murder upon the officials of northern prisons, as the gentleman has done upon Confederate prison officials. I labor to demonstrate that such miseries are inevitable in prison life, no matter how humane the regulations.

\* \* \* \* \*

But the great question is behind. Every American, North or South, must lament that our country has ever impeached its civilization by such an exhibition of horrors on any side, and I speak of these things with no degree of pleasure. God knows if I could hide them from the view of the world I would gladly do it. But the great question is, at last, who was responsible for this state of things? And that is really the only material question with which statesmen now should deal. Sir, it is well known that, when the war opened, at first the authorities of the United States determined that they would not exchange prisoners. The first prisoners captured by the Federal forces were the crew of the *Savannah*, and they were put in chains and sentenced to be executed. Jefferson Davis hearing of this, communicated through the lines and the Confederates having meanwhile also captured prisoners, he threatened retaliation in case those men suffered, and the sentences against the crew of the *Savannah* were not executed. Subsequently our friends from this way, \* \* \* insisted that there should be a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. In 1862 that cartel was agreed upon. In substance and briefly it was that there should be an exchange of man for man and officer for officer, and whichever held an excess at the time of exchange should parole the excess. This worked very well until 1863.

\* \* \* \* \*

In 1863 this cartel was interrupted; the Federal authorities refused to continue the exchange. \* \* \* This I say frankly to the gentlemen on the other side, was in truth one of the severest blows stricken at the Confederacy, this refusal to exchange prisoners in 1863 and continued through 1864. The

Confederates made every effort to renew the cartel. Among other things, on the 2d of July, 1863, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, the gentleman to whom the gentleman from Maine, (Mr. BLAINE,) alluded the other day in so complimentary terms, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, was absolutely commissioned by President Davis to cross the lines and come to Washington to consult with the Federal authorities, with a broad commission to agree upon any cartel satisfactory to the other side for the exchange of prisoners. Mr. Davis said to him, "Your mission is simply one of humanity, and has no political aspect." Mr. Stephens undertook that work. What was the result? I wish to be careful, and I will state this exactly correctly. Here is his letter:

CONFEDERATE STATES STEAMER TORPEDO,

In James River, July 4, 1863.

SIR: As military commissioner, I am the bearer of a communication in writing from Jefferson Davis, Commander-in-Chief of the land and naval forces of the Confederate States, to Abraham Lincoln, Commander-in-Chief of the land and naval forces of the United States. Hon. Robert Ould, Confederate States agent of exchange, accompanies me as secretary, for the purpose of delivering the communication in person and conferring upon the subject to which it relates. I desire to proceed to Washington in the steamer *Torpedo*, commanded by Lieutenant Hunter Davidson, of the Confederate States navy, no person being on board but Hon. Mr. Ould, myself, and the boat's officers and crew.

Yours, most respectfully,

ALEX. H. STEPHENS.

To S. H. LEE, *Admiral*.

This was directed to S. H. Lee, admiral. Here is the answer:

Acting Rear-Admiral S. H. LEE, *Hampton Roads*:  
The request of Alexander H. Stephens is inadmissible. \* \* \*

GIDEON WELLS,  
*Secretary of Navy*.

You will acknowledge that Mr. Stephens' humane mission failed. The Confederate authorities gave to that mission as much dignity and character as possible. \* \* \* The Federal Government would not even receive him; the Federal authorities would not hear him.

What was the next effort? After Mr. Stephens' mission failed, and after the commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, Colonel Ould, having exhausted all his efforts to get the cartel renewed, on the 24th January, 1864, wrote the following letter to Major-General E. A. Hitchcock, agent of exchange on the Federal side.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,  
WAR DEPARTMENT,

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, January 24, 1864.

SIR: In view of the present difficulties attending the exchange and release of prisoners, I propose that all such on either side shall be attended by a proper number of their own surgeons, who, under rules to be established, shall be permitted to take charge of their health and comfort. I also propose that these surgeons shall act as commissaries, with power to receive and distribute such contributions of money, food, clothing, and medicines, as may be forwarded for the relief of the prisoners. I further propose that these surgeons shall be selected by their own Government, and that they shall have full liberty, at any and all times, through the agents of exchange, to make reports, not only of their own acts, but of any matters relating to the welfare of the prisoners.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

ROBERT OULD,

Agent of Exchange.

Major General E. A. HITCHCOCK,  
Agent of Exchange.



The SPEAKER. The hour of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. RANDALL. I move the gentleman from Georgia be allowed to proceed. \* \* \* \* \*

There was no objection.

Mr. BLAINE. I believe the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HILL] was a member of the Confederate Senate. I find in a historical book of some authenticity of character that in the Confederate Congress, Senator Hill, of Georgia, introduced the following resolution, relating to prisoners—

Mr. HILL. You are putting me on trial now, are you? Go ahead.

Mr. BLAINE. This is the resolution:

"That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the 1st day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with the intent to incite insurrection and abet murder; and, unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had, shall suffer death. This section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated at Washington on the 22d day of September, 1862, shall be rescinded, and the policy therein announced shall be abandoned, and no longer."

Mr. HILL. \* \* \* My own impression is that I was not the author; but I do not pretend to recollect the circumstances. If the gentleman can give me the circumstances under which the resolution was introduced they might recall the matter to my mind.

Mr. BLAINE. Allow me to read further:

"October 1, 1862.—The Judiciary Committee of the Confederate Congress made a report and offered a set of resolutions upon the subject of President Lincoln's proclamation, from which the following are extracts:

"2. Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, suffer death.

"3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom under the aforementioned act of Congress and proclamation, by abducting or causing them to be abducted or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death."

Thereupon Senator HILL, of Georgia, is recorded as having offered the resolution I have read.

Mr. HILL. I was chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

Mr. BLAINE. And this resolution came directly from that committee?

Mr. HILL. I say to the gentleman frankly that I really do not remember.

Mr. BLAINE. The gentleman does not say he was not the author.

Mr. HILL. I do not. I will say this: I think I was not the author. Possibly I reported the resolution. It refers in terms to "pretended," not real soldiers.

Mr. BLAINE. I thought that inasmuch as the gentleman's line of argument was to show the character of the Confederate policy, this might aid him a little in calling up the facts pertinent thereto. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. HILL. With all due deference to the gentleman, I reply he did not think any such thing. He thought he would divert me from the purpose of my argument and break its force by—

Mr. BLAINE. Oh, no.

Mr. HILL. He thought he would get up a discussion about certain measures presented in the Confederate Congress having no relation to the subject now under discussion, but which grew out of the peculiar relation of the Southern States to a population then in servitude—a population which the Confederate Government feared might be incited to insurrection—and measures were doubtless proposed which the Confederate Government may have thought it proper to take to protect helpless women and children in the South from insurrection.

\* \* \* \* \*

But, sir, I have read a letter from the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, written in 1864, proposing that each side send surgeons with the prisoners; that they nurse and treat the prisoners; that the Federal authorities should send as many as they pleased; that those surgeons be commissioned also as commissaries to furnish supplies of clothing and food and every thing else needed for the comfort of prisoners.

Now, sir, how did the Federal Government treat that offer? No reply was ever received.

Then, again, the Confederates made two more propositions. I will state that the cartel of exchange was broken by the Federal authorities for certain alleged reasons. \* \* \*

\* \* \* The Confederates next proposed, in a letter from Colonel Ould, dated the 10th of August, 1864, waiving every objection the Federal Government had made, to agree to any and all terms to renew the exchange of prisoners, man for man, and officer for officer, as the Federal Government should prescribe. Yet, sir, the latter rejected that proposition. It took a second letter to bring an answer to that proposition.

Then, again, in that same month of August, 1864, the Confederate authorities did this:

\* \* \* They proposed to send the Federal sick and wounded prisoners without equivalent. \* \* \* That proposition, communicated to the Federal authorities in August, 1864, was not answered until December, 1864. In December, 1864, the Federal Government sent ships to Savannah. Now, the records will show that the chief suffering at Andersonville was between August and December. The Confederate authorities sought to avert it by asking the Federal Government to come and take its prisoners without equivalent, without return, and it refused to do that until four or five months had elapsed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now, sir, it was in reference to that state of things exactly that Dr. Jones reported, as I have already read to the House, in his report which was mutilated before that Committee of Congress and in the trial of Wirz—it was in consequence of that very state of things that Dr. Jones said that depression of mind and despondency and home-sickness of these poor prisoners carried more to their graves than did physical causes of disease. That was not wonderful at all.

But, Mr. Speaker, why were all these appeals resisted? \* \* \* \* \*

Who is at fault? There must be a reason for this. That is the next point to which I wish to call the attention of the House.

\* \* \* \* \*

Here is General Grant's testimony before the committee on the exchange of prisoners, February 11, 1865. You believe him, do you not?

'Question. It has been said that we refused to exchange prisoners because we found ours starved, diseased, and unserviceable when we received them, and did not like to exchange sound men for such men.'

That was the question propounded to him. His answer was:

"Answer. There never has been any such reason as that. That has been a reason for making exchanges. I will confess that if our men who are prisoners in the South were really well taken care of, suffering nothing except a little privation of liberty, then, in a military point of view, it would not be good policy for us to exchange, because every man they get back is forced right into the army. At once, while that is not the case with our prisoners when we receive them; in fact, the half of our returned prisoners will never go into the army again, and none of them will until after they have had a furlough of thirty or sixty days. Still, the fact of their suffering as they do is a reason for making this exchange as rapidly as possible.

"Q. And never has been a reason for not making the exchange?

"A. It never has. Exchanges having been suspended by reason of disagreement on the part of agents of exchange on both sides before I came into command of the armies of the United States; and it then being near the opening of the spring campaign I did not deem it advisable or just to the men who had to fight our battles to re-enforce the enemy with thirty or forty thousand disciplined troops at that time. An immediate resumption of exchanges would have had that effect without giving us corresponding benefits. The suffering said to exist among our prisoners South was a powerful argument against the course pursued, and so I felt it."

There is no disputing the fact that, with the knowledge that his prisoners were suffering in the South, he insisted that the exchange should not be renewed, because it would increase the military power of the enemy. Now that may have been a good military reason. I do not quote it for the purpose of reflecting upon General Grant in the slightest. I am giving the facts of history. \* \* \* I give you the facts, and I have given you General Grant's interpretation of those facts. Let the world judge.

Against whom does the charge lie, if there are to be accusations of any, for the horrors of Andersonville?

Mr. BRIGHT. What was the percentage of deaths in the prisons?

Mr. HILL. I have already given it. I have proved also that, with all the horrors at Andersonville, \* \* \* greater sufferings occurred in the prisons where Confederate soldiers were confined, and that the percentage of death was 3 per cent. greater among Confederate troops in Federal hands than among Federal soldiers held by the Confederates. And I need not state the contrast between the needy Confederacy and the abundance of Federal supplies and resources.

Sir, if any man will reflect a moment he will see that there was reason why the Confederate government should desire exchange of prisoners. It was scarce of food, pinched for clothing, closed up with a blockade of its ports; it needed troops; its ranks were thinning.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is proper that I should read one or two sentences from the man who has been arraigned as the vilest murderer in history. After the battles around Richmond, in which McClellan was defeated, some ten thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Confederacy. Victory had perched upon its standard, and the rejoicing naturally following victory was heard in the ranks of the Confederate army. Mr. Davis went out to make a gratulatory speech. Now, gentlemen of the House, gentlemen of the other side, if you are willing to do justice, let me simply call your attention to the words of this man

that then fell from his lips in the hour of victory. Speaking to the soldiers, he said:

"You are fighting for all that is dearest to man, and though opposed to a foe who disregards many of the usages of civilized war, your humanity to the wounded and the prisoners was a fit and crowning glory of your valor."

The gentleman from Maine yesterday introduced the Richmond *Examiner* as a witness in his behalf. Now, it is a rule of law that a man cannot impeach his own witness. It is true that the *Examiner* hated Mr. Davis with a cordial hatred. The gentleman could not have introduced the testimony of perhaps a bitterer foe to Mr. Davis. Why did it hate him? Here are its reasons: "The chivalry and humanity of Jefferson Davis will inevitably ruin the Confederacy." That is your witness, and the witness is worthy of your cause. \* \* \* That is not all. In the same paper it says: "The enemy have gone from one unmanly cruelty to another. Encouraged by their impunity till they are now and have for some time been inflicting on the people of this country the worst horrors of barbarous and uncivilized war." Yet in spite of all this the *Examiner* alleged "Mr. Davis in his dealing with the enemy was as gentle as a sucking dove."

I do no doubt that I am the bearer of unwelcome messages to the gentleman from Maine and his party. He says that there are Confederates in this body, and that they are going to combine with a few from the North for the purpose of controlling this Government. If one were to listen to the gentlemen on the other side he would be in doubt whether they rejoiced more when the South left the Union, or regretted most when the South came back to the Union that their fathers helped to form, and to which they will forever hereafter contribute as much of patriotic ardor, of noble devotion, and of willing sacrifice as the constituents of the gentleman from Maine. O, Mr. Speaker, why cannot gentlemen on the other side rise to the height of this great argument of patriotism? Is the bosom of the country always to be torn with this miserable sectional debate whenever a Presidential election is pending? To that great debate of half a century before secession there were left no adjourned questions. The victory of the North was absolute; and God knows the submission of the South was complete. But, sir, we have recovered from the humiliation of defeat, and we come here among you and we ask you to give us the greetings accorded to brothers by brothers.

Sir, my message is this: There are no Confederates in this House; there are now no Confederates anywhere; there are no Confederate schemes, ambitions, hopes, desires, or purposes here. But the South is here, and here she intends to remain. [Enthusiastic applause.] Go on and pass your qualifying acts, trample upon the Constitution you have sworn to support, abnegate the pledges of your fathers, incite rage upon our people, and multiply your infidelities until they shall be like the stars of heaven or the sands of the seashore, without number; but know this, for all your iniquities the South will never again seek a remedy in the madness of another secession. [Continued applause.] We are here; we are in the house of our fathers. Our brothers are our companions, and we are at home to stay, thank God. [Much applause.]

\* \* \* We come charging upon the Union no wrongs to us. The Union never wronged us. The Union has been an unmixed blessing to every section, to every State, to every man of every color in America. We charge all our wrongs upon that "higher law



fanaticism that never kept a pledge nor obeyed a law. The South did seek to leave the association of those who, she believed, would not keep fidelity to their covenants; the South sought to go to herself; but, so far from having lost our fidelity to the Constitution which our fathers made, when we sought to go, we hugged that Constitution to our bosoms and carried it with us.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Sir, we did the Union one great wrong. The Union never wronged the South; but we of the South did to the Union one great wrong; and we come, as far as we can, to repair it.

We wronged the Union grievously when we left it to be seized and rent and torn by the men who had denounced it as a "covenant with hell and a league with the devil." We ask you, gentlemen of the Republican party, to rise above all your animosities. Forget your own sins. Let us unite to repair the evils that distract and oppress the country. Let us turn our backs upon the past, and let it be said in the future that he shall be the greatest patriot, the truest patriot, the noblest patriot who shall do most to repair the wrongs of the past and promote the glories of the future. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

## AMNESTY—MR. HILL, GEORGIA.

In the House of Representatives, January 12, 1876.

### MR. GARFIELD:

Mr. SPEAKER, no gentleman on this floor can regret more sincerely than I do the course that the debate has taken, especially that portion which occurred yesterday. To one who reads the report of that discussion it would be difficult to discover

#### THE REAL QUESTION AT ISSUE

and to learn from the RECORD itself the scope and character of the pending measure. I regret that neither the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] nor that of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Hill] has yet appeared in the RECORD. I should prefer to quote from the full report, but, replying now, I must quote them as their speeches appeared in the public journals of yesterday and to-day. But they are here, and can correct any inaccuracy of quotation. Any one who reads their speeches would not suspect that they were debating a simple proposition to relieve some citizens of political and legal disabilities incurred during the late war. For example, had I been a casual reader and not a listener, I should say that the chief proposition yesterday was an arraignment of the administration of this Government during the last fifteen years. If I had been called upon to pick out those declarations in the speech of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Hill] which embody the topic of debate, I should have said they were these:

The history of the last fifteen years is yet fresh in the minds of the world. It is useless to speak of the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. With the master enslaved, with intelligence disfranchised, with society disordered, with States subverted, with Legislatures dispersed, people cannot afford to talk of grace and magnanimity. If that is grace and magnanimity, I pray God to spare the country in the future from such virtues.

I should say that the propositions and arguments arrayed around that paragraph were the center and circumference of his theme. Let me then in a few words try to recall the House to the actual topic of this debate.

A gentleman on the other side of the House, a few days ago, introduced a proposition in the form of a bill to grant amnesty to the remaining persons who are not yet relieved of their political disabilities under the Constitution. That is a plain proposition for practical legislation. It is a very important proposition. It is a proposition to finish and complete forever the work of executing one of the great clauses of the Constitution of our country. When that bill shall have become a law, a large portion of the fourteenth amendment will have ceased to be an operative clause of the Constitution.

Whenever so great and important a matter is proposed a deliberative body should bring to its consideration the fullest and most serious examination. But what was proposed in this case? Not to deliberate, not to amend, not even to refer to a committee for the ordinary consideration given even to a proposition to repeal the tax on matches. No reference to anybody; but a member of the House, of his own motion and at his own discretion, proposes to launch that proposition into the House, refusing the privilege of amendment and the right to debate, except as it might come from his courtesy, and pass it, declaring, as he does so, the time has come to do justice to an oppressed people.

Under circumstances like these, Mr. Speaker, a large number of gentlemen on this floor felt they had a right, under the rules of the House and in the forum of justice and fair dealing, an undoubted right to deliberate on the proposition; that it should be open for amendment and debate. Every expression on this side of the House showed that we were earnestly in favor of so closing this last act in the drama of war so far as it relates to disabilities; that it should be closed forever—

#### CLOSED IN GOOD FAITH

and with good feeling. We deeply regretted that the attempt was made to cut us off from



deliberation and amendment, and we therefore threw ourselves back upon our rights; and it is by virtue of those rights that we debate this question to-day.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. BLAINE] offered a criticism on the bill. He suggested that there were two points in which it ought to be changed. One was that the seven hundred and fifty persons who are still forbidden to hold office under the Constitution should have free and absolute amnesty whenever they declare by taking the oath of allegiance in open court that they want it; that, like God's mercy and perfect pardon, amnesty should be granted by asking for it. It was suggested that we should follow the rule that we have followed hitherto in all cases similarly situated. That was the first point.

Another point was suggested, that there is one person, and only one, who ought to be excepted from the operation of the proposed law. Now that may have been wise or it may have been unwise, as a matter of statesmanship, but it was a question deserving debate, deliberation, and answer.

The proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] is an affirmative one, and should be supported by affirmative reasons. If we allege any reason against, we ought to be answered. Two allegations have been made: first, that there ought to be an oath of allegiance before a court; and, second, that one man ought to be excepted. How have these propositions been met? How have these suggestions been answered? The first response was a speech full of brilliant wit and personalities. It was like joking at a funeral to joke on such an occasion. They have been answered, in the second place, by the speech of yesterday, which arraigns not the Republican party alone, but arraigns twenty-five millions of people, arraigns the history of the Republic for fifteen years, arraigns everything that is glorious in its record and high and worthy in its achievement. I was deeply pained that such an arraignment should have been made on such a subject. If the gentleman had confined himself to a reply to the argument which had been offered to show why the exception should be made, it would have been a response pertinent to the subject-matter in controversy.

While I occupy the attention of the House, I shall endeavor to confine myself to the question and to the speech of the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. HILL.]

Let me say in the outset that, so far as I am personally concerned, I have never voted against any proposition to grant amnesty to any human being who has asked for it at the bar of the House. Furthermore, I appeal to gentlemen on the other side who have been

with me in this Hall many years, whether at any time they have found me truculent in spirit, unkind in tone or feeling toward those who fought against us in the late war. Twelve years ago this very month, standing in this place, I said this:

"I BELIEVE A TRUCE

could be struck to-day between the rank and file of the hostile armies now in the field. I believe they could meet and shake hands together, joyful over returning peace, each respecting the courage and manhood of the other, and each better able to live in amity than before the war."

I am glad to repeat word for word what I said that day. For the purposes of this speech I will not even claim the whole ground which the Government assumed toward the late rebellion. For the sake of the present argument, I will view the position of those who took up arms against the Government in

THE LIGHT LEAST OFFENSIVE TO THEM.

Leaving out of sight for the moment the question of slavery, which evoked so much passion, and which was the producing cause of the late war, there were still two opposing political theories which met in conflict. Most of the Southern statesmen believed that their first obedience was due to their State. We believed that the allegiance of an American citizen was due to the National Government, not by the way of a State Capital, but in a direct line from his own heart to the Government of the Union. Now, that question was submitted to the dreadful arbitrament of war, to the court of last resort—a court from which there is no appeal, and to which all other powers must bow. To that dread court the great question was carried, and there the right of a State to secede was put to rest forever. For the sake of peace and union I am willing to treat our late antagonists as I would treat litigants in other courts, who, when they have made their appeal and the final judgment is rendered, pay the reasonable costs and bow to its mandates. But our question to-day is not that, yet is closely connected with it. When we have made our arguments and the court has rendered judgment, it may be that in the course of the proceedings the court has used its discretion to disbar some of its counsellors for malpractice, for unprofessional conduct. In such a case, a motion may be made to restore the disbarred members. Applying this illustration to the present case, there are seven hundred and fifty people who are yet disbarred before the highest authority of the Republic, the Constitution itself. The proposition is to offer again the privileges of official station to these people; and we are all agreed as to every human being of them save one.

I do not object to Jefferson Davis because he was a conspicuous leader. Whatever we may believe theologically, I do not believe in the doctrine of vicarious atonement in politics. Jefferson Davis was no more guilty for taking up arms than any other man who went into the rebellion with equal intelligence. But this is the question: In the high court of war did he practice according to its well-known laws—the laws of nations? Did he, in appealing to war, obey the laws of war; or did he so violate those laws that justice to those who suffered at his hands demands that he be not permitted to come back to his old privileges in the Union? That is the whole question; and it is as plain and fair a question for deliberation as was ever debated in this House.

Now, I wish we could discuss it without any passion—without passionate thoughts, such as we heard yesterday. The words were eloquent, for the gentleman from Georgia well knows how to utter passionate thoughts with all the grace and eloquence of speech.

What answer has been made to the allegations of the gentleman from Maine to the reasons he offered why a full amnesty should not be offered to Jefferson Davis? The gentleman from Georgia denies, and so also apparently did the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Cox,] the authenticity of THE CHARGES OF ATROCITIES AT ANDERSONVILLE.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] spoke of the committee from whose report the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BLAINE] read as a "humbug committee." The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HILL] spoke of it as an *ex parte* and partisan committee—a committee that wrote and reported out of its fury and rage. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am unwilling that this case shall turn upon the mere authority of a committee, however high; but I want to say now, without arguing the merits, that whether the charge was just or unjust, it was a charge made by the Government of the United States. I mean to place the responsibility of the charges on the high ground of the authority of the Government, which no self-respecting man can call trivial and unworthy of his serious attention.

On the 4th day of May, 1864, the Secretary of War, speaking by the authority of the executive department of the National Government, addressed a communication to a committee of Congress, which I will read. It is found in a volume of reports of committees of the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, volume 1, 1863-'64, and is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON CITY, May 4, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to submit to you a report made to this Department by Colonel Hoffman, Commissary General of Prisoners, in

regard to the condition of Union soldiers who have until within a few days been prisoners of war at Richmond, and would respectfully request that your committee immediately proceed to Annapolis to take testimony there and examine with their own eyes the condition of those who have been returned from rebel captivity. The enormity of the crime committed by the rebels toward our prisoners for the last several months is not known or realized by our people, and cannot but fill with horror the civilized world when the facts are fully revealed. There appears to have been a deliberate system of savage and barbarous treatment and starvation, the result of which will be that few, if any, of the prisoners that have been in their hands during the past winter will ever again be in a condition to render any service or even to enjoy life.

Your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON,

Secretary of War.

HON. B. F. WADE, Chairman of Joint Committee on Conduct of the War.

On the receipt of this letter a joint committee of the two Houses, known as the Committee on the Conduct of the War, was sent to Annapolis, to hold their sessions in the presence of the thousands of returned prisoners who had just been landed, and as the result of their deliberations, and after taking testimony on the spot from officers and men who had just returned, they reported not only their opinions, but the testimony in full, in the volume which I hold in my hand. That committee was composed of

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS,

and its report is unanimous. The Democrats on the committee were among the foremost members of the Senate and House. One of them was Mr. Odell, of New York, a gentleman not now living, who was one of the best men that party has had on the floor of this House since I have been a member. Another was Senator Harding, of Oregon. That committee made an elaborate report, from which I will read a few paragraphs:

The evidence proves beyond all manner of doubt a determination on the part of the rebel authorities, deliberately and persistently practiced for a long time past, to subject those of our soldiers who have been so unfortunate as to fall in their hands to a system of treatment which has resulted in reducing many of those who have survived and been permitted to return to us to a condition, both physically and mentally, which no language we can use can adequately describe. Though nearly all the patients now in the Naval Academy Hospital at Annapolis and in the West Hospital in Baltimore have been under the kindest and most intelligent treatment for about three weeks past, and many of them for a greater length of time, still they present literally the appearance of living skeletons, many of them being nothing but skin and bone; some of them are maimed for life, having been frozen while exposed to the inclemency of the winter season on Belle Isle, being compelled to lie on the bare ground without tents or blankets, some of them without overcoats or even coats, with but little fire to mitigate the severity of the winds and storms to which they were exposed. \* \* \*

It will be observed from the testimony that all the witnesses who testify upon that point



state that the treatment they received while confined at Columbia, South Carolina, Dalton, Georgia, and other places, was far more humane than that they received at Richmond, where the authorities of the so-called Confederacy were congregated, and where the power existed, had the inclination not been wanting, to reform those abuses and secure to the prisoners they held some treatment that would bear a public comparison to that accorded by our authorities to the prisoners in our custody. Your committee, therefore, are constrained to say that they can hardly avoid the conclusion expressed by so many of our released soldiers, that the inhuman practices herein referred to are the result of a determination on the part of the rebel authorities to reduce our soldiers in their power by privation of food and clothing and by exposure to such a condition that those who may survive shall never recover so as to be able to render any effective service in the field.

I am not now discussing the merits of the charge at all, but am showing that such is, and for twelve years has continued to be, the authoritative official charge of the executive department of the Government and of a joint committee of the two Houses. So much for the responsible character of the charge. To this I should add that this charge is believed to be true by a great majority of the people whom we represent on this floor.

I now inquire is this charge true?

The gentleman from Georgia denies generally the charge that atrocities were practiced upon our prisoners at Andersonville. He makes a general denial, and asserts that Mr. Davis did observe

#### THE HUMANE RULES OF MODERN WARFARE.

As a proof, he quotes the general order issued by the President of the Confederate Government under which the prison was to be established, an order providing that it should be located on healthy ground, where there was an abundance of good water, and trees for healthful and grateful shade. That is a perfect answer so far as it goes. But I ask how that order was executed? To whose hands was committed the work of building the Andersonville prison? To the hands of General Winder, an intimate and favorite friend of Mr. Davis. And who was General Winder? He was a man of whom the *Richmond Examiner* used these words the day he took his departure from Richmond to assume command of the proposed prison:

Thank God that Richmond is at last rid of old Winder. God have mercy upon those to whom he has been sent!

He was, as the testimony in the Wirz trial shows, the special and intimate friend of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, by whom he was detailed on this business, and detailed with such a send-off as I have read you from a paper of his own city warmly in the interest of the rebel cause.

What next? How did General Winder execute the order after he went there? I

turn to the Wirz trial, and read from it only such authorities as the gentleman from Georgia recognizes—

#### OFFICERS OF THE REBEL ARMY.

The gentleman stated yesterday that there was nothing in this book connecting the head of the Confederate Government with the Andersonville atrocities. Before I am through we will see. On the 5th day of January, 1864, a report was made by D. T. Chandler, a lieutenant colonel of the Confederate army. This report was offered in evidence in the Wirz trial, and Colonel Chandler was himself a witness at that trial, and swears that the report is genuine. I quote from page 224:

ANDERSON, January 5, 1864.

COLONEL: Having, in obedience to instructions of the 25th ultimo, carefully inspected the prison for Federal prisoners of war and post at this place, I respectfully submit the following report:

The Federal prisoners of war are confined within a stockade fifteen feet high, of roughly hewn pine logs about eight inches in diameter, inserted five feet into the ground, inclosing, including the recent extension, an area of five hundred and forty by two hundred and sixty yards. A railing round the inside of the stockade, and about twenty feet from it, constitutes the "dead line," beyond which the prisoners are not allowed to pass, and about three and one-fourth acres near the center of the inclosure are so marshy as to be at present unfit for occupation, reducing the available present area to about twenty-three and one-half acres, which gives somewhat less than six square feet to each prisoner. Even this is being constantly reduced by the additions to their number. A small stream passing from west to east through the inclosure, at about one hundred and fifty yards from its southern limit, furnishes the only water for washing accessible to the prisoners. Some regimen of the guard, the bakery, and the cook house, being placed on the rising grounds bordering the stream before it enters the prison, render the water nearly unfit for use before it reaches the prisoners. \* \* \*

D. T. CHANDLER,

*Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.*

Colonel R. H. CHILTON, *Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.*

Here is an official exhibit of the manner in which the officer detailed by Jeff. Davis chose the place for health, with "running water, and agreeable shade." He chose a piece of forest-ground that had a miasmatic marsh in the heart of it and a small stream running through it; but the troops stationed outside of the stockade were allowed to defile its pure water before it could reach the stockade; and then, as if in the very refinement of cruelty, as if to make a mockery of the order quoted by the gentleman from Georgia, he detailed men

TO CUT DOWN EVERY TREE AND SHRUB

in the inclosure, leaving not a green leaf to show where the forest had been. And subsequently, when the burning sun of July was pouring down its fiery heat upon the heads of these men, with but six square feet of ground to a man, a piteous



petition was made by the prisoners to Winder to allow these poor men to be detailed to go outside, under guard, and cut pine from the forest to make arbors under which they could shelter themselves, and they were answered with all the loathsome brutality of malignant hate, that they should have no bush to shelter them; and thus, under the fierce rays of the southern sun, they miserably perished.

These last statements are made on the authority of Ambrose Spencer, a planter of Georgia, who resided within five miles of Andersonville. I quote from his testimony, (Wirz's trial, p. 359:)

Between the 1st and 15th of December, 1863, I went up to Andersonville with W. S. Winder and four or five other gentlemen, out of curiosity, to see how the prison was to be laid out. \* \* \* I asked him if he was going to erect barracks or shelter of any kind. He replied that he was not; that the damned Yankees who would be put in there would have no need of them. I asked him why he was cutting down all the trees, and suggested that they would prove a shelter to the prisoners, from the heat of the sun, at least. He made this reply, or something similar to it: "That is just what I am going to do; I am going to build a pen here that will kill more damned Yankees than can be destroyed in the front." Those are very nearly his words, or equivalent to them.

So much for the execution of the President's order to locate the prison.

But I am not yet done with the testimony of Colonel Chandler. A subsequent report was made by him in the month of August. He went back and re examined the horrors of that pen, and as the result of his examination he made a report, from which I quote the last few sentences, (Wirz's trial, p. 227:)

ANDERSONVILLE, August 5, 1864.

COLONEL: \* \* \*

My duty requires me respectfully to recommend a change in the officer in the command of the post, Brigadier General J. H. Winder, and the substitution in his place of some one who unites both energy and good judgment with some feeling of humanity and consideration for the welfare and comfort (so far as is consistent with their safe-keeping) of the vast number of unfortunates placed under his control; someone who at least will not advocate deliberately and in cold blood the propriety of leaving them in their present condition until their number has been sufficiently reduced by death to make the present arrangement suffice for their accommodation; who will not consider it a matter of self-laudation and boasting that he has never been inside of the stockade, a place the horrors of which it is difficult to describe, and which is a disgrace to civilization, the condition of which he might, by the exercise of a little energy and judgment, even with the limited means at his command, have considerably improved.

D. T. CHANDLER,

Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.  
Colonel R. H. CHILTON, Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General C. S. A., Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. HALE. What is the date of that report?

Mr. GARFIELD. August 5, 1864.

Mr. HALE. How long after that was Winder retained there in command?

Mr. GARFIELD. I will come to that in a moment.

Now, what do honorable gentlemen suppose would naturally be done with such a report as that? Remember that Colonel Chandler was a witness before the court that tried Wirz and reaffirmed every word of this report. If he is living I would make a pilgrimage to see him and thank him for

THE HUMANITY AND TENDERNESS with which he treated my unfortunate comrades. So anxious was he that the great crime of Winder should be rebuked that he went to Richmond, and in person delivered his report to the Secretary of War, a member, of course, of the cabinet of Jefferson Davis. If I am not correct in this I believe there is a member of that cabinet now on this floor who can correct me. Of course, being a soldier, Colonel Chandler first delivered his report to the adjutant general, and that officer, General Cooper, on the 18th of August, 1864, wrote upon the back of the report these words:

ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
August 18, 1864.

Respectfully submitted to the secretary of war. The condition of the prison at Andersonville is a reproach to us as a nation. The engineer and ordnance departments were applied to, and authorized their issue, and I so telegraphed General Winder. Colonel Chandler's recommendations are coincided in.

By order of General Cooper.

R. H. CHILTON,

Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.

Not content with that indorsement, Colonel Chandler went to the office of the secretary of war himself; but, the secretary being absent at the moment, the report was delivered to the assistant secretary of war, J. A. Campbell, who wrote below General Cooper's indorsement these words:

These reports show a condition of things at Andersonville which calls very loudly for the interposition of the department, in order that a change be made.

J. A. CAMPBELL,

Assistant Secretary of War.

Mr. REAGAN. Does not the gentleman know that the adjutant general could only have made such an order by direction of the president?

Mr. GARFIELD. I do not know what the habit was in the confederacy. It is not so in this Government.

Mr. REAGAN. The gentleman will allow me to say that all persons familiar with the business of that office know that the adjutant general executes direct orders made by the president, but has not himself authority to make such orders.

Mr. GARFIELD. That may have been the rule in the Confederate government; but it was never the rule here. The Adjutant General of our Army signs no order except by or-

der of the Secretary of War. The Adjutant General is the clerk of the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of War is in turn the clerk of the President. But the gentleman from Texas [Mr. REAGAN] will soon see that he cannot defend Davis by the indorsement of General Cooper. The report did not stop with the adjutant general. It was carried up higher and nearer to Davis. It was delivered to Assistant Secretary Campbell, who wrote the indorsement I have just read. The report was lodged with the department of war, whose chief was one of the confidential advisers of Mr. Davis—a member of his official family. What was done with it? The record shows, Mr. Speaker, that a few days thereafter an order was made in reference to General Winder. To what effect? Promoting him! Adding to his power

IN THE FIELD OF HIS INFAMY!

He was made commissary-general of all the prisons and prisoners throughout the confederacy. That was the answer that came as the result of this humane report of Colonel Chandler; and that new appointment of Winder came from Mr. Seddons, the Confederate secretary of war.

A MEMBER. By order of the President.

Mr. GARFIELD. Of course all appointments were made by the President, for the gentleman from Georgia says that they carried our Constitution with them and hugged it to their bosoms. But that is not all. The testimony of the Wirz trial shows that at one time the secretary of war himself became shocked at the brutality of Winder, and, in a moment of indignation, relieved him from command. For authority upon this subject I refer to the testimony of Cashmyer, a detective of Winder's, who was a witness before the Wirz court. That officer testified that when Mr. Seddons, Secretary of War, wrote the order relieving Winder, the latter walked over with it to Jefferson Davis, who immediately wrote on the back of it, "This is entirely unnecessary and uncalled for." Winder appears to have retained the confidence and approval of Davis to the end, and continued on duty until the merciful providence of God struck him dead in his tent in the presence of the witness who gave this testimony.

Now, who will deny that in the forum of law we do trace the responsibility for these atrocities to the man whose name is before us to be relieved of all his political disabilities? If not, let gentlemen show it. Wipe out the charge, and I will be the first man here to vote to relieve him of his disabilities.

Winder was allowed to go on. What did he do? I will only give results, not details. I will not harrow my own soul by the revival of those horrible details. There is a

group of facts in military history well worth knowing which will illustrate the point I am discussing. The great Napoleon did some fighting in his time, as did his great antagonist, the Iron Duke. In 1809 was fought the battle of Talavera, in 1811 the battle of Albuera, in 1812 the battle of Salamanca, in 1813, Vittoria, in 1815 the battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, Waterloo, Wavre, and New Orleans, and in 1854 the battles of the Crimea. The number of men in the English army who fell in battle or who were killed or died of wounds received in these battles amounted in the aggregate to 12,928. But this Major-General Winder,

WITHIN HIS HORRIBLE ARENA OF DEATH, from April, 1864, to April, 1865, tumbled into the trenches of Andersonville the dead bodies of 12,644 prisoners—only two hundred and eighty-four less than all the Englishmen who fell in or died of wounds received in the great battles I have named.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have simply given these results. Percentages pale and fade away in the presence of such horrible facts.

THE REBEL PRISONERS AT ELMIRA.

And the gentleman from Georgia denies the charge of atrocities at Andersonville and charges us with greater ones. I will give his words as they are quoted in the morning papers:

When the gentleman from Maine speaks again let him add that the atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, of Fort Douglas, or of Fort Delaware, and of all the atrocities, both at Andersonville and Elmira, the Confederate government stands acquitted from all responsibility and blame.

I stand in the presence of that statement with an amazement that I am utterly incapable of expressing. I look upon the serene and manly face of the gentleman who uttered it and I wonder what influence of the supernal or nether gods could have touched him with madness for the moment and led him to make that dreadful statement. I pause; and I ask the three Democrats on this floor who happen to represent the districts where are located the three places named, if there be one of them who does not know that this charge is fearfully and awfully untrue. [A pause.] Their silence answers me. They are strangers to me, but I know they will repel the charge with all the energy of their manhood.

Mr. PLATT. I hold in my hand a telegraphic communication from

GENERAL B. F. TRACY,

late commandant of the military post of Elmira, and I beg permission to read that communication.

Mr. GARFIELD. I will yield for that purpose.

Mr. PLATT. The communication is as follows:



BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, *January 12, 1876.*  
 To Hon. T. C. PLATT,  
*House of Representatives, Washington,*  
*District of Columbia.*

The facts justify your denial of cruelty, inhumanity, or neglect in the treatment of prisoners at Elmira. There was no suffering there which is not inseparable from a military prison. First, there was no dead-line. No prisoner was ever shot for attempting to escape. Second, the food was ample and of the best quality. Thousands of dollars were expended in the purchase of vegetables, in addition to the Army ration. No congressman in Washington eats better bread than was given daily to the prisoners. The beef was good, and of the same quality and quantity as that distributed to our own soldiers guarding the camp. Third, the dead were not buried in trenches, but the remains were placed in neat coffins and buried in separate graves, with a head-board bearing the name, company, and regiment, and time of death, and all were buried in the public cemetery at Elmira. Fourth, there was no better supplied military hospital in the United States than the hospital in the prison camp. Fifth, all the prisoners were comfortably quartered in new wooden barracks, built expressly for them. From the time I took command, in September, all the saw-mills in the vicinity of Elmira were kept constantly running to supply lumber for buildings, &c. The barracks for prisoners were first built, and in the extreme cold weather of winter the prisoners were all in barracks, while the soldiers guarding them were still in tents. I was criticised for this in the Army and Navy Journal, I think it was, at the time, by an officer of our Army. Sixth, the camp and all the buildings were well policed, and kept scrupulously clean. Seventh, the mortality which prevailed was not owing to neglect or want of sufficient supplies or medical attention, but to other and quite different causes.

B. F. TRACY.  
*Late Commandant Military Post Union.*

Mr. WALKER, of New York. Mr. Speaker, as the member from the district in which Elmira Depot is located, I take pleasure in indorsing every word of Colonel Tracy's dispatch. I was almost daily at Elmira during the war, and I know that Confederate prisoners

HAD THE SAME CARE AND TREATMENT that the Union soldiers had, and I never heard a complaint. [Great applause.]

Mr. GARFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the lighting is our witness. From all quarters of the Republic denials are pouring in upon us. Since I came to the House this morning, I have received the following dispatch from an honored soldier of Ohio, which tells its own story:

CLEVELAND, Ohio, *January 12, 1876—10.33 a. m.*  
 To GENERAL GARFIELD,

*House of Representatives.*

By authority of Secretary of War I furnished 15,000 rebel prisoners at Elmira with the same rations—coffee, tobacco, coal, wood, clothing, barracks, medical attendance—as were given to our own soldiers. The dead were decently buried in Elmira cemetery. All this can be proved by Democrats of that city.

General J. J. ELWELL.

Mr. HILL. By permission of the gentleman from Ohio, I desire to say that there

was no purpose on my part by any of my remarks on yesterday to charge inhumanity upon anybody at Elmira or anywhere else. I only read the evidence from official sources as I understood it.

Mr. BLAINE. A letter in a newspaper.

Mr. HILL. Let me get through, if you please. Do not be uneasy. Keep quiet, and I will not hurt you. [Laughter.]

Mr. MACDOUGALL. That is what you told us in 1861.

Mr. HILL. I simply say that I was reading the evidence of cruelties, in the language of that letter, "inseparable from prison life." Then I read of the small-pox epidemic at Elmira and its character. But the remark which the gentleman is now commenting on was not connected with any charge of inhumanity upon any person in the world. I wish it distinctly understood that I meant to charge inhumanity upon nobody. I was simply speaking of those horrors that are inseparable from all prison life; and I wound up my statement by saying that the official reports of Secretary Stanton, on the 19th of July, 1866, after the war was over, gave the relative mortality of prisoners in Federal hands and prisoners in Confederate hands, and that the mortality of Confederate prisoners in northern prisons was 12 per cent., while the mortality of Federal prisoners in Confederate hands was less than 9 per cent. Now I simply said that judging by that test there was more atrocity (if you please to call it so)—I meant, of course, mortality—in the prisons of the North than in those of the South. Let the gentleman take the benefit of that statement. I simply referred to the report of Secretary Stanton.

Mr. BAKER, of Indiana. Does the gentleman mean to charge that the amount of mortality in Northern prisons was owing to any cruelty or neglect of the Federal officers?

Mr. HILL. I do not undertake to say to what special cause the mortality on either side was attributable. I say it was attributable to those horrors inseparable from prison life everywhere; and I simply entered my protest against gentlemen seeking to stir up those old past horrors on either side to keep alive a strife that ought to be buried. That is all. [Applause.]

Mr. GARFIELD. I am glad to hear what the gentleman says, and to give it more force by contrast I quote again the words he used as reported in the newspapers this morning:

When the gentleman from Maine addresses the House again let him add to it that the atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, of Fort Douglas, or of Fort Delaware; and of all the atrocities, both at Andersonville and Elmira, the Confederate government stands acquitted from all responsibility and blame.

I refer to it to show why I could not—

Mr. HILL. I have no doubt the gentle-



man's motive is good; but he will permit me to remind him that what he has just read was said by me after reading Secretary Stanton's report; and of course, while I mentioned prison places at the North I did not mean to charge inhumanity upon any one as a class.

Mr. GARFIELD. But let me say another word to close this branch of the subject. The only authority introduced to prove the pretended atrocity at Elmira was an anonymous letter printed in the *New York World*. The Roman soldiers who watched at the sepulchre of the Saviour of mankind attempted to disprove his resurrection by testifying to what happened while they were asleep. Bad as this testimony was, it was not anonymous; but in this case the testimony was that of a shadow—an initial—nobody. *Stat nominis umbra*. What the substance was we know not. But even as to this

ANONYMOUS AUTHORITY,

it would have been well for the cause of justice if the gentleman had been kind enough to quote it all. I read, I believe, from the very book from which the gentleman quoted—*The Life of Davis*—a sentence omitted by him, but which I hope he will have printed in his speech. It is this:

The facts demonstrate that in as healthy a location as there is in New York, with every remedial appliance in abundance, with no epidemic, &c.

So that even this anonymous witness testifies that we planted our Elmira prison in as healthy a place as there was in the State of New York. It ought to be added that the small-pox broke out in that prison very soon after the date of this letter; and the mortality that followed was very much greater than in any other prison in the North.

How we have kept alive our vindictiveness will be seen by the fact that Congress, at its last session or the session before last, passed a law making the rebel cemetery at Elmira a part of the national-cemetery system; and to-day, this malignant Administration, this ferocious Constitution-hating and South-hating Administration is paying an officer for tenderly caring for the inclosure that holds the remains of these outraged soldiers!

Mr. MACDOUGALL. And a Union soldier, Captain Fitch, is building at his own expense a monument at Elmira to the Confederate dead.

Mr. GARFIELD. I did not know that. At another place, Finn's Point, in Virginia, we have within the past few months embraced another cemetery of rebel soldiers under the law and protection of our national cemetery system. All this out of the depths of our wrath and hatred for our Southern brethren!

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me to say a word on that point?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. In response to what the gentleman has said, I desire to state as a fact what I personally know, that on the last occasion of decorating soldiers' graves in the South, our people, uniting with Northern soldiers there, decorated in harmonious accord the graves of the fallen Federals and the graves of the fallen Confederates. It is because of this glorious feeling that is being awakened in the country that I protest against the revival of these horrors about any prison.

Mr. GARFIELD. So do I. Who brought it here? [Cries from the Democratic side of the House, BLAINE! BLAINE!] We will see as to that. I wish this same fraternal feeling could come out of the graveyard and display itself toward the thirty or forty maimed Union soldiers who were on duty around this Capitol, but who have been displaced by an equal number of

SOLDIERS ON THE OTHER SIDE.

[Applause.]

There was another point which the gentleman made which I am frank to say I am not now able to answer.

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention (with the permission of the gentleman from Ohio) to the exact state of facts in reference to the allegation just made by him. This is not the first time the statement has been made that there have been thirty or forty crippled Federal soldiers removed from office under this House and their places filled by Confederate soldiers. I was shown yesterday morning by the Doorkeeper of the House (and the information is as accessible to the gentleman from Ohio and all others as to myself) a roll showing there were eighteen Federal soldiers appointed by the Doorkeeper of the House during the last Congress, while twenty-four Federal soldiers have been appointed by the Doorkeeper of the present Congress; while at the same time the aggregate number of appointments allowed to the Doorkeeper of the House of the last Congress was very much larger than that allowed to the Doorkeeper of the present Congress. Besides that, more than three-fourths of those appointed by the present Doorkeeper have taken what is popularly denominated as the iron-clad oath.

Mr. GARFIELD. I should be glad to know that the gentleman from Texas is correct.

Mr. SOUTHARD. The gentleman from Texas has referred to a list which I have here before me.

Mr. GARFIELD. My time is fast running out, and I do not want it all taken up by these explanations; but I will hear my colleague.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Ohio yield?

Mr. GARFIELD. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. RANDALL. Your time will be extended.

Mr. SOUTHARD. The statement which I have before me, and to which the gentleman from Texas referred, is that of the one hundred and fifty-three appointments made by the Doorkeeper in the last House of Representatives, there were eighteen Union soldiers; while, out of the eighty-five appointments allowed to the Doorkeeper of the present House, twenty-six Union soldiers have been appointed. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. These demonstrations are entirely out of order.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. My point is this: I do not know whether it is a point of order or not, but I do request that the Speaker will in the most determined manner suppress any applause in this House. I regret this debate, and especially these details; but this applause is unbecoming the gravity of the question, however unfortunately it may have come up here; and I do request that on this side of the House there shall be no applause of any member who speaks for the South, or any demonstration against any one speaking on that side of the House. I hope courtesy and decorum will be observed. [Cries of "Good!" "Good!"] It is unbecoming the House, and unbecoming the country, and I hope it will be stopped.

The SPEAKER. The suggestion of the gentleman from Kentucky is well made. These things are not in order, and the Chair earnestly requests the House will set an example to those outside of the bar and in the galleries by stopping all such demonstrations. And the Chair takes occasion to say to the galleries that if these things are continued it will be his duty to have them cleared.

Mr. GARFIELD. I regret as much as any one the discussion of this question. I did not intend to refer to it at all. I hope what my colleague has presented as a statistical table will turn out to be correct. I shall be glad if it does. I know he thinks it is correct. However, there has been put into my hand a statement about a single office of the House in which the names of the old and new rolls are given. I speak of the post-office of the House, in which it is claimed that while nine Union soldiers were on the rolls during the last year,

#### NINE CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS

have replaced them on the roll of this year; and that of the thirteen employees there, but two took the oath that they had

not borne arms against the Government. If the statement be correct which I have had put into my hands, it would seem to throw some shadow of doubt on what we have just heard. But let both statements go in together.

This is the list handed to me:

#### POST-OFFICE OF THE HOUSE.

The old force.—Norman Crane, Vermont; A. M. Legg, New York, two years in Union Army; F. A. Wardell, Massachusetts, four years in Union Army and permanently disabled at Winchester; J. H. Paine, Ohio, was in Union Army; O. M. Thomas, Iowa; R. P. Bishop, Michigan, lost an arm in the Union Army; R. S. McMichael, Wisconsin, nearly lost his sight in the Union Army; D. B. Bradley, Wisconsin, three years in Union Army; J. H. Lytle, New York; W. B. Sessions, New York; J. D. Severn, Pennsylvania; D. F. Bishop, Pennsylvania; W. Tudge, District of Columbia; Cripti Palmoni, District of Columbia.

The new force.—George W. Rock, Virginia, in Confederate army; Henry Cook, Virginia, in Confederate army; Richard Allen, Virginia; S. W. Kennedy, Virginia, in Confederate army; A. W. C. Nowlin, Virginia, in Confederate army; Edward C. Sloss, Virginia; W. H. Robinson, Virginia, in Confederate army; J. R. Fisher, Virginia, in Confederate army; P. S. Goodsil, W. B. Lowery, Virginia, in Confederate army; Joseph M. Taylor, Edwin Este, New York; Thomas Kirby, Connecticut, in Union Army.

Mr. Speaker, I was about to refer to another point made by the gentleman from Georgia in his statement of the number of prisoners taken by us and taken by them and the relative number of deaths. I have this morning received from the Surgeon General references to all the pages of official reports on that subject, but I have not been able, in the hurried moments of the session since I arrived here, to examine the figures. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BURCHARD] has made up a part of the statement which I am now able to present. That statement shows that during the war

WE TOOK 476,169 PRISONERS, while on the other side they took 188,145 prisoners from us.

This is a statement to which the Surgeon General referred me in a note received since I took my seat in the House this-morning, and is in a printed report on the treatment of prisoners of war by the rebel authorities, third session Fortieth Congress, page 228, which gentlemen can examine at their leisure.

It ought to be added in this connection that the conscription laws of the Confederate congress forced all able-bodied citizens between the ages of seventeen and fifty into the service, while our laws limited the conscription to the usual military ages. This, of course, put into their army a large number of immature boys and broken-down old men, among whom the mortality would naturally be greater than in an army made up of men of the ordinary ages.

I turn now to another point. The gentle-



man makes another answer concerning these atrocities.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's hour has expired.

Mr. HILL. I hope the gentleman from Ohio will be permitted to go on.

There being no objection, Mr. GARFIELD's time was extended indefinitely.

Mr. GARFIELD. I am very grateful for this courtesy and will not abuse it.

The gentleman from Georgia makes another answer, that whatever was suffered by the prisoners for at least a considerable portion of the time was in consequence of our REFUSAL TO MAKE AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS, because we would not give them their fresh men in our prisons, and take our shadows and skeletons that came back from theirs.

This is a part, and an important part, of a great history, which must not be omitted in this debate; and I will very briefly refer to its leading points. There was much trouble about the exchange of prisoners between the two belligerents; first, because for a long time we did not acknowledge the Confederates as belligerents. We hoped under the ninety days theory of Mr. Seward to get through without their recognition, but that hope failed. Our enemies were as gallant a people as ever drew the sword, and the fulfillment of that hope was delayed for months and for years. But finally an arrangement was made under which it was possible to make a cartel for the exchange of prisoners; and on the 22d of July, 1862, a cartel was agreed upon between the belligerents, which provided that within ten days after a prisoner was taken he should be paroled and sent home; and whenever it was announced by either side that a certain number was relieved from the parole a corresponding number should be released from the other side, and in that way the exchange was effected.

There were two points of delivery of prisoners. One was at Vicksburg. Another was at a point near Dutch Gap, in Virginia. And the exchange went on for some time until a series of events occurred which interrupted it. To those events I desire to call attention for a moment. The first in order of time was a proposition which was read before the House yesterday, and which I incorporate here in my remarks, not for the sake of making any personal point, but to preserve the continuity of the history.

#### HILL'S BLACK FLAG RESOLUTION.

In October, 1862, a resolution was introduced into the Confederate Senate by Senator Hill, of Georgia—

That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with intent to excite

insurrection and to abet murder, and that unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which his trial shall be had he shall suffer death.

That was the first step in the complication in regard to the exchange of prisoners of war. That resolution appears to have borne early fruits.

On the 22d day of December, 1862, Jefferson Davis, the man for whom amnesty is now being asked, issued a proclamation, a copy of which I hold in my hand. I read two paragraphs:

First. That all commissioned officers in the command of said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honorable warfare, but as robbers and criminals deserving death; and that they, and each of them be, whenever captured, reserved for execution.

Mr. HILL. A reason is stated for that.

Mr. GARFIELD. The reason is in the preamble. I am not discussing the reasons for this extraordinary proclamation, but its effects upon the exchange of prisoners.

Third. That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the laws of said States.

Fourth. That the like orders be executed in all cases with respect to all commissioned officers of the United States when found serving in company with said slaves in insurrection against the authorities of the different States of this Confederacy.

Two great questions were thus raised: first, that a certain class of officers, merely because they served under General Butler, should be declared not entitled to the rights of prisoners of war, but should be put to death when taken. These men were serving, not Benjamin F. Butler, but the Union. They did not choose him as their general. They were assigned to him; and by this proclamation that assignment

#### CONSIGNED THEM TO DEATH

at the hands of their captors. But the second question was still more important. It was an order that all men who had been slaves and had enlisted under the flag of the Union should be denied all the rights of soldiers, and when captured should be dealt with as runaway slaves under the laws of the States where they formerly belonged, and that commissioned officers who commanded them were to be denied the rights and privileges of prisoners of war. The decision of the Union people everywhere was that, great as was the suffering of our poor soldiers at Andersonville and elsewhere, we would never make an exchange of prisoners until the manhood and the rights of our colored soldiers were acknowledged by the belligerent power. And for long weary months we stood upon that issue, and most of the suffering occurred while we waited for that act of justice to be done on the other side.



To enforce this proclamation of Mr. Davis a law was passed on the 1st of May, 1863, by the Confederate congress, reported, doubtless, from the judiciary committee by the gentleman who spoke yesterday, and in that law the principles of the proclamation I have just read were embodied and expanded. Section 4 of the law reads as follows:

SEC. 4. That every white person, being a commissioned officer or acting as such, who during the present war, shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the Confederate States or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 5. Every person, being a commissioned officer or acting as such in the service of the enemy, who shall during the present war excite, attempt to excite, or cause to be excited, a servile insurrection, or who shall incite or cause to be incited a slave to rebel, shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 7. All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States.

Approved May 1, 1863.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am here to say that this position taken by the head of the Confederacy, indorsed by his congress and carried into execution by his officers, was the great primal trouble in all this business of the exchange of prisoners. There were minor troubles, such as claims by both sides that paroles had been violated. I think General Halleck reported that a whole division of four brigades, Stevenson's division, which had not been properly exchanged, fought us at Lookout Mountain; but that may have been a mistake. It was one of the points in controversy. But the central question was that of the Government of the United States having committed itself to the doctrine that

THE NEGRO WAS A MAN AND NOT A CHATTEL, and that being a man he had a right to help us in fighting for the Union, and being a soldier we would perish rather than that he should not be treated as a soldier.

To show that I am not speaking at random I will read from a report which I hold in my hand, a report of the Secretary of War on the difficulty of the exchange of prisoners. This paper is dated August 24, 1864. I think it is a misprint for 1863, from what surrounds it; but no matter as to that. It was in August General Meredith reported:

To my demand "that all officers commanding negro troops, and negro troops themselves, should be treated as other prisoners of war,

and be exchanged as such," Mr. Ould declined acceding, remarking that they (the rebels) would "die in the last ditch" before giving up the right to send slaves back to slavery as property recaptured.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. A. MEREDITH,  
Brigadier-General and Commissioner for Exchange.

Major-General E. A. HITCHCOCK, Commissioner for Exchange of Prisoners, Washington, D. C.

Thus it appears that in the negotiation, as late as the month of August, 1863, the refusal of the rebel authorities to treat the negro as a man and a soldier, prevented the exchange of prisoners.

One other point in that connection and I will leave this subject. I have here a letter, dated March 17, 1863, written by Robert Ould and addressed to that man of "bad eminence," General Winder, in which Mr. Ould, speaking of his arrangement for the exchange of prisoners, says:

*The arrangements that I have made work largely in our favor. We get rid of a set of miserable wretches and receive some of the best material I ever saw.*

Now in that single line, in a communication between two men, not *par nobile fratrum* but *par turpe diabolorum*, is proof that the object of this outrageous treatment at Andersonville was to make our men so that their exchange would be valueless to us, and it throws light upon the charge about our treatment of prisoners held in the North.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I return from all this to the direct discussion bearing immediately upon Jefferson Davis. It seems to me incontrovertible that the records I have adduced lay at his door the charge of being himself the author, the conscious author, through his own appointed instrument, of the terrible work at Andersonville, for which the American people still hold him unfit to be admitted among the legislators of this nation.

Before I leave that subject let me say another word or another point. I see around me here a large number of gentlemen who did not hesitate to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States, who did not hesitate to ask to be relieved of their political disabilities, and I ask if any one of them, in the years they have served here with us, has been ever taunted with the fact that he has been thus relieved of disabilities at his own request? Can any one of them recall a discourteous remark that has ever been made here in debate because he has asked and accepted the amnesty of the Government? Do you want us to say that the remaining seven hundred and fifty need not ask what you did? Do the honorable gentlemen who are here to-day want easier terms on which the others may come in than the terms on which they themselves came back?

Mr. HILL. I desire to ask a question for information, for I want the facts, and my recollection differs from that of the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. GARFIELD.] The act of 1872, granting a partial amnesty to quite a large number, does not, as I understand it, make any such requisition as is contained in the amendment of the gentleman from Maine, [Mr. BLAINE.]

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman is right.

Mr. HILL. It was an unconditional amnesty like that contained in the bill of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. RANDALL.] It required no oath or anything of the sort.

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly not.

Mr. HILL. I am very sure that it was under that act that I was relieved. And I never applied for any amnesty at all, but I would not have felt it

ANY LOSS OF PRIDE HAD I DONE SO.

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly not. I remember very well that we relieved a large number of soldiers in one act. But we did not relieve those who, at the time the rebellion broke out, held offices and commissions under the Government, which they had sworn before God they would protect and defend, and afterward went into the rebellion. Those are the people that we have required to ask for amnesty.

Mr. HILL. Allow me to call the attention of the gentleman to a correction of his statement. The act of Congress of 1872 relieved all persons, as I understand it, from disabilities who had been members of any State Legislature, or who had been an executive or judicial officer of any State, and relieved all in civil or military service, or who had even been in the Congress of the United States, excepting the Thirty-fifth or Thirty-sixth Congress.

Mr. GARFIELD. The Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses.

Mr. HILL. Well, one or the other. It relieved all those who were not in Congress at the time of secession, all members of State Legislatures, all civil and military officers, except the few remaining, some seven hundred and fifty. You granted them relief without any condition whatever.

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman will observe that those to whom he refers did not, at the time the war broke out, hold commissions as United States officers.

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. GARFIELD. We excepted from amnesty all those who held in their hands a commission from the Federal Government, and who had sworn to be true to their commission; and we did this because they had added to rebellion—I must use words—

THE CRIME OF PERJURY

in the eyes of the law.

Mr. TUCKER. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. TUCKER. Do I understand the gentleman from Ohio, speaking here to-day of kindness to gentlemen on this side of the House, to say that any man who held a commission under the United States at the time the war broke out, and who went into secession, was guilty of perjury?

Mr. GARFIELD. I will repeat precisely the measured words I used. I said "the crime of perjury in the eyes of the law." In view of the fact of flaming war, I do not say those men should be regarded as ordinary perjurers; I never said that. But what will the gentleman call it? By what other name does the law know it? I did not make the dictionary, nor did I make the law. The gentleman certainly knows me well enough to know that I am incapable of making a reference to any personal matter in this discussion. He must see that I am using the word as it is used in the law.

Mr. TUCKER. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*, (Mr. SPRINGER in the chair.) Does the gentleman from Ohio yield further to the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. TUCKER?]

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. TUCKER. I do not ask to interrupt the gentleman that I may excuse myself, but to excuse some of the noblest men that I have ever known, and of whom the gentleman might be proud to claim to be a peer.

Mr. GARFIELD. There were some passages in the speech of yesterday which make me less reluctant

TO SPEAK OF BREAKING OATHS.

He said:

We charge all our wrongs to that "higher law" fanaticism which never kept a pledge or obeyed a law. We sought to leave the association of those who would not keep fidelity to covenant. We sought to go by ourselves; but, so far from having lost our fidelity to the Constitution, we hugged it to our bosoms and carried it with us. \* \* \* But you gentlemen who persecuted us by your infidelities until you drove us out of the Union, you who then claimed to be the only friends of the Union, which you had before denounced as a "league with hell and a covenant with death," you who follow up the war when the soldiers who fought it have made peace and gone to their homes, to you we have no concessions to make. Martyrs owe no apology to tyrants.

There is a certain sublimity of assumption in this which challenges admiration. Why the very men of whom we are talking, who broke their oaths of office to the nation—when we are speaking of relieving them we are told that they went out because we broke the Constitution and would not be bound by oaths. Did we break the Constitution? Did we drive them out? I invoke the testimony of Alexander H. Stephens, now a member of this House, who, standing up in the secession



convention of Georgia, declared that there was no just ground for Georgia's going out; declared that the election of a President according to the Constitution was no justifiable ground for secession, and declared that if under the circumstances the South should go out she would herself be committing a gigantic wrong and would call down upon herself the thunders and horrors of civil war.

Thus spoke Alexander H. Stephens in 1860. Over against anything that may be said to the contrary I place his testimony that we did not force the South out; that they went out against all the protests and the prayers and the humiliation that a great and proud nation could make without absolute disgrace.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield to me a moment?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. DAVIS. The gentleman has used a term that touches the honor of more men than one in this House and in the South. I desire, therefore, to ask him this question: Whether the war did not result from a difference of views between gentlemen of the North and gentlemen of the South with regard to what was the true construction of the Constitution? That being so, I desire to ask him further whether the oath of fidelity to the Constitution was best observed by those people of the section which he represents, those of his own party, who declared that there was a law higher than the Constitution and declined to obey that instrument, or by those who observed faithfully their constitutional obligations, and who, when raids were made upon them, merely defended themselves, as they understand it.

FROM UNCONSTITUTIONAL AGGRESSION?

I wish to say further for myself and for those who are here with me that, the Constitution having been amended—the "higher law" party having incorporated in that instrument the abolition of slavery and certain other features which we have now sworn to support along with the rest of the instrument—if in the future we fail to observe that oath before high Heaven, then we may be declared perjured; then we may be declared rebels; then we may be declared traitors.

Mr. GARFIELD. If the gentleman has understood me he cannot fail to see that I have not used the word in any offensive sense, but in its plain and ordinary acceptation, as used in the law. We held that the United States was a nation, bound together by a bond of perpetual union; a union which no State or any combination of States, which no man or any combination of men, had the right, under the Constitution, to break. The attempt of the South to overthrow the Union was crime against the Government—the

crime of rebellion. It can be described by no other name. It is so known to the laws of nations. It is so described in the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The gentleman from North Carolina calls  
THE WAR ON ONE SIDE A RAID.

I will never consent to call our war for the Union "a raid," least of all a raid upon the rights of any human being. I admit that there was a political theory of State rights—a theory held, I have no doubt, by gentlemen like the gentleman of Virginia [Mr. TUCKER] who spoke a moment ago—believed in as sincerely as I believe the opposite—which led them to think it was their duty to go when their State went. I admit that that greatly mitigates all that the law speaks of as a violation of an oath. But I will never admit (for history gives the lie to the statement in every line) that the men of the Union were making a "raid" upon the rights of the South.

Read the Republican platform of 1856 and of 1860. What did we contend for in those years? Simply that slavery should not be extended into any Territory already free. That was all. We swore any right or purpose on our part in time of peace to touch slavery in any State. We only claimed that in the Territories, the common heritage of all the Union, slavery should never travel another inch; and, thank God, it no longer pollutes our soil or disgraces our civilization.

Now that slavery,

THE GUILTY CAUSE OF THE REBELLION.

is no more, and that, so far as I know nobody wants it restored—I do not believe these gentlemen from the South desire its restoration—

Mr. HILL. We would not have it.

Mr. GARFIELD. They would not have it, the gentleman from Georgia says. Then let us thank God that in the fierce flames of war the institution of slavery has been consumed; and out of its ashes let us hope a better than the fabled Phoenix of old will arise—a love of the Union high and deep, "as broad and general as the casing air," enveloping us all, and that it shall be counted no shame for any man who is not still under political disabilities to say with uplifted hand, "I will be true to it and take the proffered amnesty of the nation." But let us not tender it to be spurned. If it is worth having, it is worth asking for.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I close as I began. Toward those men who gallantly fought us on the field I cherish the kindest feeling. I feel a sincere reverence for the soldierly qualities they displayed on many a well-fought battle-field. I hope the day will come when their swords and ours will be crossed over many a doorway of our children, who will remember the glory of their



der of the Secretary of War. The Adjutant General is the clerk of the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of War is in turn the clerk of the President. But the gentleman from Texas [MR. REAGAN] will soon see that he cannot defend Davis by the indorsement of General Cooper. The report did not stop with the adjutant general. It was carried up higher and nearer to Davis. It was delivered to Assistant Secretary Campbell, who wrote the indorsement I have just read. The report was lodged with the department of war, whose chief was one of the confidential advisers of Mr. Davis—a member of his official family. What was done with it? The record shows, Mr. Speaker, that a few days thereafter an order was made in reference to General Winder. To what effect? Promoting him! Adding to his power.

IN THE FIELD OF HIS INFAMY!

He was made commissary-general of all the prisons and prisoners throughout the confederacy. That was the answer that came as the result of this humane report of Colonel Chandler; and that new appointment of Winder came from Mr. Seddons, the Confederate secretary of war.

A MEMBER. By order of the President.

Mr. GARFIELD. Of course all appointments were made by the President, for the gentleman from Georgia says that they carried our Constitution with them and hugged it to their bosoms. But that is not all. The testimony of the Wirz trial shows that at one time the secretary of war himself became shocked at the brutality of Winder, and, in a moment of indignation, relieved him from command. For authority upon this subject I refer to the testimony of Cashmyer, a detective of Winder's, who was a witness before the Wirz court. That officer testified that when Mr. Seddons, Secretary of War, wrote the order relieving Winder, the latter walked over with it to Jefferson Davis, who immediately wrote on the back of it, "This is entirely unnecessary and uncalled for." Winder appears to have retained the confidence and approval of Davis to the end, and continued on duty until the merciful providence of God struck him dead in his tent in the presence of the witness who gave this testimony.

Now, who will deny that in the forum of law we do trace the responsibility for these atrocities to the man whose name is before us to be relieved of all his political disabilities? If not, let gentlemen show it. Wipe out the charge, and I will be the first man here to vote to relieve him of his disabilities.

Winder was allowed to go on. What did he do? I will only give results, not details. I will not harrow my own soul by the revival of those horrible details. There is a

group of facts in military history well worth knowing which will illustrate the point I am discussing. The great Napoleon did some fighting in his time, as did his great antagonist, the Iron Duke. In 1809 was fought the battle of Talavera, in 1811 the battle of Albuera, in 1812 the battle of Salamanca, in 1813, Vittoria, in 1815 the battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, Waterloo, Wavre, and New Orleans, and in 1854 the battles of the Crimea. The number of men in the English army who fell in battle or who were killed or died of wounds received in these battles amounted, in the aggregate to 12,928. But this Major-General Winder,

WITHIN HIS HORRIBLE ARENA OF DEATH, from April, 1864, to April, 1865, tumbled into the trenches of Andersonville the dead bodies of 12,644 prisoners—only two hundred and eighty-four less than all the Englishmen who fell in or died of wounds received in the great battles I have named.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have simply given these results. Percentages pale and fade away in the presence of such horrible facts.

THE REBEL PRISONERS AT ELMIRA.

And the gentleman from Georgia denies the charge of atrocities at Andersonville and charges us with greater ones. I will give his words as they are quoted in the morning papers:

When the gentleman from Maine speaks again let him add that the atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, of Fort Douglas, or of Fort Delaware, and of all the atrocities, both at Andersonville and Elmira, the Confederate government stands acquitted from all responsibility and blame.

I stand in the presence of that statement with an amazement that I am utterly incapable of expressing. I look upon the serene and manly face of the gentleman who uttered it and I wonder what influence of the supernal or nether gods could have touched him with madness for the moment and led him to make that dreadful statement. I pause; and I ask the three Democrats on this floor who happen to represent the districts where are located the three places named, if there be one of them who does not know that this charge is fearfully and awfully untrue. [A pause.] Their silence answers me. They are strangers to me, but I know they will repel the charge with all the energy of their manhood.

Mr. PLATT. I hold in my hand a telegraphic communication from

GENERAL B. F. TRACY,

late commandant of the military post of Elmira, and I beg permission to read that communication.

Mr. GARFIELD. I will yield for that purpose.

Mr. PLATT. The communication is as follows:

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, *January 12, 1876.*  
 To Hon. T. C. PLATT,  
*House of Representatives, Washington,  
 District of Columbia.*

The facts justify your denial of cruelty, inhumanity, or neglect in the treatment of prisoners at Elmira. There was no suffering there which is not inseparable from a military prison. First, there was no dead-line. No prisoner was ever shot for attempting to escape. Second, the food was ample and of the best quality. Thousands of dollars were expended in the purchase of vegetables, in addition to the Army ration. No congressman in Washington eats better bread than was given daily to the prisoners. The beef was good, and of the same quality and quantity as that distributed to our own soldiers guarding the camp. Third, the dead were not buried in trenches, but the remains were placed in neat coffins and buried in separate graves, with a head-board bearing the name, company, and regiment, and time of death, and all were buried in the public cemetery at Elmira. Fourth, there was no better supplied military hospital in the United States than the hospital in the prison camp. Fifth, all the prisoners were comfortably quartered in new wooden barracks, built expressly for them. From the time I took command, in September, all the saw-mills in the vicinity of Elmira were kept constantly running to supply lumber for buildings, &c. The barracks for prisoners were first built, and in the extreme cold weather of winter the prisoners were all in barracks, while the soldiers guarding them were still in tents. I was criticised for this in the Army and Navy Journal, I think it was, at the time, by an officer of our Army. Sixth, the camp and all the buildings were well policed, and kept scrupulously clean. Seventh, the mortality which prevailed was not owing to neglect or want of sufficient supplies or medical attention, but to other and quite different causes.

B. F. TRACY.

*Late Commandant Military Post Union.*

Mr. WALKER, of New York. Mr. Speaker, as the member from the district in which Elmira Depot is located, I take pleasure in indorsing every word of Colonel Tracy's dispatch. I was almost daily at Elmira during the war, and I know that Confederate prisoners

HAD THE SAME CARE AND TREATMENT that the Union soldiers had, and I never heard a complaint. [Great applause.]

Mr. GARFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the lighting is our witness. From all quarters of the Republic denials are pouring in upon us. Since I came to the House this morning, I have received the following dispatch from an honored soldier of Ohio, which tells its own story:

CLEVELAND, Ohio, *January 12, 1876—10.33 a. m.*  
 To GENERAL GARFIELD,

*House of Representatives:*

By authority of Secretary of War I furnished 13,000 rebel prisoners at Elmira with the same rations—coffee, tobacco, coal, wood, clothing, barracks, medical attendance—as were given to our own soldiers. The dead were decently buried in Elmira cemetery. All this can be proved by Democrats of that city.

General J. J. ELWELL.

Mr. HILL. By permission of the gentleman from Ohio, I desire to say that there

was no purpose on my part by any of my remarks on yesterday to charge inhumanity upon anybody at Elmira or anywhere else. I only read the evidence from official sources as I understood it.

Mr. BLAINE. A letter in a newspaper.

Mr. HILL. Let me get through, if you please. Do not be uneasy. Keep quiet, and I will not hurt you. [Laughter.]

Mr. MACDOUGALL. That is what you told us in 1861.

Mr. HILL. I simply say that I was reading the evidence of cruelties, in the language of that letter, "inseparable from prison life." Then I read of the small-pox epidemic at Elmira and its character. But the remark which the gentleman is now commenting on was not connected with any charge of inhumanity upon any person in the world. I wish it distinctly understood that I meant to charge inhumanity upon nobody. I was simply speaking of those horrors that are inseparable from all prison life; and I wound up my statement by saying that the official reports of Secretary Stanton, on the 19th of July, 1866, after the war was over, gave the relative mortality of prisoners in Federal hands and prisoners in Confederate hands, and that the mortality of Confederate prisoners in northern prisons was 12 per cent., while the mortality of Federal prisoners in Confederate hands was less than 9 per cent. Now I simply said that judging by that test there was more atrocity (if you please to call it so)—I meant, of course, mortality—in the prisons of the North than in those of the South. Let the gentleman take the benefit of that statement. I simply referred to the report of Secretary Stanton.

Mr. BAKER, of Indiana. Does the gentleman mean to charge that the amount of mortality in Northern prisons was owing to any cruelty or neglect of the Federal officers?

Mr. HILL. I do not undertake to say to what special cause the mortality on either side was attributable. I say it was attributable to those horrors inseparable from prison life everywhere; and I simply entered my protest against gentlemen seeking to stir up those old past horrors on either side to keep alive a strife that ought to be buried. That is all. [Applause.]

Mr. GARFIELD. I am glad to hear what the gentleman says, and to give it more force by contrast I quote again the words he used as reported in the newspapers this morning:

When the gentleman from Maine addresses the House again let him add to it that the atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, of Fort Douglas, or of Fort Delaware; and of all the atrocities, both at Andersonville and Elmira, the Confederate government stands acquitted from all responsibility and blame.

I refer to it to show why I could not—

Mr. HILL. I have no doubt the gentle-



man's motive is good; but he will permit me to remind him that what he has just read was said by me after reading Secretary Stanton's report; and of course, while I mentioned prison places at the North I did not mean to charge inhumanity upon any one as a class.

Mr. GARFIELD. But let me say another word to close this branch of the subject. The only authority introduced to prove the pretended atrocity at Elmira was an anonymous letter printed in the *New York World*. The Roman soldiers who watched at the sepulchre of the Saviour of mankind attempted to disprove his resurrection by testifying to what happened while they were asleep. Bad as this testimony was, it was not anonymous; but in this case the testimony was that of a shadow—an initial—nobody. *Stat nominis umbra*. What the substance was we know not. But even as to this

ANONYMOUS AUTHORITY,

it would have been well for the cause of justice if the gentleman had been kind enough to quote it all. I read, I believe, from the very book from which the gentleman quoted—*The Life of Davis*—a sentence omitted by him, but which I hope he will have printed in his speech. It is this:

The facts demonstrate that in as healthy a location as there is in New York, with every remedial appliance in abundance, with no epidemic, &c.

So that even this anonymous witness testifies that we planted our Elmira prison in as healthy a place as there was in the State of New York. It ought to be added that the small-pox broke out in that prison very soon after the date of this letter; and the mortality that followed was very much greater than in any other prison in the North.

How we have kept alive our vindictiveness will be seen by the fact that Congress, at its last session or the session before last, passed a law making the rebel cemetery at Elmira a part of the national-cemetery system; and to-day, this malignant Administration, this ferocious Constitution-hating and South-hating Administration is paying an officer for tenderly caring for the inclosure that holds the remains of these outraged soldiers!

Mr. MacDOUGALL. And a Union soldier, Captain Fitch, is building at his own expense a monument at Elmira to the Confederate dead.

Mr. GARFIELD. I did not know that. At another place, Finn's Point, in Virginia, we have within the past few months embraced another cemetery of rebel soldiers under the law and protection of our national cemetery system. All this out of the depths of our wrath and hatred for our Southern brethren!

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me to say a word on that point?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. In response to what the gentleman has said, I desire to state as a fact what I personally know, that on the last occasion of decorating soldiers' graves in the South, our people, uniting with Northern soldiers there, decorated in harmonious accord the graves of the fallen Federals and the graves of the fallen Confederates. It is because of this glorious feeling that is being awakened in the country that I protest against the revival of these horrors about any prison.

Mr. GARFIELD. So do I. Who brought it here? [Cries from the Democratic side of the House, BLAINE! BLAINE!] We will see as to that. I wish this same fraternal feeling could come out of the graveyard and display itself toward the thirty or forty maimed Union soldiers who were on duty around this Capitol, but who have been displaced by an equal number of

SOLDIERS ON THE OTHER SIDE.

[Applause.]

There was another point which the gentleman made which I am frank to say I am not now able to answer.

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention (with the permission of the gentleman from Ohio) to the exact state of facts in reference to the allegation just made by him. This is not the first time the statement has been made that there have been thirty or forty crippled Federal soldiers removed from office under this House and their places filled by Confederate soldiers. I was shown yesterday morning by the Doorkeeper of the House (and the information is as accessible to the gentleman from Ohio and all others as to myself) a roll showing there were eighteen Federal soldiers appointed by the Doorkeeper of the House during the last Congress, while twenty-four Federal soldiers have been appointed by the Doorkeeper of the present Congress; while at the same time the aggregate number of appointments allowed to the Doorkeeper of the House of the last Congress was very much larger than that allowed to the Doorkeeper of the present Congress. Besides that, more than three-fourths of those appointed by the present Doorkeeper have taken what is popularly denominated as the iron-clad oath.

Mr. GARFIELD. I should be glad to know that the gentleman from Texas is correct.

Mr. SOUTHWARD. The gentleman from Texas has referred to a list which I have here before me.

Mr. GARFIELD. My time is fast running out, and I do not want it all taken up by these explanations; but I will hear my colleague.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Ohio yield?



Mr. GARFIELD. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. RANDALL. Your time will be extended.

Mr. SOUTHARD. The statement which I have before me, and to which the gentleman from Texas referred, is that of the one hundred and fifty-three appointments made by the Doorkeeper in the last House of Representatives, there were eighteen Union soldiers; while, out of the eighty-five appointments allowed to the Doorkeeper of the present House, twenty-six Union soldiers have been appointed. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. These demonstrations are entirely out of order.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. My point is this: I do not know whether it is a point of order or not, but I do request that the Speaker will in the most determined manner suppress any applause in this House. I regret this debate, and especially these details; but this applause is unbecoming the gravity of the question, however unfortunately it may have come up here; and I do request that on this side of the House there shall be no applause of any member who speaks for the South, or any demonstration against any one speaking on that side of the House. I hope courtesy and decorum will be observed. [Cries of "Good!" "Good!"] It is unbecoming the House, and unbecoming the country, and I hope it will be stopped.

The SPEAKER. The suggestion of the gentleman from Kentucky is well made. These things are not in order, and the Chair earnestly requests the House will set an example to those outside of the bar and in the galleries by stopping all such demonstrations. And the Chair takes occasion to say to the galleries that if these things are continued it will be his duty to have them cleared.

Mr. GARFIELD. I regret as much as any one the discussion of this question. I did not intend to refer to it at all. I hope what my colleague has presented as a statistical table will turn out to be correct. I shall be glad if it does. I know he thinks it is correct. However, there has been put into my hand a statement about a single office of the House in which the names of the old and new rolls are given. I speak of the post-office of the House, in which it is claimed that while nine Union soldiers were on the rolls during the last year,

#### NINE CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS

have replaced them on the roll of this year; and that of the thirteen employes there, but two took the oath that they had

not borne arms against the Government. If the statement be correct which I have had put into my hands, it would seem to throw some shadow of doubt on what we have just heard. But let both statements go in together.

This is the list handed to me:

#### POST-OFFICE OF THE HOUSE.

The old force.—Norman Crane, Vermont; A. M. Legg, New York, two years in Union Army; F. A. Wardell, Massachusetts, four years in Union Army and permanently disabled at Winchester; J. H. Paine, Ohio, was in Union Army; O. M. Thomas, Iowa; R. P. Bishop, Michigan, lost an arm in the Union Army; R. S. McMichael, Wisconsin, nearly lost his sight in the Union Army; D. B. Bradley, Wisconsin, three years in Union Army; J. H. Lytle, New York; W. B. Sessions, New York; J. D. Severn, Pennsylvania; D. F. Bishop, Pennsylvania; W. Tudge, District of Columbia; Cripti Palmoni, District of Columbia.

The new force.—George W. Rock, Virginia, in Confederate army; Henry Cook, Virginia, in Confederate army; Richard Allen, Virginia; S. W. Kennedy, Virginia, in Confederate army; A. W. C. Nowlin, Virginia, in Confederate army; Edward C. Sloss, Virginia; W. H. Robinson, Virginia, in Confederate army; J. R. Fisher, Virginia, in Confederate army; P. S. Goodsil, W. B. Lowery, Virginia, in Confederate army; Joseph M. Taylor, Edwin Este, New York; Thomas Kirby, Connecticut, in Union Army.

Mr. Speaker, I was about to refer to another point made by the gentleman from Georgia in his statement of the number of prisoners taken by us and taken by them and the relative number of deaths. I have this morning received from the Surgeon General references to all the pages of official reports on that subject, but I have not been able, in the hurried moments of the session since I arrived here, to examine the figures. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BURCHARD] has made up a part of the statement which I am now able to present. That statement shows that during the war

WE TOOK 476,169 PRISONERS, while on the other side they took 188,145 prisoners from us.

This is a statement to which the Surgeon General referred me in a note received since I took my seat in the House this morning, and is in a printed report on the treatment of prisoners of war by the rebel authorities, third session Fortieth Congress, page 228, which gentlemen can examine at their leisure.

It ought to be added in this connection that the conscription laws of the Confederate congress forced all able-bodied citizens between the ages of seventeen and fifty into the service, while our laws limited the conscription to the usual military ages. This, of course, put into their army a large number of immature boys and broken-down old men, among whom the mortality would naturally be greater than in an army made up of men of the ordinary ages.

I turn now to another point. The gentle-

man makes another answer concerning these atrocities.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's hour has expired.

Mr. HILL. I hope the gentleman from Ohio will be permitted to go on.

There being no objection, Mr. GARFIELD's time was extended indefinitely.

Mr. GARFIELD. I am very grateful for this courtesy and will not abuse it.

The gentleman from Georgia makes another answer, that whatever was suffered by the prisoners for at least a considerable portion of the time was in consequence of our REFUSAL TO MAKE AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS, because we would not give them their fresh men in our prisons, and take our shadows and skeletons that came back from theirs.

This is a part, and an important part, of a great history, which must not be omitted in this debate; and I will very briefly refer to its leading points. There was much trouble about the exchange of prisoners between the two belligerents; first, because for a long time we did not acknowledge the Confederates as belligerents. We hoped under the ninety days theory of Mr. Seward to get through without their recognition, but that hope failed. Our enemies were as gallant a people as ever drew the sword, and the fulfillment of that hope was delayed for months and for years. But finally an arrangement was made under which it was possible to make a cartel for the exchange of prisoners; and on the 22d of July, 1862, a cartel was agreed upon between the belligerents, which provided that within ten days after a prisoner was taken he should be paroled and sent home; and whenever it was announced by either side that a certain number was relieved from the parole a corresponding number should be released from the other side, and in that way the exchange was effected.

There were two points of delivery of prisoners. One was at Vicksburg. Another was at a point near Dutch Gap, in Virginia. And the exchange went on for some time until a series of events occurred which interrupted it. To those events I desire to call attention for a moment. The first in order of time was a proposition which was read before the House yesterday, and which I incorporate here in my remarks, not for the sake of making any personal point, but to preserve the continuity of the history.

#### HILL'S BLACK FLAG RESOLUTION.

In October, 1862, a resolution was introduced into the Confederate Senate by Senator Hill, of Georgia—

That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with intent to excite

insurrection and to abet murder, and that unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which his trial shall be had he shall suffer death.

That was the first step in the complication in regard to the exchange of prisoners of war. That resolution appears to have borne early fruits.

On the 22d day of December, 1862, Jefferson Davis, the man for whom amnesty is now being asked, issued a proclamation, a copy of which I hold in my hand. I read two paragraphs:

First. That all commissioned officers in the command of said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honorable warfare, but as robbers and criminals deserving death; and that they, and each of them be, whenever captured, reserved for execution.

Mr. HILL. A reason is stated for that.

Mr. GARFIELD. The reason is in the preamble. I am not discussing the reasons for this extraordinary proclamation, but its effects upon the exchange of prisoners.

Third. That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the laws of said States.

Fourth. That the like orders be executed in all cases with respect to all commissioned officers of the United States when found serving in company with said slaves in insurrection against the authorities of the different States of this Confederacy.

Two great questions were thus raised; first, that a certain class of officers, merely because they served under General Butler, should be declared not entitled to the rights of prisoners of war, but should be put to death when taken. These men were serving, not Benjamin F. Butler, but the Union. They did not choose him as their general. They were assigned to him; and by this proclamation that assignment

#### CONSIGNED THEM TO DEATH

at the hands of their captors. But the second question was still more important. It was an order that all men who had been slaves and had enlisted under the flag of the Union should be denied all the rights of soldiers, and when captured should be dealt with as runaway slaves under the laws of the States where they formerly belonged, and that commissioned officers who commanded them were to be denied the rights and privileges of prisoners of war. The decision of the Union people everywhere was that, great as was the suffering of our poor soldiers at Andersonville and elsewhere, we would never make an exchange of prisoners until the manhood and the rights of our colored soldiers were acknowledged by the belligerent power. And for long weary months we stood upon that issue, and most of the suffering occurred while we waited for that act of justice to be done on the other side.



To enforce this proclamation of Mr. Davis a law was passed on the 1st of May, 1863, by the Confederate congress, reported, doubtless, from the judiciary committee by the gentleman who spoke yesterday, and in that law the principles of the proclamation I have just read were embodied and expanded. Section 4 of the law reads as follows:

SEC. 4. That every white person, being a commissioned officer or acting as such, who during the present war, shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the Confederate States or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 5. Every person, being a commissioned officer or acting as such in the service of the enemy, who shall during the present war excite, attempt to excite, or cause to be excited, a servile insurrection, or who shall incite or cause to be incited a slave to rebel, shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 7. All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States.

Approved May 1, 1863.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am here to say that this position taken by the head of the Confederacy, indorsed by his congress and carried into execution by his officers, was the great primal trouble in all this business of the exchange of prisoners. There were minor troubles, such as claims by both sides that paroles had been violated. I think General Halleck reported that a whole division of four brigades, Stevenson's division, which had not been properly exchanged, fought us at Lookout Mountain; but that may have been a mistake. It was one of the points in controversy. But the central question was that of the Government of the United States having committed itself to the doctrine that

THE NEGRO WAS A MAN AND NOT A CHATTEL, and that being a man he had a right to help us in fighting for the Union, and being a soldier we would perish rather than that he should not be treated as a soldier.

To show that I am not speaking at random I will read from a report which I hold in my hand, a report of the Secretary of War on the difficulty of the exchange of prisoners. This paper is dated August 24, 1864. I think it is a misprint for 1863, from what surrounds it; but no matter as to that. It was in August General Meredith reported:

To my demand "that all officers commanding negro troops, and negro troops themselves, should be treated as other prisoners of war,

and be exchanged as such," Mr. Ould declined acceding, remarking that they (the rebels) would "die in the last ditch" before giving up the right to send slaves back to slavery as property recaptured.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. A. MEREDITH,  
Brigadier-General and Commissioner for Exchange.

Major-General E. A. HITCHCOCK, Commissioner for Exchange of Prisoners, Washington, D. C.

Thus it appears that in the negotiation, as late as the month of August, 1863, the refusal of the rebel authorities to treat the negro as a man and a soldier, prevented the exchange of prisoners.

One other point in that connection and I will leave this subject. I have here a letter, dated March 17, 1863, written by Robert Ould and addressed to that man of "bad eminence," General Winder, in which Mr. Ould, speaking of his arrangement for the exchange of prisoners, says:

*The arrangements that I have made work largely in our favor. We get rid of a set of miserable wretches and receive some of the best material I ever saw.*

Now in that single line, in a communication between two men, not *par nobile fratrum* but *par turpe diabolorum*, is proof that the object of this outrageous treatment at Andersonville was to make our men so that their exchange would be valueless to us, and it throws light upon the charge about our treatment of prisoners held in the North.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I return from all this to the direct discussion bearing immediately upon Jefferson Davis. It seems to me incontrovertible that the records I have adduced lay at his door the charge of being himself the author, the conscious author, through his own appointed instrument, of the terrible work at Andersonville, for which the American people still hold him unfit to be admitted among the legislators of this nation.

Before I leave that subject let me say another word or another point. I see around me here a large number of gentlemen who did not hesitate to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States, who did not hesitate to ask to be relieved of their political disabilities, and I ask if any one of them, in the years they have served here with us, has been ever taunted with the fact that he has been thus relieved of disabilities at his own request? Can any one of them recall a discourteous remark that has ever been made here in debate because he has asked and accepted the amnesty of the Government? Do you want us to say that the remaining seven hundred and fifty need not ask what you did? Do the honorable gentlemen who are here to-day want easier terms on which the others may come in than the terms on which they themselves came back?



Mr. HILL. I desire to ask a question for information, for I want the facts, and my recollection differs from that of the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. GARFIELD.] The act of 1872, granting a partial amnesty to quite a large number, does not, as I understand it, make any such requisition as is contained in the amendment of the gentleman from Maine, [Mr. BLAINE.]

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman is right.

Mr. HILL. It was an unconditional amnesty like that contained in the bill of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. RANDALL.] It required no oath or anything of the sort.

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly not.

Mr. HILL. I am very sure that it was under that act that I was relieved. And I never applied for any amnesty at all, but I would not have felt it

ANY LOSS OF PRIDE HAD I DONE SO.

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly not. I remember very well that we relieved a large number of soldiers in one act. But we did not relieve those who, at the time the rebellion broke out, held offices and commissions under the Government, which they had sworn before God they would protect and defend, and afterward went into the rebellion. Those are the people that we have required to ask for amnesty.

Mr. HILL. Allow me to call the attention of the gentleman to a correction of his statement. The act of Congress of 1872 relieved all persons, as I understand it, from disabilities who had been members of any State Legislature, or who had been an executive or judicial officer of any State, and relieved all in civil or military service, or who had even been in the Congress of the United States, excepting the Thirty-fifth or Thirty-sixth Congress.

Mr. GARFIELD. The Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses.

Mr. HILL. Well, one or the other. It relieved all those who were not in Congress at the time of secession, all members of State Legislatures, all civil and military officers, except the few remaining, some seven hundred and fifty. You granted them relief without any condition whatever.

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman will observe that those to whom he refers did not, at the time the war broke out, hold commissions as United States officers.

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. GARFIELD. We excepted from amnesty all those who held in their hands a commission from the Federal Government, and who had sworn to be true to their commission; and we did this because they had added to rebellion—I must use words—

THE CRIME OF PERJURY

in the eyes of the law.

Mr. TUCKER. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. TUCKER. Do I understand the gentleman from Ohio, speaking here to-day of kindness to gentlemen on this side of the House, to say that any man who held a commission under the United States at the time the war broke out, and who went into secession, was guilty of perjury?

Mr. GARFIELD. I will repeat precisely the measured words I used. I said "the crime of perjury in the eyes of the law." In view of the fact of flaming war, I do not say those men should be regarded as ordinary perjurers; I never said that. But what will the gentleman call it? By what other name does the law know it? I did not make the dictionary, nor did I make the law. The gentleman certainly knows me well enough to know that I am incapable of making a reference to any personal matter in this discussion. He must see that I am using the word as it is used in the law.

Mr. TUCKER. Mr. Speaker—

THE SPEAKER *pro tempore*, (Mr. SPRINGER in the chair.) Does the gentleman from Ohio yield further to the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. TUCKER?]

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. TUCKER. I do not ask to interrupt the gentleman that I may excuse myself, but to excuse some of the noblest men that I have ever known, and of whom the gentleman might be proud to claim to be a peer.

Mr. GARFIELD. There were some passages in the speech of yesterday which make me less reluctant

TO SPEAK OF BREAKING OATHS.

He said:

We charge all our wrongs to that "higher law" fanaticism which never kept a pledge or obeyed a law. We sought to leave the association of those who would not keep fidelity to covenant. We sought to go by ourselves; but, so far from having lost our fidelity to the Constitution, we hugged it to our bosoms and carried it with us. \* \* \* But you gentlemen who persecuted us by your infidelities until you drove us out of the Union, you who then claimed to be the only friends of the Union, which you had before denounced as a "league with hell and a covenant with death," you who follow up the war when the soldiers who fought it have made peace and gone to their homes, to you we have no concessions to make. Martyrs owe no apology to tyrants.

There is a certain sublimity of assumption in this which challenges admiration. Why the very men of whom we are talking, who broke their oaths of office to the nation—when we are speaking of relieving them we are told that they went out because we broke the Constitution and would not be bound by oaths. Did we break the Constitution? Did we drive them out? I invoke the testimony of Alexander H. Stephens, now a member of this House, who, standing up in the secession

convention of Georgia, declared that there was no just ground for Georgia's going out; declared that the election of a President according to the Constitution was no justifiable ground for secession, and declared that if under the circumstances the South should go out she would herself be committing a gigantic wrong and would call down upon herself the thunders and horrors of civil war.

Thus spoke Alexander H. Stephens in 1860. Over against anything that may be said to the contrary I place his testimony that we did not force the South out; that they went out against all the protests and the prayers and the humiliation that a great and proud nation could make without absolute disgrace.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield to me a moment?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. DAVIS. The gentleman has used a term that touches the honor of more men than one in this House and in the South. I desire, therefore, to ask him this question: Whether the war did not result from a difference of views between gentlemen of the North and gentlemen of the South with regard to what was the true construction of the Constitution? That being so, I desire to ask him further whether the oath of fidelity to the Constitution was best observed by those people of the section which he represents, those of his own party, who declared that there was a law higher than the Constitution and declined to obey that instrument, or by those who observed faithfully their constitutional obligations, and who, when raids were made upon them, merely defended themselves, as they understand it.

FROM UNCONSTITUTIONAL AGGRESSION?

I wish to say further for myself and for those who are here with me that, the Constitution having been amended—the "higher law" party having incorporated in that instrument the abolition of slavery and certain other features which we have now sworn to support along with the rest of the instrument—if in the future we fail to observe that oath before high Heaven, then we may be declared perjured; then we may be declared rebels; then we may be declared traitors.

Mr. GARFIELD. If the gentleman has understood me he cannot fail to see that I have not used the word in any offensive sense, but in its plain and ordinary acceptance, as used in the law. We held that the United States was a nation, bound together by a bond of perpetual union; a union which no State or any combination of States, which no man or any combination of men, had the right, under the Constitution, to break. The attempt of the South to overthrow the Union was crime against the Government—the

crime of rebellion. It can be described by no other name. It is so known to the laws of nations. It is so described in the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The gentleman from North Carolina calls  
THE WAR ON ONE SIDE A RAID.

I will never consent to call our war for the Union "a raid," least of all a raid upon the rights of any human being. I admit that there was a political theory of State rights—a theory held, I have no doubt, by gentlemen like the gentleman of Virginia [Mr. TUCKER] who spoke a moment ago—believed in as sincerely as I believe the opposite—which led them to think it was their duty to go when their State went. I admit that that greatly mitigates all that the law speaks of as a violation of an oath. But I will never admit (for history gives the lie to the statement in every line) that the men of the Union were making a "raid" upon the rights of the South.

Read the Republican platform of 1856 and of 1860. What did we contend for in those years? Simply that slavery should not be extended into any Territory already free. That was all. We forswore any right or purpose on our part in time of peace to touch slavery in any State. We only claimed that in the Territories, the common heritage of all the Union, slavery should never travel another inch; and, thank God, it no longer pollutes our soil or disgraces our civilization.

Now that slavery,

THE GUILTY CAUSE OF THE REBELLION.

is no more, and that, so far as I know nobody wants it restored—I do not believe these gentlemen from the South desire its restoration—

Mr. HILL. We would not have it.

Mr. GARFIELD. They would not have it, the gentleman from Georgia says. Then let us thank God that in the fierce flames of war the institution of slavery has been consumed; and out of its ashes let us hope a better than the fabled Phoenix of old will arise—a love of the Union high and deep, "as broad and general as the casing air," enveloping us all, and that it shall be counted no shame for any man who is not still under political disabilities to say with uplifted hand, "I will be true to it and take the proffered amnesty of the nation." But let us not tender it to be spurned. If it is worth having, it is worth asking for.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I close as I began. Toward those men who gallantly fought us on the field I cherish the kindest feeling. I feel a sincere reverence for the soldierly qualities they displayed on many a well-fought battle-field. I hope the day will come when their swords and ours will be crossed over many a doorway of our children, who will remember the glory of their



Oh, gentlemen, come here yourselves with clean hands, and not come here as persecutors of men who never rebelled against the Government of the United States.

A MEMBER. Holden did.

Mr. BLAINE. But General Ames never did. You come here intending to disable men who fought gallantly for the Union. You come here with the intent to drive from the executive chair of Mississippi Adelbert Ames, and to disqualify him in this centennial year from holding office. You come here refusing to remove the disabilities of William W. Holden. Now I will say that if gentlemen on the other side are willing to let this bill come to a vote I will yield without any further words.

Mr. RANDALL. I raise the point of order that the gentleman has no right to offer his amendment.

Mr. BLAINE. Then the gentleman objects.

Mr. RANDALL. I object to any proceeding not in order.

Mr. BLAINE. Do I understand the gentleman to object to my bill being offered?

Mr. RANDALL. When I have the right to speak in reply to you you will hear what I have to say.

Mr. BLAINE. Very well. I ask unanimous consent to offer this bill, and then I will yield the floor at the same time to any gentleman who desires to move to strike out the exclusion.

Mr. RANDALL. I object.

Mr. BLAINE. You object!

\* \* \* \* \*

I again wish to make this proposition that I may bring the bill before the House by unanimous consent, and I will yield to any gentleman to move an amendment to it. I will give to that side of the House all I have asked for this side. Now, if it be the case that gentlemen will refuse that proposition, then it is because they do not want any bill passed. I am for a practicable amnesty. I am for an amnesty that will go through.

Mr. RANDALL. Oh, you are not sincere in the least degree.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. Speaker, I again desire to submit that question. I ask unanimous consent to offer this bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. ROBBINS, of North Carolina. I object.

Mr. MILLS. I desire to understand the proposition of the gentleman from Maine. If we will vote to remove the disabilities of Governor Ames and Governor Holden, will he vote to remove the disabilities of Jefferson Davis? [Laughter.]

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. Speaker, if gentlemen on the other side decline my proposition and want no further debate, I will give the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] an opportunity to bring up the Centennial bill, which has been postponed an entire week by this amnesty bill occupying the attention of the House.

Mr. RANDALL. The time consumed and the consequent postponement of the Centennial bill are wholly chargeable to your side of the House.

Mr. BLAINE. No, sir. Now, Mr. Speaker, I will end this matter, which I have within my power. I withdraw the motion to reconsider.

Mr. RANDALL. I hope the gentleman will renew that motion a moment in order to give me an opportunity to say a word.

Several MEMBERS. Regular order!

Mr. BLAINE. No, sir; the gentleman refused me the poor privilege of offering my amendment.

Mr. RANDALL. I only want to say that I have no desire to make Jefferson Davis a hero or a martyr.

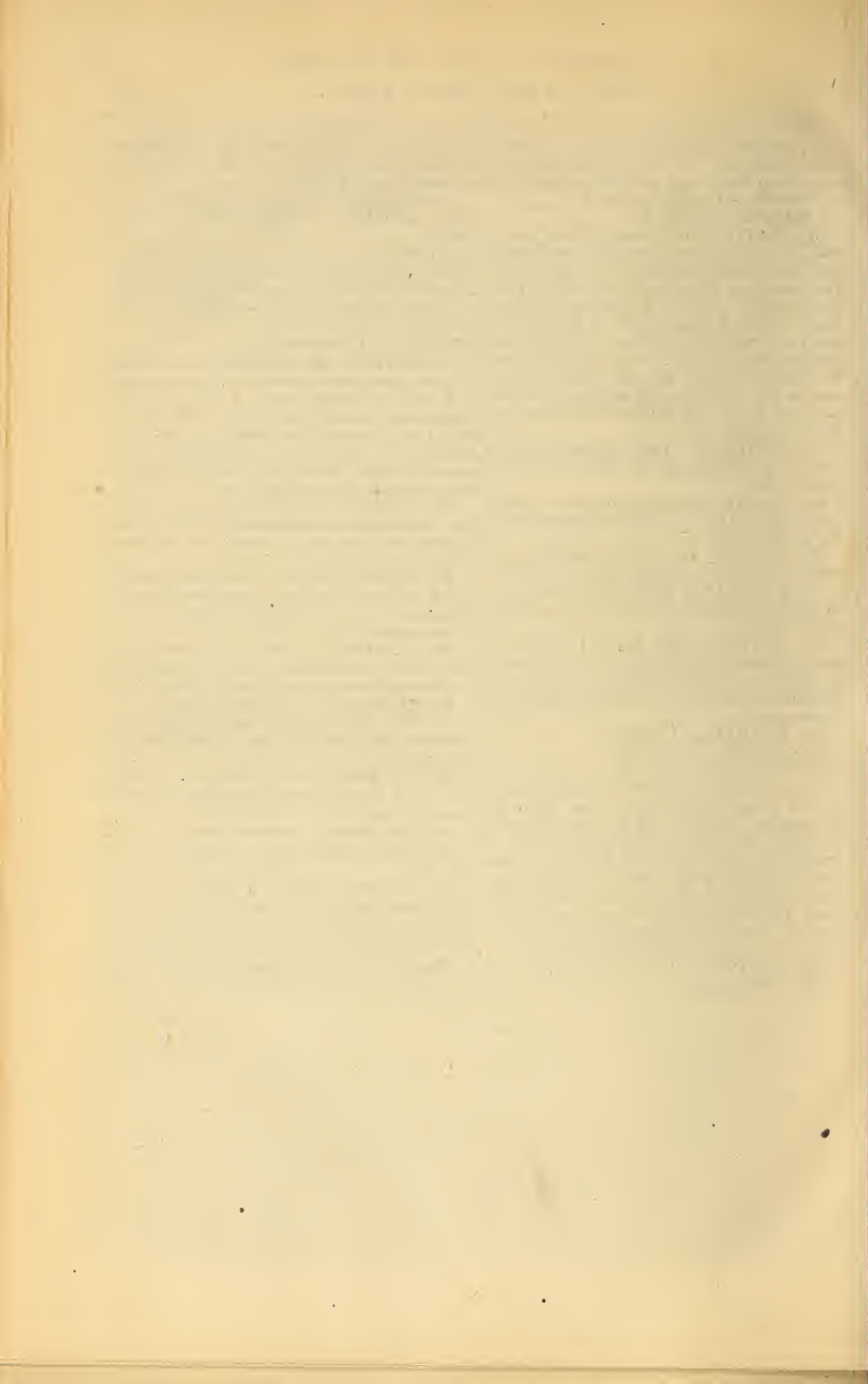
Several MEMBERS. Regular order!

Mr. ASHE. Mr. Speaker—[Cries of "Order!"]

Mr. MAISH. I rise to a point of order. The gentleman from Maine having made a motion to reconsider, and it having been considered by the House, can he withdraw it?

The SPEAKER. Certainly. The motion has not been considered by the House.





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Vol. 7.

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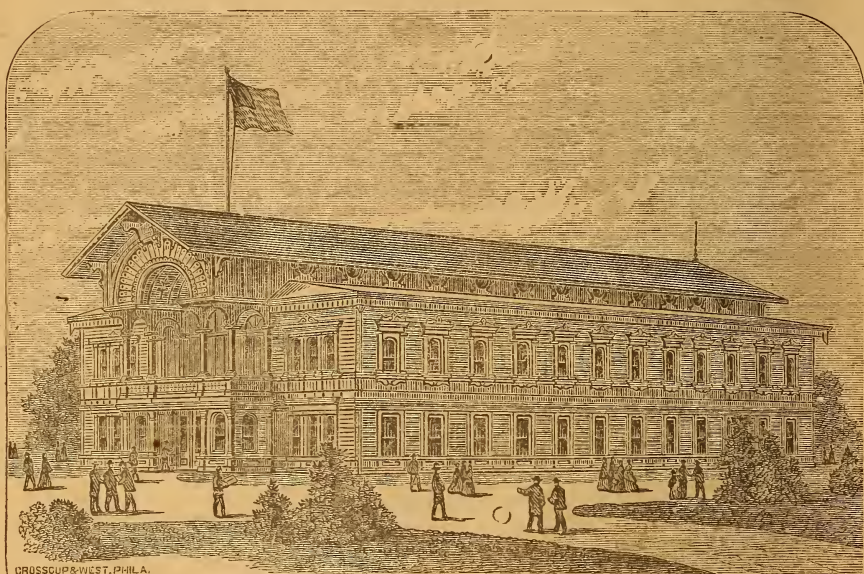
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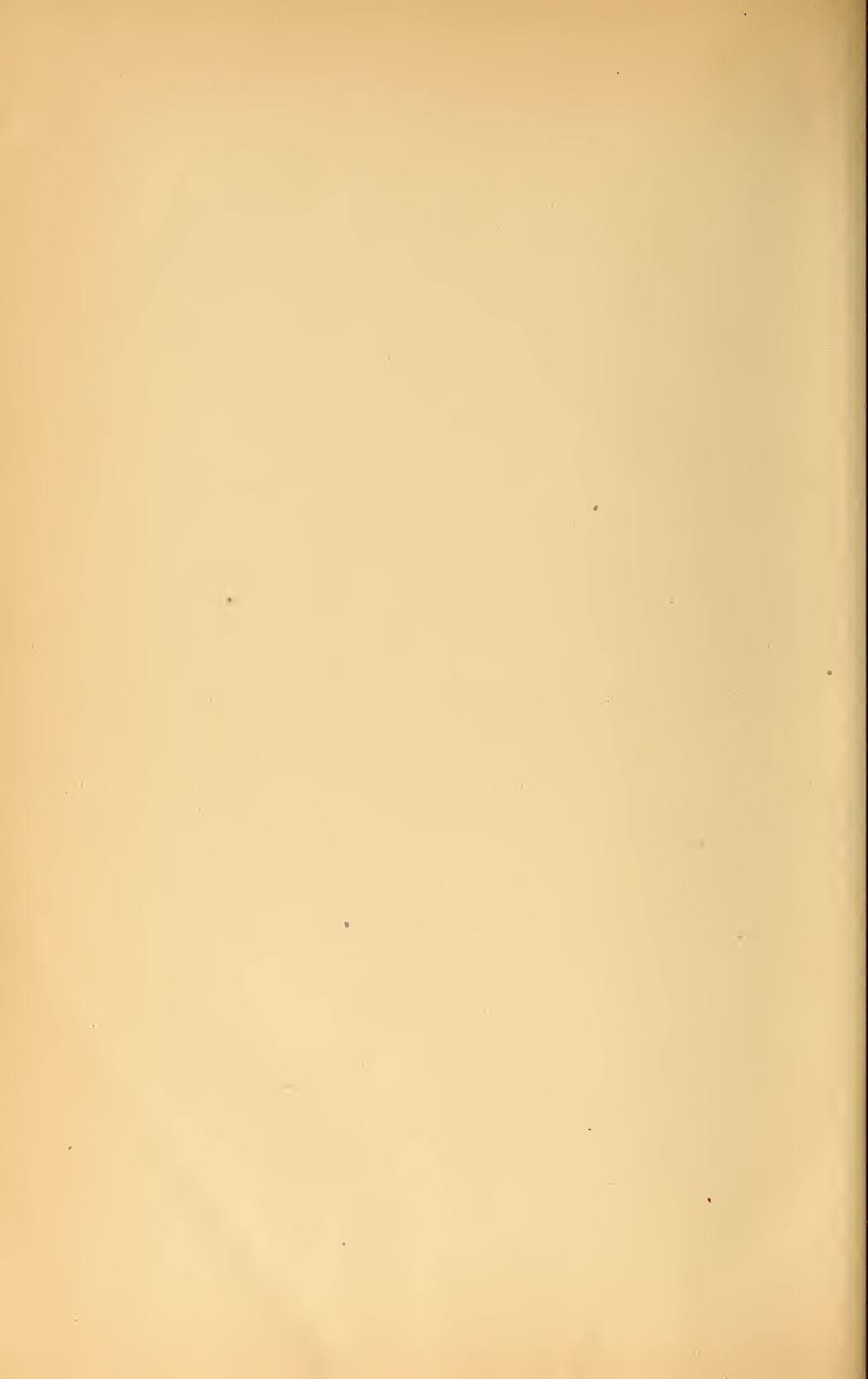
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